New Indian Antiquary

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New Indian Antiquary

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EDITORIAL

It is indeed with great pleasure that we are at long last bringing out this volume restored to its original appearance. While we regret the inevitable delay for which neither the Publishers nor the Editors can claim sole responsibility, we have reason to rejoice at the reappearance of the *New Indian Antiquary* in an improved format. It will now be possible for us to issue the remaining parts of this volume in regular succession and bring the journal up-to-date. It is also an encouraging sign that we are re-establishing contact with our former collaborating editors, and it is hoped that the old board may shortly be reconstituted in order to make this journal a truly international one in the field of Indology.

While we reaffirm the old policy of the *New Indian Antiquary* to be a free medium of research in Indology presented in scientific form, we also appeal to scholars, old and new, to come forward and help us in maintaining the high traditions we have inherited and foster the proper scientific approach to all problems of antiquarian interest.

The Editors would greatly appreciate co-operation from research institutions, conferences and publishers for advance information of their activities, publications and news of research interest. These will be incorporated in the Notes of the month section. Reviews of publications will also be arranged at regular intervals by competent authorities.

S. M. KATRE

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SOME CONSIDERATIONS OF SANSKRIT SYNTAX*

By

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I. CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS OF SYNTAX

Syntactical studies form one of the last branches to develop in the science of linguistics. The reason seems plain ; for the purpose of comparative study we need at least two languages. To know the syntax of a language is equivalent to knowing it quite thoroughly and few scholars are to be found who are thorough masters of two languages.

During the earlier years of "comparative philology" scholars occupied them-selves with phonetics, with the comparisons of words and terminations and the extremely rich variety of forms that could thus be built up in various languages. The next step was a study of the significance of the meanings of words—the branch known as *Semantics* which assumed an extremely fascinating aspect when treated by MAX MÜLLER[1] and among modern writers by WEEKLEY.

As an accompaniment of Semantics, and in a sense following it, came the consi-deration of the change in the significance of the various grammatical forms, cases, moods, participles etc. This constituted the beginning of Comparative Syntax. Though there have been eminent writers on Syntax and on syntactical development as early as the fifties of the last century, still the true foundations of "Comparative Syntax" were laid by B. DELBRÜCK in the three most important volumes he contri-buted to BRUGMANN'S *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*. He was the first to point out the correct appreciation of the "comparative method" as applied to Syntax.

It is an accepted truth of biology that the history of the development of a parti-cular animal form through geological time is as it were recapitulated in the various stages the embryo of that animal passes through in the pre-natal stage. Thus, during its nine-months' stay in the mother's womb, the human embryo runs through the most significant stages of development which the human race passed through in course of the long geological ages. Going a step further psychologists tell us that the develop-ment of various emotions and mental faculties of a human infant during the first few weeks of its life recapitulate the history of the human race as regards the develop-ment of its emotions and mental faculties.

Language being the most important characteristic that distinguishes man from animals we might try to find some light on the development of language amongst human beings by observing the acquirement of language by an infant.

1. See especially his *Biographies of Words.*

The cry of a new-born child is merely a physical reflex. Hunger, discomfort and any sort of physical need cause the human child to utter sounds just as much as these cause animals to utter them. This might be called the *reflex-cry* stage in the linguistic progress of a child. This stage is usually very short-lived. The human child has its wants attended to ; and very soon the child learns to connect its cry and the removal of the discomfort as cause and effect. As soon as this happens the cry is invested with a definite meaning and becomes " language " for the child. Soon we find the child manipulating different sorts of cries for different needs. This forms the second stage in the linguistic development of a child and it might be called the *animal-cry* stage. Gregarious animals are known to use distinct modulations of cries to indicate different needs, as is well known to cowherds. It is the first beginning of language and with the animal it stops there. The human child continues in this stage for a fairly long time, in fact until it learns to control its vocal apparatus.

During the several months of the animal-cry stage the child goes on exercising its vocal organs and thus gains control over them. It hears the sounds produced by the grown-ups and tries to imitate them.[2] This gives the child control of the muscles of the throat, of the mouth and of the tongue. The first sounds mastered are the vowels and then the consonants beginning with the labials.[3]

But far more important than the gradual mastery of phonetics is the development going on in the mind of the child. The child has got its senses (the *indriyas*) and through them it gets sense-impressions which vary from moment to moment. Each momentary sense-impression is called technically a *percept*. The developed human mind is capable of putting many percepts side by side, and extracting therefrom a common factor, which may be present in all of them. This common factor is called a *concept*. Thus, the child feels any sort of discomfort, or wants something, and utters a cry, and someone comes to the child and pats it, or sings to it, or removes the cause of the discomfort, or feeds it. Each of these actions is a separate percept for the child. But the person who performs these varied acts is the common factor and pretty soon this common factor becomes as it were " individualised " and becomes a concept in the mind of the child. This concept needs a label to fix it and so we get the name. The first *word* the child utters is the name of this individual —*mā*. These " words " are names for certain individuals or things. But " baby language " is *not* made up of words, for the child has no idea of " words " as such. To the mind of the child every situation, as it arises, is a distinct percept, and when it hears grown-up people commenting upon it, the natural inference the child draws is that the sounds it hears form the appropriate expression for that situation. To the child the set of sounds uttered by the grown-up person is *one complete whole* and the child does not separate or analyse it into the component words. To the child mind each separate percept needs a distinct set of sounds to describe it. This is the essence of the unmeaning sounds little babies often use. Every parent knows that babies go on babbling at great rate and two or more together would hold long and serious conversations, particularly if they think themselves unobserved. When excited and anxious to tell the elders what is in their minds they go on holding forth

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2. JESPERSEN in his book on *Language,* gives a very fine account of child-language.
3. Hence child words like *pā, bā, mā* are universal and indicate almost the same ideas.

for many minutes at a time.[4] These things they utter are doubtless full- of meaning to themselves, but to the grown-ups they are merely sounds without any sense. This stage of the child's language is best described as *sound-jumble*. The sounds as it were well forth spontaneously from the child in response to its emotions. We sometimes hear even grown-up children, who can speak, crooning to themselves in unmeaning sounds when very happy.[5] When there are a lot of children together they develop a sort of " jumble language " of their own even after they have learnt to speak well.

Meanwhile the human mind of the child goes on with the task of analysing the innumerable percepts and drawing the common factors, the concepts, therefrom. This process goes on more and more rapidly as the child gets older and the consciousness of words begins to dawn upon its mind. Then alone the child becomes aware of the fact that the speech of grown-ups can be analysed into words. This last stage is the stage of words or what might be called *articulate speech*.[6] In the acquirement of words now the elders help considerably, especially when the child learns to read and write.

One important point, however, has to be constantly borne in mind, viz., that from the very beginning the child *thinks in sentences*, never in individual words, no matter what language a child learns. The acquiring of the mother-tongue is always through sentences or phrases.[7] A child may even acquire two or more languages simultaneously. While doing so it has been noted that *words* may be mixed up but the different types of sentence-construction are never mixed up by children. The notions of grammar come the very last in the acquiring of the mother-tongue. This is the essential secret of teaching language by the " direct method." This also was the reason that the Greeks never thought of compiling a grammar of their own language because they thought it absolutely unnecessary.[8]

We may now turn to the languages of the world and see if these points learnt from the development of children help us in understanding the varied types of languages found. The reflex-cry stage and the animal-cry stages must have been passed over during the period before *Homo sapiens* emerged. The development of the cranium, the erect stature and other characteristics of *Homo sapiens* indicate clearly the growth of those brain-centres which control thought. This thought activity in the earlier stages of humanity indicates the power of drawing concepts from a

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4. I once listened myself to a " baby-lecture " from my son, aged about ten months. He had been out for the evening with his nurse and had seen a procession (as I ascertained from her) with banners and music. Evidently the child was anxious to tell us elders all about it.

5. Like the song of Mowgli after he had slain Sher Khan the Tiger, " a song that came up into his throat all by itself " (KIPLING, *Jungle Book*, the story of " Tiger, Tiger ").

6. The literal sense of the word *articulate* is " distinctly jointed," where each element is distinctly perceptible to the ear.

7. In acquiring this the child also picks up the " intonation " or the particular lilt or accentuation of the sentence. Hence a foreigner who learns a language late in life can seldom speak as a native, even though he may be absolutely correct grammatically.

8. They did teach rhetoric, i.e., the art of vigorous and correct speech. The first formal Greek grammar was written by Dionysios Thrax (2nd cent. B.C.) for the use of Romans who wished to study Greek.

number of percepts.[9]   The centres to develop latest in the human brain are those that control speech.   Hence speech comes only after the full attainment of the status of *Homo sapiens*, i.e., after acquiring the power of drawing concepts.

The *animal-cry* stage had certainly passed before *Homo sapiens* emerged.   These animal cries would have been sufficient to express the needs which human beings have in common with animals.[10]   The needs of primitive man would not be very much greater.   Even after the full attainment of the power of thought it remains latent for a long time ; it has to be exercised and developed by constant use.   In the beginning, therefore, mankind gave expression through speech to various *percepts*, not to concepts.   Hence primitive language, like the language of children, must have passed through a *sound-jumble* stage.   Fortunately, we have existing even today one or two languages in this stage.   The language of Tierra del Fuego for example, illustrates this very clearly.   One might suppose that the language of the natives of that " end of the world " would have a limited number of words.   Actually this language has no " words " of any kind, but a large number of sound-jumbles each expressing a special individual percept.   Thus suppose, (1) a man sees a fish in a river, and then (2) he catches the fish with a spear, and (3) gives it to his wife to cook, and then (4) he and his family eat the fish, and finally (5) he finds the fish tastes nice and satisfies him.   Each of these five is a separate *percept* and each is expressed by a distinct sound-jumble.   *These are entirely independent of one another.*   We can see at least two common factors—the man the fish—in each one of these five situations, but the primitive mind of the Fuegian cannot see these.   Not only this, but if there is the slightest change in the situation—if, for instance, he sees the fish in a lake instead of a river, or he catches the fish with his bare hands— corresponding sound-jumble would be entirely changed.   As R. R. MARETT puts it,[11] " Sounds in fact are with them as copious as ideas are rare.   Impressions, on the other hand, are, of course, infinite in number.   By means of more or less significant sounds, then, Fuegian society compounds impressions, and that somewhat imperfectly, rather than exchanges ideas, which alone are the currency of true thought".   Each utterance of these people, in short, *represents one single situation (percept) taken as a whole in all its details.*[12]   These percepts may be quite complex.   Thus, MARETT quotes from the Fuegian the remarkably complex percept that " two-people-are-look- ing - at-each - other - hoping - that - either - will - offer - to-do - something - which- both - desire - but - are - unwilling - to - do " ; this is expressed by the sound-jumble *mamihlapinatapai* ".[13]

Sense-impressions are necessarily infinite in number, but in the limited outlook of such primitive races only a few need expression as sound-jumbles, and as MARETT

9.   The Greeks called this faculty of " thought " *logós* which very happily, as well as aptly, also means " speech ".   Animals are, according to them, *á-loga* lacking both in thought as well as speech.

10.   Cf. *āhāra-nidrā-bhaya-maithunam ca, sāmānyam etat paśubhir narāṇām.*

11.   *Anthropology*, p. 139.

12.   MARETT describes (op. cit., p. 140) these sound-jumbles as utterances " into which are packed away enough suggestions to reproduce the situation in all its details, the act, the person who did it, the instrument, the time, the circumstances, the place and who knows what besides."

13.   MARETT, loc. cit.

has observed there is no real exchange of *ideas,* but only a conveying of sense-impressions through speech. As long as society remains at that stage nothing more seems needed for language. But as primitive culture advances to higher stages it becomes necessary to find other modes of expressions. Mere sound-jumbles of separate percepts are obviously inadequate when ideas begin to develop out of these percepts. As a matter of fact the number of percepts being infinite, this method of speech becomes impossible as humanity progresses. So "words" now must arise and articulate speech gradually begins to develop.

ŚANKARA in the *Vedānta-Sūtra-bhāṣya* (i. 3. 28) says : *ākṛtibhiś ca śabdānām sambandho, na vyaktibhiḥ; vyaktīnām ānantyāt sambandhagrahaṇānupapatteḥ.* This describes exactly the situation that arises with respect to the origin of words. We can translate this in modern language thus : "The relation of words is with concepts not with percepts. For the percepts being infinite it would be impossible to lay hold of the relations." The human mind analyses the various percepts and once this process is begun it very soon perceives the common factors, and these common-factors (concepts) need a label. These are "words". Thus each individual part of the percept gets clearer in the mind and being expressed in words the "sound-jumble" is replaced by articulate speech.

But this change is not achieved at a jump. In languages there never is a sudden change. The transition stages from the sound-jumble to articulate speech are found in the *holophrastic* languages of the aborigines of North and South America. The long set of sounds now called *holophrase* (or sentence-word) still persists, implying all the wealth of concomitant detail. And the actual *sounds* uttered may fail to show us the underlying concept (the common factor), but still *this concept is theoretically recognised* and there may even exist a "word" for it. An example will make this clear. In the Old Huron-Iroquois speech we get these holophrases :

eschoirhon (I-have-been-to-the-water),

setsonha (go-to-the-water),

ondequoha (there-is-water-in-the-bucket),

daustantewacharet (there-is-water-in-the-pot)

In these holophrases we can detect no commo . ..ctor in the *sounds* uttered to correspond to the common concept "water". Still the speakers have recognised this common factor and they have a "hypothetical terms *"āwen—*for "water", which is never used by itself either alone or even in a holophrase. The recognition of the existence, hypothetical though it be, of the concept shows that the thought process has advanced beyond the sound-jumble stage, even though the language does not show in its sounds the recognition of the concept.

The next stage is the recognition of the word in full, both hypothetically and in actual use. In actual usage the words are still fused together into a holophrase but the characteristic portions of each are retained so as to be clearly recognisable by the ear. Thus in Greenland[14] we find the holophrase *aulisariartorasuarpoq* (he hastens to go a-fishing), which can be analysed as being made up of *aulisar* (to fish) *peartor* (to be engaged in) and *pinnesuarpoq* (he hastens).

A stage further on we get the elements making up the incorporated holophrase

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14. This is a variety of the Eskimo group of languages.

becoming quite clear and obvious. Thus in Mexican we get *niśotśitēmoa* (I seek flowers) made up of *ni* (I), *śotśi* (flowers) and *tēmoa* (seek). Each word·can be used independently with the addition of case indicators. Thus the Mexican holophrase given above might also be rendered *ni-k-tēmoa in śotśi-tl* (lit. I-seek-it, the flowers) the -*k*- being the incorporated pronoun and the *in* and -*tl* being the case indicators. This sort of holophrase is hardly to be distinguished from the sentence in which separate words are used.[15]

After this comes the full *word-stage* (or articulate speech). Now the word (*śabda*) becomes the label of the concept. Of course, it requires generations of steady mental growth to reach this stage. Those whose speech consists of sentences made up of words find it very difficult to realise how any language can exist without words. Even when words come they are at first names of *concrete* concepts. And even here these concepts are not what we may call "pure". The idea of the possessor of an object is so very important to backward people that they cannot possibly think of an object apart from its owner. Thus in many languages there are separate words for "my hut", "your hut", "my father's hut", "his neighbour's hut" and so on, but there is no word for the "pure concept" of *hut*. These people cannot think of a hut without an owner. Not merely with lifeless objects, but even with wives and children the owner is regarded as quite as important. It requires a further process of analysis to separate the possessor and the thing possessed.

When such is the case of *concrete* concepts, we need not wonder if we do·not find abstract ideas among such people. The abstract idea of numerals, for instance, comes very much later. It is a curious fact that many of the primitive people can enumerate a large number (several scores) of any particular objects (men, boats, shells, cocanuts etc.), but they cannot count (in the abstract) beyond four. The reason is the very considerable mental analysing needed to arrive at the abstract concepts of "one-ness", "two-ness", "three-ness"; and "four-ness" is about the limit for these people.[16]

The process of analysing various percepts and drawing therefrom various concepts goes on unceasingly and in fact is the main cause of growth·in language. Even the concepts that have thus arisen go on being analysed and fresh concepts arise. T! e human mind goes on continuously grouping and regrouping the percepts and concepts and goes on drawing new "common factors" from fresh groupings and fresh standpoints. The earlier concepts are necessarily not "pure". They may be called "compound concepts", e.g., the thing possessed and the possessor, material objects and their enumerations, as we saw above. Later on these compound concepts themselves come to be analysed into their component parts.

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15. We may mention here that every language has got syncopated phrases where words are run together so that they are heard as one word. But this is not the true holophrase. Thuj Guj. *makēje* (*mū kahyū je*), Beng. *tānale tāhā nā hale*, that not happening); Eng. *'twas, ain't*; Fr. *'spas* (for *n'est ce pas*).

16. Incidentally it may be remarked that the Indo-European languages show a common heritage of numerals upto a "hundred" and perhaps even a "thousand", and even beyond. This implies that the people who used these languages were *mentally* not mere primitive savages, whatever their *material* culture may have been. We come to exactly the same conclusion from a consideration of the preposition and adverbs which are pure abstractions.

Abstract concepts come in much later and here too we have a stage which might be called that of "compound abstract concepts". The history of the growth of thought and language in any country could furnish numerous instances. The use of metaphor in language by which concrete words are used for abstract ideas might be quoted, e.g., "weighing a proposal", Guj. *madhur vacan etc.*

Let us get back to the growth of language. We saw that in the sound-jumble stage the essential thing is the description of a particular happening with all circumstantial detail. The sound-jumble is therefore essentially a sentence in its nature. Even when concepts (i.e. words) have come, merely uttering one word would not in itself constitute a sentence. At least two concepts have to be joined together. One of these is known to both the speaker and the hearer. The other is something in the speaker's mind which he wishes to convey to the hearer. This joining of two concepts enables an idea to be conveyed from one person to another. In other words the sentence (the joining of two concepts) is the unit of language. This is the one fundamental principle of linguistics and of grammar.[17] Sentences may, however, consist of one word only but in such cases "the logic of circumstances" helps us. Thus if a visitor comes and I turn to my servant and say, "Chair", the circumstances convey the full sense The concept known to both the speaker and hearer is the *subject*[18] and the concept conveying the fresh information, unknown before to the hearer, is the *predicate*.[18] Of course in a sentence there may be more subjects and predicates than one and there may be various "adjuncts" joined on to them.

In classifying languages we have therefore, to consider how the sentence is built up. And so in languages which have arrived at the word-stage we get three distinct types—(i) *Isolating*, (ii) *Agglutinating* and (iii) *Inflecting*. The old idea was that these three represented three stages following one after the other in a sort of cyclic order. But modern research shows that this is not a correct view.

We will confine ourselves to the Inflecting Languages, because the Indo-European languages constitute the most important family among these.[19] In the Indo-European family we see some remarkable, points. At the earliest stage of which we possess any records we find a very large number of suffixes (the *sup-* and the *tiṅ-* suffixes of Sanskrit, which are added to words (*śabda*), to show the varied syntactical relationships. Whatever the origin of these might have been, most of them denote very complex syntactical relations Thus *-nām* indicates possession as well as plurality of owners, *-sya* indicates possession plus a single owner ; *-tu* denotes wish (or command) on part of the speaker plus the idea that the action wished for is to be performed by one agent only, and so forth. These might be called "compound syntactical concepts" and in some of the rarer forms found in the Veda we might almost call them "syntactical percepts". Here the syntactical relation as expressed by the suffix is taken *as a whole*. This stage of Indo-European languages is called *synthetic*, for in it the *śabda* and *pratyaya* (with all its complex implications) are merely put together. In course of time there comes the inevitable analysing of these

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17. Pāṇini has recognised this in the *sūtra* (i. 4.14), *sup-tiṅantam padam.* The distinction between *śabda* and *pada* is to be noted.

18. These terms are used here in the *psychological*, not the grammatical sense.

19. The other two are Semitic and Hamitic and some authorities think that all these three are really branches of one original stock of the inflected type.

pratyayas and they, or rather the concepts underlying them, are, as it were, analysed fully and there is discovered a simpler and a better form of expression. Fresh combinations give rise to new " syntactical concepts " and new helping words such as auxiliary verbs, prepositions etc. arise which in time make the ancient *pratyayas* useless. This stage of a language is called the *analytic stage,* for here we find the syntactical concepts analysed, and when a language has attained this position it acquires a suppleness and power added to great simplicity of grammar which would not be possible in the synthetic stage.

Every inflected language is bound to pass on to the analytic stage ultimately with the mental growth of the people who use it, because the analytic stage presupposes a very great amount of mental development. But the process can be helped as well as hindered by circumstances which are not linguistic at all. The mixing of people speaking different languages accelerates this natural progress of language very enormously. As examples we may quote English as contrasted with German. The former is far more analytic than the latter just because of the extremely wide linguistic contacts of the English-speaking races. So also is Persian which is today the most completely analytic of all Indo-European languages.[20] The reason in this case also has been mixing of various races notably of the Aryan-speaking Irani and the Semitic races. What happens in such cases is that the foreigner trying to speak the language, consciously or unconsciously, goes on analysing the ideas underlying the complex syntax and thus the native speakers, too, get to know something for which perhaps they had never troubled their minds until this foreign contact. The result is a general simplification of the old complex grammar and the resulting analytic structure.

But there are retarding forces also and these are extremely powerful. There is first the conservative spirit inherent in every human being and this, especially when helped by religion, stabilises a language as nothing else can. One extremely good instance is the contrast of modern Hebrew and Arabic. Both have had extremely extensive foreign contacts but in Arabic the Qoran has prevented the language from becoming analytic to the same extent as Hebrew has become.

In Sanskrit the earliest records show us a vigorous synthetic language where we can see the analysis of syntactic concepts going on and gradually moulding the language along the natural path. A detailed study of the syntax of the Saṁhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, and Upaniṣads and the Epics shows clearly this trend. But we also see gradually the conservatism of religion working even in the early days. The language of the Vedas is felt to be something too sacred to be profaned by any vulgar change. And all through the Epic literature we find a struggle being maintained between the natural movement towards analytic structure and the retarding force of religion. Foreign contacts there had always been from the beginning of history and those gave to Sanskrit in India even in its earliest days its distinctive characteristics as contrasted with the other languages of the Indo-European family like Greek and Latin.

Then came the great Pāṇini. He analysed the language of his days as no lan-

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20. The whole of the *formal* grammar of modern Persian can be put down on a sheet of note-paper.

guage had been before his time.* Nor has any language been so thoroughly analysed
since.   The language had changed considerably since the Vedic days even though
religion had been a conserving force for some considerable time.   Hence some of the
constructions of the Vedic hymns appeared strange to Pāṇini himself and very often
he says merely, *bahulam chandasi* (in the Vedas the usage is varied).

Pāṇini had no desire to be dictator in matters linguistic.   But soon after he
had passed away he was canonised as a " Muni " and this new semi-religious repu-
tation of Pāṇini added to the sacredness of the Veda made the religious brake on
the progress of Sanskrit doubly effective.   The result was that anything outside
Pāṇini's *sūtras* was not considered Sanskrit at all.   Sanskrit began to become a dead
language from the time of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.   But so great was the natural momentum
of this wonderful language that it went on being the principal spoken language of
India almost until the age of Kālidāsa.

Meanwhile the other allied dialects of India went unhindered on their own way
along the path of analytical structure, because, till now, the two forces which retard-
ed Sanskrit—a sacred literature and a great grammarian—did not erist in their case.
The period which saw the cultivation of what is known as Classical Sanskrit was
also the period of the growth of the Prakrits.   These were the vernaculars of the
Middle-Indian period.   In time some of these also developed religious literatures and
grammars as well.   The usual result followed, and these languages gradually became
" dead " languages cultivated only by learned Buddhist and Jain *ācāryas*.

The Modern-Indian period—that of our present day vernaculars—begins about
the 12th century of the Christian era.   These languages have gone on developing,
each along its own line more or less steadily upto the present day.   These have in
the course of years been influenced by other foreign influences, notably by Persian
in the days of Moslem rule, and by English in modern days.

But all through these centuries the influence of Sanskrit has remained supreme
in India.   This is not merely cultural but has permeated through and through all
our modern languages.   It is not merely the question of borrowing words wholesale
from Sanskrit but even our vernacular grammars have been deeply influenced by
Sanskrit.   Even today we try to explain our vernacular construction in terms of
Sanskrit grammar. This is manifestly inappropriate, because Sanskrit is clearly
synthetic, whereas most of our vernaculars are well advanced along the analytic stage.
Just at the present day our languages are showing clear signs of breaking the shackles
of Sanskrit.   Of course Sanskritic *culture* must stay on, but the influence of Sanskrit
language has very distinctly prevented our languages from attaining their full
analytic stature.

II. NOUNS—GENDER AND NUMBER

We need not dwell here on the propriety or otherwise of the eight " parts of
speech " enumerated in European grammars.   It is a convenient manner of treating
the varied phenomena of syntax and is fairly well understood.   Still we may men-
tion that much more scientific are Pāṇini's three divisions into *sub-anta, tiṅ-anta* and
avayaya implied into the sūtras *sup-tiṅ-antam padam* (i. 4. 14) and *avyayād āp supaḥ*
(ii. 4.82).   Pāṇini makes a sharp distinction between *śabda* (concept—word) and
pada (grammatical form) or the word *functioning* in a sentence.   There is nothing

inherent in a *śabda* (concept) which would enable us to say that it belongs to this or that "part of speech". It is only when it is used in a sentence that we know what it really is. In English we know the famous instance, "But no buts, but tell me the whole truth, I want nothing but that", where each of the 'buts' has got a different function. Pāṇini has made a twofold division at first and then he has distinguished *avyayas* as a sub-group as it were of the *subantas*. In accepting the eight parts of speech we merely divide *subantas* further into three sub-divisions (nouns, pronouns and adjectives) and *avyayas* into four sub-divisions (adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections). The main thing to bear in mind is the *function* of the word as used in a sentence.

The main characteristics of *subantas* are gender, number and case The last aspect is the most important and in synthetic languages plays a very important part and is bugbear and despair of all students. But the first two are also of considerable interest.

Those of us who are used to English cannot quite grasp the idea that in many languages *gender has nothing whatever to do with sex*. We find that similar confusion occurs in many of our Indian vernaculars[1] as also in European languages such as German and Russian. This is called "grammatical gender" as contrasted with "natural gender" such as we find in English or in Persian. The Indo-European parent language had only grammatical gender though in the individual languages we find a good deal of confusion owing to later developments. Some light upon the origin might be thrown if we consider the gender in some other language families. In the Dravidian languages "nouns are divided into two classes, which Tamil grammarians denote by the technical terms "high-caste" and "casteless" nouns.[2] More illuminating is the idea of gender among the languages of Africa. Among the Hamitic languages nouns are divided into two classes, which answer more or less to the English masculine and feminine. As a general rule big and strong things are "masculine" and small and weak ones are "feminine". Thus, "sword" is masculine but "knife" is feminine ; so also "long coarse grass" is masculine but "short grass" or "turf" is feminine ; "a large rock" and "elephant" (of either sex) are masculine but "a stone" and "hare" are feminine.[3] But the most remarkable point about the Hamitic languages is what is known as "the Law of Polarity". According to this *nouns when they take the plural suffix, also change the gender*. Thus in Somali we get *hoyo-di* (mother) has the plural *hoyoin-ki; libah-hi* (lion) has the plural *libahyo-dī*. The *-di* is the indication of feminines and the *-ki* or *-hi* is the sign of the masculine.[4]   This law of polarity has influenced a great many African languages of other families also. Prof. MEINHOF in his book, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, gives a

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1. Bengali is slowly but surely coming to adopt "natural gender" depending on sex.
2. CALDWELL, *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, p. 220.
3. Cf. *chaio-chari, goḷo-goḷi, banglo-banglī, capḍo-capḍī* etc. in Gujarati and other Modern Indo-Aryan languages.
4. In the Semitic languages too the dental *-t* is the sign of the feminine. In Arabic some of the "broken plurals" show the feminine *-t-* element and in fact some plurals of masculine nouns are indistinguishable from the corresponding feminines. e.g. *ḥuẓūr* (Sir, or Lord), plu. *ḥaẓarāt; Ṣufi*, plu. *Ṣufiyatun; qawwās* (bowman), plu. *qawwāsatun* (THATCHER, *Arabic Conversation Grammar*, p. 271).

THE LAW OF POLARITY

Singular ——————————→ Plural

Living   Lifeless

(Person)   (Thing)

Actor   Common   Neuter   Acted upon
                 gender   gender   (or Action)

(subject)   (object)

Strong   Weak

(Masculine)   (Feminine)

Plural ——————————→ Singular
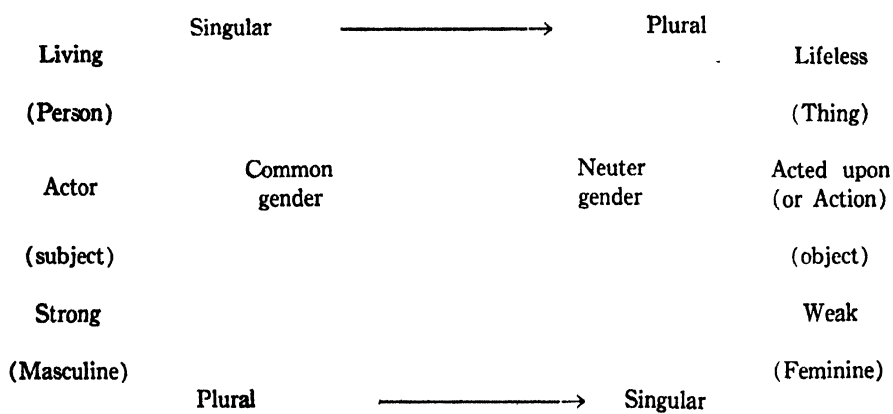
very rational explanation of this strange phenomenon.[5] According to him the original division of substantives was into a "persons" and "things" based on the fundamental distinction of "living" and "lifeless". In terms of gender there were originally two genders "common" (i.e. masculine and feminine) and "neuter". This original distinction becomes later on a distinction of the "actor" or "moulder" and the "acted upon" or "moulded". Still later it is found that even among the "living" the strong ones are the "actors" and the weak ones the "acted upon" and here we get the "common" gender splitting into "masculine" and "feminine". The accompanying diagram makes the position clear. The primitive mind considers these two-fold division of nouns as fundamental and so any change in the original form of the noun is regarded as necessitating a change of the category (or gender). In Sanskrit we have clear traces of the masculine and feminine belonging originally to one category as distinct from the neuter, especially in the nominative case. Nouns in *i, u, r* have originally the same forms for both masculine and feminine e.g., *kavi, avani; bhānu, dhenu; pitṛ, mātṛ; bhrātṛ, svasṛ;* but the neuters are markedly different and the neuter nominative singular has no ending at all. Of the alternative forms for dat. abl. gen. and loc. singulars for fem. nouns in *i,* and *u,* I belive those have been built up on the analogy of the fem nouns in *-ī,* and *-ū (nadī, vadhū)*, and are later ones, definitely influenced by the gender. The forms resembling those of the corresponding masculine nouns are original. Similarly, among nouns ending in consonants a good many show the same forms in the nominative whether they be masculine or feminine, while the neuters are clearly different and here too the neu.-nom. singular has no ending whatever. These seem to be the relics of the original "grammatical" gender based on the fundamental distinction of "person" and "thing". Another striking point is that in the *a-* declension the neuter nominative is really the *accusative* form. This is clearly another relic of the original "acted upon" gender.

But Sanskrit genders have been more or less regularised later on owing to the prevailing use of the secondary (*taddhita*) feminine endings ; -*ā* and -*ī* being regarded as special feminine endings. In this we find the working of analogy very largely.

Some primary (*kṛt*) endings are always feminine. These arc -*anā* (*jaraṇā, vadhanā*), -*ā* (*nindā, gamayā, aśvayā*), -*ū* (*vadhū, camū*), -*trā* (*aṣṭrā, mātrā*), -*thā* (*kāṣṭhā, gāthā*), -*nā* (*tṛṣṇā, senā*), -*mī* (*lakṣmī, sūrmī*). Action nouns made with suffixes -*ani, -i, -ti* are always feminine e.g., *araṇi, vartani; āji, kṛṣi; iṣṭi, rātt.*

Other *taddhita* suffixes making feminine nouns are -*ānī*, (*Indrānī, araṇyānī*),[6] -*tā* (mostly abstract nouns[7]) (*bandhutā, puruṣatā*), -*tāti* (or *tāt*) (*jyeṣṭhatāti, sarvatāt* or °*tāti*[8]) ; -*nī* (*patnī, enī,* fem. of *ena,* spotted deer).

Through all these we see that the majority of feminine nouns end in -*ā* or -*ī*. *Action* nouns in short -*i* are feminine but *agent* nouns in short -*i* are mainly masculine. e.g., *sarukṣani* (willing to destroy)[9], *pāṇi, dhūti* (shaker), *sapti* (horse),

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5. Quoted by Dr. ALICE WERMER in her book on *The Language Families of Africa.* p. 110.

6. Cf. *gorāṇi, ṭhakrāṇi, jeṭhāṇi, derāṇi* etc in Guj.

7. Having the sense of Eng. -*ship* or -*ness.*

8. Cf. *Haurvatāt, Ameretatāt* of the Avesta.

9. Root *tuj.*

abhiṣṭi (helper), *vṛkati* (murderer) are all masculine. This also bears out the arrangement in the diagram of the Law of Polarity.

As regards number all the modern Indo-European languages (except Lithuanian) have only two numbers, singular and plural. But it needed a very long development of mental powers to perceive that "one" and "more than one" include all numerative categories. We saw how some tribes do not possess more numerals than four. And such people have also four "numbers" for their nouns : "singular", "dual", "tri-al", and "plural". A relic of this ancient numeral system (doubtless helped by the four fingers—the thumb being regarded as separate and superior to the rest) is found in our monetary system 4 pies-making an anna and 16 (4 × 4) annas making a rupee. The calculation by *gaṇḍās* is still in use in many parts of South India.[10] Another indication of this old system of counting by fours is the Vedic form *aṣṭā* which is originally a dual implying probably "two fours".[11]

It seems, however, that the speakers of the Indo-European languages had arrived at the ultimate idea of "one" and "more" than one", as far as number was concerned long before the languages separated. In the Veda and in Greek among the older I.-E. languages, and in Gothic and Old Bulgarian (or Church Slavic) among later languages, the dual number was retained. But in all these the main idea was to express only those objects which always went in pairs, and here, too, it is often further amplified by the use of words like *dvau, ubhau* etc. E.g., *śive ca te dyāvā pṛthvī ubhe stām ; daivam ca mānuṣam ca hotārau vṛtvā ; indrasya harī ; aśvinā ; mitrāvaruṇā ; dvā suparṇā suyujā sakhāyā samānaṁ vṛkṣaṁ pariṣasvajāte.* Such dual formms as *hastau, pādau* etc. are self-explanatory.[12] Sometimes *ekāśeṣa* form is used e.g., *pitarā (pitarau), mātarā (mātarau)*[13], *dyāvā (=dyāvā-pṛthivī),uṣāsā (=uṣāsānaktā), mitrā (=mitrāvaruṇā)*. Another "natural" dual is the dual of the "pairs of opposites" or "pairs contrasted" such as *sukhaduḥkhe, jayājayau, śiśiravasantau, ahinakulau, Rāmarāvaṇau* etc. These types would be the only permissible dual, if we remember that the speakers of Sanskrit did, indeed, have very clear notions about numbers. But the rule *cārthe dvandvaḥ* made the use of the dual of any two objects possible, where there exists mere accidental but not any "natural" association, e.g., *kākakūrmau, śaṅkhakapālau* etc. This we may regard as an extension of the sense of the dual from "natural" duals (either by association or by contrast) to any two things accidentally brought together.

The plural number has got the well known usage of indicating respect (*mānārthe*) used either for oneself, as with royalty or great personages[14] or poets, e.g., where

10. The gills and pints of English measures, too, are probably similar relics.

11. The Greek and Latin forms are also duals. See MACDONELL, *A Vedic Grammar for Beginners*, p. 100, footnote 5. And it has been suggested that *nava,* which follows, implied the *new* number when the thumb also began to be counted.

12. Cf. *scissors, tongs, trousers, spectacles* etc. in English.

13. As in ṚV. i. 153.3 ; *śiśuṁ na mātarā* (vii. 2.5); viii. 99.6 ; vi. 32.2 ; *ni mātarā nayati retase bhuje,* He (Viṣṇu) leads both Parents down to show the genial flow) i. 155.3 : flow) 1. 155. 3 ; *anu te śuṣmam turayantam iyatuḥ kṣoṇī śiśun na mātarā,* the two worlds (*kṣoṇī* = Heaven and Earth) cling close to thy victorious might like both the parents to their child, vii. 99. 6.; *sa mātarā sūryeṇā kavīnām avāsayan,* with the Sun he (Indra) brightened the Parents (Heaven and Earth) of the sagges, Angirasas.

14. Cf. the "editorial" *we* in English.

the Sage says in *Uttararāmacarita, Savitū ca gurur vayam ca* ; or in *yūyam vayam vayam yūyam* etc. Then there is the plural indicating people dwelling in a land ; and certain words are always used in the plural, e.g., *āpaḥ*,[15] *prāṇāḥ, dārāḥ*. The word *dāra* is found used in the sing. in the *Āpastamba Sūtras* several times. All these are well known. There are also in the Veda a few instances of what might be called the *ekaśeṣa* plurals e.g., *dyāvaḥ* (= *dyauḥ, pṛthvī* and *antarikṣa*) and also *pṛthivīḥ* used in the same sense.[16]

A few words about concord of subject and verb as far as number is concerned might not be out of place. The verb usually takes the " combined number " of of subject, e.g., *tayor jaṛhatuh pādān rājā rājñī ca māgadhī* (Raghu., 1. 5), but all the subjects might not be expressed. Thus : *ā yad Indraś ca dadvahe*, when I and Indra received, viii. 34. 16[17]. One subject might be supplied from a previous sentence : *Prajāpatiḥ prajā asṛjata, tā Bṛhaspatiś cânvavaitām* (Prajapati created beings ; (he) and Bṛhaspati followed them ; Taitt. Sam.). For subjects connected by *vā* we are told that the verb should go with only one of them, usually the one nearest the verb, e.g., *te vā 'yam vā pāritoṣikam gṛhnātu*. But often with *ca* we find a singular verb, either (a) where the words more or less mean the same idea e.g., *tokam ca tasya tanayam ca vardhate* (ii. 25. 2) or (b) where there is a contrast intended, e.g., *pṛthivyā vai medhyam câmedhyam ca vyudakrāmat* (Mait. Sam.). But in all such constructions one has to look at the idea present in the mind of the speaker ; (a) whether it is intended that all the subjects be taken together or (b) whether the whole is to be one idea (as in *tokam ca tanayam ca* quoted above) or (c) whether each is to be taken separately. In the first case the verb in plural, in the other two singular. The sentence, in short, has to be construed *ad sensum*. Examples : *āyuḥ karma ca vittam ca vidyā nidhanam eva ca, pañcai-, tāny api sṛjyante garbhasthasyaiva dehinaḥ* (Hi.); *Indro vidur Aṅgirasāś ca.* (x. 108. 10); *saptaprakṛtayo hy etāḥ saptângam rājyam ucyate* (here the *saptaprakṛtayaḥ* and *sapângam rājyam* convey the same idea); *āhāranidrābhayamaithunam ca sāmānayam etat paśubhir narāṇām ; ahaś ra rātriś a ubhe ca sandhye dharmaś ca jñāti narasya vṛttam ; na mām trātum tātaḥ prabhavati na câmbā na bhavatī* (Mālatī.)

There is a peculiar verse in the Rāmāyaṇa which has to be construed *ad sensum*
> *tam pariṣvajya bāhubhyām tāvubhau Rāma-Lakṣmaṇau*
> *paryaṅke Sītayā sārdham rudantaḥ samaveśayan*
the change from dual to plural here is remarkable.

III. CASES (NOMINATIVE, VOCATIVE AND ACCUSATIVE)

In building up a sentence the mutual relations of the words of which it is made up must necessarily be indicated in order that the idea might be correctly conveyed to the hearer. These may be indicated in two ways. : (a) by the position of the words with reference to each other, and (b) by means of affixes.

We know that certain words must precede and certain words must follow as a

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15. The word has been used in the sing. also in the Avesta.
16. *trisro dyāvaḥ* (i. 35. 6); vii. 87. 5 ; vii. 101. 4 (*yasmin viśvāni bhūvanāni tasthus*
17. This seems to be one of the very rare instances of the dual number formed in the Vedic language.

rule ; for instance, the subject ushally comes before both the verb and the object. Often, for the sake of emphasis, this order might be changed. In spoken language the tone would be a sufficient guide ; but in written language other devices such as particles or affixes are used to make matters quite clear. As a rule also the adjective and the word it qualifies are put near each other, so also the possessor and the thing possessed and so forth.

Affixes are of two kinds : prefixes and suffixes. In Indo-European languages *grammatical* prefixes are unknown, though there are some prefixes modifying the sense of the word or form, such as the negative *a-* or *an-*, the augment *a-* in verbs (implying completed action), the prefixes *su-* and *dus-* and the so-called *upasargas*. Prefixes as grammatical devices are found in many languages ; for instance, the Semitic languages have many prefixes, the Ba-ntu family of languages of South Africa is an entirely prefix-adding language, and other languages have both grammatical prefixes as well as suffixes.

Recent opinion seems to indicate that all affixes have arisen ultimately from particles (mostly *avyayas*) which were either prepositions or post-positions. In the history of our vernaculars we find this very clearly exemplified.[1] And the most recent research in I.-E. linguistics also bears out this idea that the *pratyayas* of our ancient languages were mostly post-positions. They attained a definite value in course of time and thus they became affixes used in a definite manner. Indeed, long before the I.-E. languages separated into the various branches, the *pratyayas* had already lost all significance as independent post-positions.

We might go back into the history of primitive speech and try to trace out the growth of these prepositions and post-positions. When words had come and the language had definitely emerged into the word-stage, the construction of sentences obeyed certain rules, which might be termed the rules of " natural word order ". We must also remember that most words denoted concrete concepts as yet, and so the various devices of sentence-building—affixes, particles etc.—would be absolutely lacking. In languages at this early stage even simple ideas have to be expressed in a round-about fashion. Thus, in some of the languages of the Sudan region there is a complete absence of all such grammatical apparatus and ideas are expressed by mere juxtaposition of words in their " natural order ". Thus a sentence like " I go to the village " would be rendered " I go, reach village-inside "[2] Another sentence like " The man hit the dog with a stick " would become " The man took stick, the man hit the dog." In these languages it would be impossible to have such a simple sentence as " he jumped from the boat into the river." It would be put into three co-ordinate sentences : " he jumped, he left boat-inside, he fell river-inside ".

Here we see as yet such familiar words as " to ", " with ", " from ", " into " are absolutely unknown to these primitive people. It is only our extreme familiarity with these words that makes us oblivious of the extreme difficulty of grasping the concepts underlying these simple " labels ". If any one of us were to be asked to convey the meaning of these words to a foreigner, whose language we do not know, we

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1. We can trace similarly many prefixes of the modern European languages, e.g., English *-ly* which was originally *like* meaning originally " shape " or " form ".

2. The actual word used would mean " belly ". The idea of " inside " is as yet too abstract. Note, however, the working of metaphor already.

would be sorely puzzled.[3] We find also the "natural word-order" in the instances quoted and we also note that the nominative, the objective and the possessive cases can always be clearly expressed *by their position* in the sentence, however, primitive the language might be.

These are the "three fundamental cases". And it is noteworthy that these are the only three cases found in Semitic languages. In Arabic the nominative is the subject-case, and the accusative the object-case, and the genitive indicates by itself possession. All other case-relationships are indicated by means of the genitive plus a preposition, or, to put it according to the rule given in Arabic grammars, "all prepositions govern the genitive". For this reason the genitive is usually called the "oblique" case in many Arabic grammars.[4]

In the instances from the Sudan languages noted above we might note that the word with genitive force immediately precedes the possession. In fact we might almost be justified in putting a hyphen between the two words and in taking "village-inside", "boat-inside" and "river-inside" as instances of the *saṣṭhī tatpuruṣa*.

In fact compounds of the type of the *saṣṭhī tatpuruṣa* (and sometimes the *bahuvrīhi* and *karmadhāraya* also) are fairly common in all languages. In the Indo-European languages all the various branches show compounds of various types even from the earliest available records. The facility for making compounds of all sorts, is, in fact, one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Indo-European languages.[5]

The cases found in the Indo-European languages have arisen in two ways : (a) in connection with the verb and (b) through the connection with other nouns, and these were probably, originally, simple compounds.   •

Our Sanskrit grammars speak of *kāraka* and strictly speaking this term ought to be reserved for those cases which have connections with the *verb* in the sentence. For instance, take the English sentence "the teacher advises the pupil". In this we have two nouns and one verb and both these are obviously connected with the verb, It is also equally obvious that the connection is different in the case of each One noun—the first—is the "actor" the other is the "acted upon". In English this difference is indicated by the relative position of the two with respect to the verb, in the synthetic stage, as in Sanskrit, a difference of the *pratyaya* is ample, and the word order is secondary : *guruḥ śiṣyam upadiśati*, or *śiṣyam upadeśati guruḥ*, or any other word order.

Now take another sentence : "the teacher gives the pupil a book". Here we have *three* nouns connected with the verb and all three connections are different. The word "book" here has a sort of connection with the noun "pupil" also. This lies at the root of the use of the genitive in early Sanskrit with verbs of "giving".

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3. I remember conveying to a child (aged six), the concept of the English word "in" by the "direct method". The child was rather above average in intelligence, yet it took me nearly a hour before I succeeded. The reason was, my own ideas had to be clarified first.

4. In Gujarati, too, we can have all case relationships (except the three mentioned) expressed by the genitive plus a postposition : *tenā vaḍe* (ins.), *tenā māṭe* (dat.), *tenā thakī* (abl.) and *tenī māhe* (loc.). This means to be the real significance of the rule of Sanskrit grammar *sambandha sāmānye ṣaṣṭhi*.

5. We shall consider these in Section VI.

In English we may say " to the pupil " and make the sentence clearer ; but the accepted word order is quite sufficient. In Sanskrit this is the *sampradāna kāraka* and we use a different " case " : *guruḥ, śiṣyāya granthaṁ dadāti.*

Let us take one step further and have the sentence : " the teacher gives the pupil a book from the library ". Here the fourth noun, too, has some connection with the verb. In English we would use the preposition " from " to indicate this and in Sanskrit we may add *pustakâlayāt* to the previous sentence. But a question might be raised if the phrase " from the library " may not be taken as being more closely connected with the " book " than with " gives ". In that case it is not a *kāraka* in the strict sense of the term and it might be rendered in that case in English by the compound " library-book " and in Sanskrit by *pustakâlayagranthaṁ.*[6] The main point to be remembered is that " cases " denote connections of the nouns in a sentence with the verb in the sentence or with other words (chiefly nouns) in the sentence.

When the language is in a primitive stage there are already what have been called " percepts of syntactical relations ". These are at first expressed by means of the " natural word order ". Then new " syntactical percepts " came to be recognised, and as these accumulate, they come to be analysed and the common " concept " underlying several percepts is gradually brought out. This might be called the " syntactical concept " and when it is fully grasped it needs a " label ", just like any other word, and so are born the prepositions and post-positions, which play such an important part in every language and constitute the essential " idiom " of the language. The acquisition of these little particles is a very long process. Languages possessing them imply a long period of mental activity lying behind these. An example might make things a bit clearer. Take the three occasions of speech : " He kills the tiger *with* an arrow ", " He walks *with* his friend " and " He comes out of the shop *with* a book." In the English sentences we find two common factors expressed by the words " he " and " with ". It might need some thought to see the reason for the latter word and the concept it represents. This common concept is that " the arrow ", " the friend " and " the book " each of them " accompany the action " indicated. And this " *syntactical* concept of accompaniment " we label " with' ". It is obvious that it is not at all easy to get at this conccept. Even in a well-developed language like Sanskrit we have to render the first two of these sentences as *śareṇa vyāghram hanti, mitreṇa saha calati,* where the common factor is indicated by the " instrumental " case and in the second the help of the *saha* is needed to make the idea perfectly clear. But in the third sentence it would be absolutely wrong Sanskrit to translate it *pustakena paṇān niṣkrāmati.* The addition of *saha* might make the sentence just capable of being understood, but it would be poor Sanskrit, at any rate, not idiomatic. The rendering should be *pustakam gr̥hītvā paṇān niṣkrāmati.* So we see that different languages would form different ideas of these " syntactical concepts ".

When we come to consider the cases we find that there were seven cases in the Indo-European parent language. We do not here count the Vocative as a case, either as connected with a verb (*kāraka*) or as one connected with a noun. The Voca-

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6. Neither is very " elegant ".

tive is merely in the nature of an interjection or exclamation. There is no sacredness about this number seven. It has just happened that the Indo-European languages have arranged their "syntactical concepts" regarding nouns into seven divisions or categories. Other languages such as Finnish have as many fourteen cases. And even among the Indo-European languages one branch has developed special cases doubtless under the influence of "foreign" languages. There is the Tokharian branch, in which there are eight cases in the singular and nine in the plural. The two special ones in the singular are the Comitative (saha-) case and the Reason-case and the ninth in the plural is the Partitive Genetive. In the other ancient branches of the Indo-European family we find the cases getting reduced in numbers and two or more cases get fused together as regards their function ; as the table below would show :

Indo-European (Aryan)[7]		Greek		Latin		Germanic		Slavic
1. Nom.	=	Nom.	=	Nom.	=	Nom.	=	Nom.
2. Acc.	=	Acc.	=	Acc.	=	Acc.	=	Acc.
3. Ins.	=	Dat.	=	Abl.	=	Dat. or Gen.	=	Ins.
4. Dat.	=	Dat.	=	Dat.	=	Dat.	=	Dat.
5. Abl.	=	Gen.	=	Abl.	=	Gen.	=	Abl.
6. Gen.	=	Gen.	=	Gen.	=	Gen.	=	Abl.
7. Loc.	=	Dat.	=	Abl.	=	Dat.	=	Loc,

In the Krakrits and Pali the cases undergo a lot of mixing up. In the Prakrits the dative and genitive are fused together and in feminine forms the instrumental, ablative and locative come together. In Pali also a similar trend may be noted. The reason for this is partly "phonetic decay" of the endings but mainly the changing sense and regrouping of the various "syntactical concepts" associated with the cases. On the whole the Middle Indian period has been (as Woolner has remarked) one of the steady decay rather than of the introduction of new forms. Still, we do find a beginning made in these latter as well, as instanced by several alternative forms coming in for the ablative. New forms come in with the rise of the vernaculars and here we can clearly trace the case-suffixes to post-positions (avyayas) and with a variety of alternatives. Unfortunately the influence of Sanskrit grammatical terminology persists all through ; in fact it is supreme even today and so we have not yet clearly understood the true spirit which governed the growth of our vernaculars. It must be remembered that the true representatives of a language are not so much the "classical writers" as the common people who speak it. Least of all is language represented by learned pedants who air their Sanskrit in everything they write or speak. If the student looks to these alone he might get the idea that all our vernaculars are practically Sanskrit with only the addition of a few pratyayas and a few

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7. Or Indo-Iranian. It may be remarked that the instrumental is comparatively rare in the Iranian records.

common verbs and a few pronouns and particles.[8] This "Sanskrit-drunk" style has been very well burlesqued in Gujarati by Ramanbhai in his *Bhadram-Bhadra*. In order to get into the true spirit of our Vernaculars we have to go to folk-tales and folk-songs and village-dialects and the speech of our common people.[9] Above all we must forget all Sanskrit grammar.

And even Sanskrit itself has paid dearly for having had the privilege of being analysed by the greatest grammarian that ever lived. We saw already how the language "died" as the result of this remarkable feat of analysis. But what seems far worse is that most of the people learned Sanskrit grammar are utterly unable to enter into the *spirit* of that beautiful language. It is a most painful thing to find learned notes discussing why a particular word or phrase used by a poet like Kalidasa goes counter to some *sūtra* of Pāṇini. It reminds one of the well known line :

> *arasikeṣu kavitvanivedanam śirasi mā likha, mā likht, mā likht.*

Pāṇini merely dissects |*vi-ā-karoti*) the language as it existed in his days.[10] He is like a modern biologist, who dissects animals and plants, cuts thin sections out of various parts of the body, and puts them under the microscope. It is a marvellous piece of analysis, but it fails to bring out the beauty of the *living* form.

What we should try to do is to get at the *living* language. So our point of view must necessarily be different to that of the pure grammarian. We must look at the human mind behind he speech used, and not at the mere form. Only then the true beauty of language and the latent powers of the language would begin to be realised. Very truly some one has said :

> *mūrkho vadati Viṣṇāya jñānī vadati Viṣṇave*
> *dvayor eva samam puṇyam bhāvagrāhī Janārdanaḥ.*

One has to become *bhāvagrāhī* and that is what we shall now set about doing with regard to Sanskrit. The true spirit can be gathered from the pre-Pāṇinian literature —the Vedas (Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas) the Upaniṣads and the Epics and from the earlier prose writers, dramatists and poets. These embody *living* Sanskrit and we should consider them quite independently of Pāṇini's analysis. In the later *Mahākāvyas* and dramas and in works like *Daśakumāracarita, Kādambarī* etc. the lan guage is stilted and unnatural and, though immensely clever and learned, it is *no longer living*. Occasionally there are pieces of rare beauty even in the *Kādambarī* when the true poetic inspiration of the author breaks through the overlying thick crust of pedantry. No human being of flesh and blood and possessing human feelings could possibly have talked the language of the *Daśakumāracarita* and the *Kādambarī* or as the characters do in the prose passages of Bhavabhūti's dramas.

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8. I myself once read through a Bengali book after learnig only the alphabet, and understood most of it owing to the Sanskrit in it. It was years later that I studied Bengali and understood the true spirit of that language. I have also read translations of Sanskrit works into our vernaculars;—I would much rather read the original Sanskrit!

9. The address of BHULABHAI DESAI a few years ago as President of the Gujarati Sāhitya Parishad was, I think, the best ever delivered before that assembly just because he looked upon Gujarati as Gujarati, not as the bond-slave of Sanskrit.

10. He has not bothered much about the obsolete and archaic Vedic forms. He merely says *bahulam chandasi* and passes on.

The Nominative Case :

Coming now to the consideration of the cases one by one in their order we find that in the case of pronouns, especially of the 1st and 2nd persons very often the nomi-native is omitted in a sentence because the verbal ending is ample indication; as in phrases like, *nanu bhaṇāmi* ; *kim lajjase no manāk*. With the second person a pre-ceding vocative is also an indication, e.g., *kathaya nātha katham bata manyase*. In the Avesta there is what might be called an·emphatic or inclusive nominative of the first personal pronoun *azəm-cit* (=*aham-cit*) ‚meaning " I myself" or some-times " I and my colleagues". The phrases like *ayam janaḥ* for *aham* (cf. Pers. *bandeḥ*), and the use of *bhavān* (*atrabhavān, tatrabhavān* etc.) need not detain us here.

The use of the nominative as subject case is too well known to need exemplifi-cation. Similarly " the nominative in apposition" and the " predicative nominative" construed with roots like *bhū, as* etc. need no instances. In later Sanskrit the pas-sive construction often involves the change from the nominative to the instrumental to get the passive form but the spirit is certainly of the active voice, e.g., *araṇyam tena gantavyam* is a more emphatic manner of saying *araṇyam gacchet; asmābhir api tathā bhavitavyam* is neater than *vayam api tathā bhaviṣyāmaḥ*. This gradual domination of the passive construction over the active one is doubtless due to " foreign" influences from the non-Aryan aboriginals. Prof. S. K. Chatterji thinks that the Tibeto-Burman languages, once dominant all along the N-W. border, gave this feature to the Indo-Aryan languages. The Mohenjo-daro inscriptions, when properly deciphered, may throw some light on this problem. The passive construc-tion also dominates the vernaculars today and our vernacular grammars have ap-parently forgotten that the forms they give as " nominatives" are really instrumental originally. E.g., in Gujarati *te gayo* but *teṇ kām karyū* ; *māṇam bolyo* but *māṇase mane kahyū; chokrī gāī hatī* but *chokrī-e gīt gāyū*. The second of these pairs of sentences are in form passive and the so-called nominatives are originally instrumen-tals. Yet these forms are given in all our grammars as nominatives for *in spirit* at any rate the words *teṇe, māṇase* and *chokrī-e* are *subjects* of the action denoted. In Sanskrit the use of the passive construction especially of the 3rd person aorist in -*i*, the use of passive participles etc. begins fairly early. These might be further con-sidered under the instrumental also. Certain other peculiarities in the use of the nominative might be ‚considered. There is a·so-called " pre-dicative nominative" in sentences like *somam manyate papivān* (x. 85. 3); *kaththase satyavādī* (Rām.) ; *Indro brāhmaṇo bruvāṇaḥ* (Taitt. Sam.); where strict grammar needs *papivantam, satyavādinam* and *brāhmaṇam* respectively, with perhaps *ātmānam* added to make the sentence clearer.[11] One point to be noted in all these there examples is the *ātmanepada* of the verb and also the other point that the " predicative nominative" in each refers to the same person as the subject of the sentence. But in passive constructions such as *tvam ucyase pitā* (i. 31. 14) the nominative is more difficult to explain. In *kṛṣṇo rupam kṛtvā* (Taitt. Sam.) it seems to be a clear case of " contamination", i.e., two sentence constructions arising almost simultaneously within the mind of the speaker, and thus overlapping each other. Here it might have been *kṛṣṇo* (*bhūtvā*) and (*nijam*) *rupam* (*kṛṣṇam*) *kṛtvā*. Such " contaminations" are possible chiefly in a *living* language. ·

11. As in *ātmānam rathinam viddhi.*

A, peculiar use of the nominative is with the *iti*. The *iti* as it were takes the words preceding it quite out of the sentence and hence the nominative is the case used. Examples : *vidarbharājātanayām damayantīti viddhi mām* (Nala.); *svargo loka 'iti yam vadanti* (AV.); *ajñam hi bālam ity āhuḥ pitety eva tu mantradam* (Manu); *sakheti matvā prasabham yad uktam* (Bh. G.). In the previous instances of the so-called predicative nominatives, too, the insertion of the *iti* would make things grammatically quite correct.

Another peculiar use of the nominative is when it is "yoked"' with a vocative: *Indraś ca somam pibatam Bṛhaspate* (Indra and (thou), O Bṛhaspati, drink (ye two) the Soma ; iv. 50. 10); *Viśve-Devā yajamānaś ca sīdatā* (O ye All-Gods, and the Sacrificer, be ye seated ; Taitt. Sam.).[12]

In some instances the nominative is to be inferred from the vocative : *yūyam hi ṣṭhā, Sudānavāḥ* (Ye are indeed (liberal)—O liberal ones ; i. 15. 2); *abhūr eko rayi-pate rayīṇām* (Thou alone has been (the lord of riches)—O Lord of riches ; vi. 31. 1.)

The Vocative Case :

Before passing on to the other cases the Vocative might be considered. This is a sort of interjection ; it "forms no part of the sentence to which it is attached; but is only an external appendage to it".[13] And consequently the vocative is unaccented unless at the beginning of a sentence or a *pāda*. Whenever the vocative takes an accent it is always on the first syllable quite irrespective of the original accent of the noun. Examples. *Sīte vándāmahe tvā* (iv. 57. 6). The vocative in fact is ignored in the main sentence construction. The same rule holds good in later Sanskrit also We have a rule that when a vocative is the first word in a sentence it cannot be fol-lowed by an enclitic (or an accentless word)[14] for no enclitic may begin a sentence. Thus we should say *vayasya mama gṛham etat* (not *me*); *Devâsmān pāhi sarvadā* (not *naḥ*).

When several vocatives come at the beginning of a sentence each is accented on the first syllable as if each began the sentence, just because the preceding vocative is "no part of the sentence". If several of these constitute one group, i.e., convey one idea, then the whole has *one* accent on the first syllable of the whole group. But if they are independent (co-ordinate) vocatives, then each gets the accent on the first sylable ; *sá no Vívebhir Devébhir ūrjonapād bhádraśoce, rayím dehi viśvá-vāram* (viii. 71. 3). Note here how the main subject grammatically is *sah*, but the verb is *dehi*, the 2nd pers. being due to the vocative. In this example there are two distinct epithets "O son of strength, O propitiously bright one," and both have the accent on the first syllable. These evidently are regarded as *two* distinct ideas, hence two accents, one for each vocative.[15] But in *tāv Aśvinā bhadrahastā supāṇī ā dhā-*

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12. In Greek also such constructions are found.

13. WHITNEY, *Sanskrit Grammar*, §594a.

14. Such as *ca*, *vā*, the shorter forms of the 1st and 2nd personal pronouns and the alternative (*ena-*) forms of *etad*.

15. MACDONELL, *Vedic Grammar* (p. 466, footnote 1) says that "the second voc. is accented as in apposition," which means much the same thing, that the two are regarded as separate.

vatam (may ye, O Aśvins, of propitious and beautiful hands rush hitherwards; i. 109. 4) the two epithets are regards as one. Note also *tau* and *dhāvatam.* Consider also *ā Rājānā mahartasya Gopā* ; where the vocatives not being at the beginning there is no accent. But in the following *pāda* we get *Gópā Sindhupati Kṣatriyā yātam arvák* (Kings (M. and V.), guardians of the Great Law, Protectors, Lords of Rivers, warriors, come hitherwards ; vii. 64.2). Note that *the whole phrase—mahartasya Gopā—*is a vocative and is treated the same way as *Rājānā,* hence there is no accent whatever.

The Accusative Case :

This is primarily the case of the object of a transitive verb, or in a more extended sense " the goal of action " denoted by the verb. The action may not necessarily be expressed by the finite form of a verb (i.e., by a *tiṅ-anta*) but it may be implied by a participle or a gerund or an infinitive or one of the very numerous verbal derivatives. In other words, not merely the finite verbal form but any of the verbal derivatives can " govern " an accusative. The derivatives might even be nouns or adjectives or any other parts of speech.

Of the ordinary accusatives (objects of a finite verb) examples are too well known ; but accusatives governed by participles and other derivatives etc. might be given : *namó bharanta emasi* (i. 1. 7); *Damayantīm abhīpsavaḥ* (Mbh.); *didrkṣur Janakātmajām* (Rām.); *Droṇaṁ praticikīrṣayā* (Mbh. here the accusative is partly due to the force of *prati*); *svargam abhikāṅkṣayā* (Rām.); *sisrkṣur vividhāḥ prajāḥ* (Manu); *sarvayoṣidvarā Kṛṣṇā niniṣuḥ kṣatriyān kṣayam* (Mbh.);[17] *kāmukā enam striyo bhavanti ye evam veda* (Taitt. Sam.); *lambhuko ha vāso bhavati* (he surely gets a dress ; Chh. Up.); *sarvāṇi bhūtāni garbhy abhavat* (He became impregnated with all beings, Śat. Br.); *Mithilām avarodhakaḥ* (besieger of Mithilā ; Rām); *Indratvam arho rājyām tapasā* (Mbh.); *narapatir netā prajāḥ* (the king the leader of his subjects ; Pañc.); *hantā yo vrtram sanitota vājam, dātā maghāni* ,iv. 17. 8); *tau hidam sarvam hartārau* (Jai. Br.); *tyaktārah saṁyuge prāṇān* (risking their lives in battle ; Mbh.); *sambhāvayitā budhān, prabhāvayitā sevakān, udbhāvayitā bandhūn, nyagbhāvayitā śatrūn* (Daśa.)[18] ; *tā somam Somapātamā* (i. 21. 6 ; refers to Indrāgnī); *babhrir vajram, papiḥ somam, dadir gāḥ* (vi. 23. 4); *tam nivāraṇe* (Mbh) ;*svamāṁsam iva bhojane* (Rām.); *samatsu turvaṇiḥ prtanyūn* (overcoming foes in battles ; iv. 20. 1).

Extending the idea of " the object of a verb " is the " goal of action ", particularly the accusative used with verbs of motion : *tā (prajāḥ) Varuṇam agacchan* (Tait. Sam.); *Indram stomāś caranti* (to Indra fare the songs of praise ; x. 47. 7); *saraj jāro na yoṣaṇām* (he sped like a lover to a maiden ; ix. 101. 14); *Ayodhyām unmukhaḥ* (with Ā. as goal ; Rām.); *Damayantīm anuvrataḥ* (faithful unto Damayanti, i.e., following her as his highest ideal ; Mbh.). This usage is Indo-European and is found in every branch of this family. The goal of motion need not be physi-

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16. I have drawn upon WHITNE*u*, SPEIJER, MACDONELL ans APTE for instances.

17. Note the double acc. with root *ni.*

18. This instance is remarkable as from a later age. With agent nouns in *-tr* the usual construction in classical Skt. is with the gen., e.g., *netā prajānām* etc. SPEIJER remarks (Sanskrit Syntax, p. 40) that the construction with the acc. in the early language was quite " obvious and natural ".

cal, nor need the motion itself be physical ; very early the construction came to be used metaphorically and instances of this are to be found at all periods in all the Indo-European languages. Some examples may be quoted : *jagāma manasā Rāmam* (Rām.); *paścād Umâkhyām sumukhī jagāma* (Kum.); *taccintayā dainyam agaccham* (Daśa.); *Sakuntalām patikulam visṛjya* (Śak.)[19]; *netā aśvasya Srughnam* (the transporter of the horse to Srughna); *nītā katipayâhobhiḥ sakhīvisrambhasevyatām* (Mālatī); *āpadām āpatantīnam hīto 'pyâyāti hetutām* (Hi.); *etan mām bhajati* (it falls to my share ; this might also be put down as accusative of goal of·motion); *tava kratubhir amṛtatvam āyan* (vi. 7. 4); *samaiś ca samatām eti* (Hi.); *sa gacched vadhyatām mama* (Mbh.); *pañcatvam gataḥ ; kathāṣṣatām nītā*. In the passive this acc. of goal becomes the subject : *gantavyā purī Vārāṇasī mayā; gaṁsyate so 'rthaḥ* (this meaning will be understood).

The idea of goal of motion is extended also to speaking ; the words reaching the goal (the person for whom they are intended), *prākriśad uccair Naiṭadham* (Mbh.); *sa hovāca pitaram* (Kaṭh. Up.).

"Cognate accusatives" are common to all Indo-European languages and are found in all stages of the language : *tapo 'tapyata ; samānam añjy aṅkte* (vii. 57. 3); *na putrarodam roditi*)Chh. Up.); *paśumāram amārayat* (he killed him as one kills a beast ; Mbh.); *te haitām edhatum edhāṁcakrire* (they prospered with that prosperity ; Śat. Br.); *uṣitvā sukhavāsam* (Rām.). In the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads we get the regular phrase *brahmacaryam uvāsa*, where the "cognate accusative" seems to have been suppressed.

The accusative is often used not as the object goverened by a verb but *adverbially* indicating time or space : *babhūva hi samā bhūmiḥ samantāt pañcayojanam* (Rām.); *pratīikṣyatām kañcit kālam* (Daśa.); *śatam jīva śarado vardhamānaḥ* (x. 161. 4); *tasmāt sarvān ṛtūn varṣati* (Taitt. Sam.·); *krośam kuṭilā nadī* (the river bends for the distance of one *krośa*); *patasi yojanā purū* (ii. 16. 3); *aty atiṣṭhad daśâṅgulam* (x. 90. 1); *saptadaśapravyādhān ājim dhāvanti* (they run a race a distance of 17 arrow-flights ; Taitt. Br.); *tisro rātrīḥ vratam caret* (Taitt. Sam.).

There are some idiomatic uses of the accusative : *gām dīvyadhvam* (gamble for a cow, Mait. Sam.); *vi yat sūryo no rocate bṛhadbhāḥ* (when like the Sun he beams forth lofty light ; vii. 8. 4).

Some "adverbs" now classed as *avyayas* are in origin accusative forms ; *śīghram, channam* (secretly), *sabahumānam, naktam, kāmam, ciram, balavat* (as in *balavad vāti*), *pūrvam, nityam, satyam, prakāśam* etc. The word *nāma* is also an accusative originally. In the same syntactical category are the *avyayībhāva* compounds. These last are distinctly of a later growth, especially those with *yathā* and other relative abverbs.

The accusative is "governed" by more prepositions than any other case. This is but natural because the majority of Sanskrit prepositions (later-*upasargas*) express motion or action towards something. In the Vedic period the prepositions, being free, go with nouns, whereas in later Sanskrit we know them as *upasargas* and we have rules about verbs with certain *upasargas* governing certain cases.

Regarding constructions with two accusatives, the rules of classical Sanskrit are

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19. Note the double acc. in this instance.

well known. But a few examples from earlier literature will show that these construc-
tions were then more extensive and formed with other verbs than those of the well
known list, *duh yāc pac* etc. : *tvām aham satyam icchāmi* (Rām. ; here *icchāmi* might
be almost equivalent to " ask " or " demand "); *tvām vayam śaraṇam gatāḥ* (Mbh.);
Sītā cânvetu mām vanam (Rām.); *supeśasam mā 'vasṛjanty astam* (they let me
go home well adorned; v. 30. 13); *vṛkṣam pakvam phalam dhūnuhi* (iii. 45. 4).
In *draṣṭum icchāva putram paścimadarśanam* (Rām.), the second accusative is
clearly adverbial (for the last time).

IV. CASES (INSTRUMENTAL, DATIVE, ABLATIVE, GENITIVE, LOCATIVE)

The Instrumental Case :

The first idea of the instrumental is sociative i.e., of accompaniment or associa-
tion as in *devo devebhir āgamat* (i. 1. 5); *marudbhir Agna ā gahi* (i. 19. 9); *śaśinā
saha yāti kaumidī, saha meghena taḍit pralīyate* (Kum. where the ins. is strengthened
by *saha*); *Indreṇa yujā tamasā parivṛtam Bṛhaspate nūr apām abjo arṇavam* (ii. 23.
18); *kathayan Naiṣadhena* (Mbh). From this association with a person there
comes the accompaniment of a thing, as in *Indro no rādhasā gamat* |iv. 55. 10);
ut Sūryo jyotiṣā deva eti (iv. 13. 1) ; *yena mantreṇa juhoti tad 'Yajuḥ* (the mantra
which accompanies the oblation is Yajus ; Śat. Br.); *varo mahatā vādyaśabdenâ-
gacchati)Pañc.*); *cūtent saṃśritavatī navamālikā* (Śāk.) The next step takes us
to the instrument or the person accompanying the action, the means through which
the action is performed or the agent performing the action. Instances are compara-
tively rare. *ahan Vṛtram Indro vajreṇa* (i. 32. 5); *śīrṣṇā bījaṃ vahanti* (Śat. Br.);
vayam Indreṇa sanuyāma vājam (through the agency or help of Indra ; i. 101. 11);
pūrayan kīcakarandhrabhāgān darīmukhotthena samīraṇena (Kumāra.); *titikṣamā-
ṇaḥ pareṇa nindām* (i.e., *pareṇa kṛtām nindām*); *guṇeṣu yatnaḥ puruṣeṇa
kāryaḥ* (Mṛccha.).

The instrumental in the passive is essentially the instrumental of the agent :
vyādhena jālam vistīrṇam (Hi.); *kim atra mayā śakyam* (Mālatī.); *pūrvyebhir
ṛṣibhir īḍyaḥ* (i. 1. 2.). With causals the passive construction is noteworthy ; *tām
śvabhiḥ khādayed rājā* (Manu); *tā Varuṇena grāhayat* (he caused them to be seized
by Varuṇa ; Mait. Sam.). In the following verse the instrumentals are also of the
nature of agents with passive construction :

> *saṅgrāmâṅgaṇamāgatena bhavatā cāpe samāropite,*
> *devâkarṇaya yena yena sahasā yadyat samāsāditam ;*
> *kodaṇḍena śarāḥ, śarair ariśiras, tenâpi bhūmaṇḍalam,*
> *tena tvam, bhavatā ca kīrtir atulā, kīrtyā ca lokatrayam.*

Instrumentals are also used as indicating causes (cf. Eng. " by reason of ")
though the usual construction is with the ablative : *somasya pītyā girā...ā gatam*
(Come, (O Aśvinas) by reason of the Soma drink and our hymn ; i. 46. 13); *phalenai-
taj jñāsyasi ; vidyayā yaśaḥ ; prītyā dānam ; jaṭābhis tāpasam apaśyam* (that he
was an ascetic was evident from his *jaṭā* ; Kādam.); *audâryenâvagacchāmi nidhanam
tapasām 'idam* (Rām.); *anvamīyata śuddheti śāntena vapuṣaiva sā* (Raghu.); *nâham
vidyâvikrayam śāsanaśatenâpi karomi* (I would not sell knowledge even though

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punished a hundred times ; i.e., by reason of fearing punishment ; Pañc.); *na devāya na viprāya na bandhubhyo na câtmane kṛpaṇasya dhanam yāti vahni-taskara-pārthivaiḥ* (on account of fire etc.; Hi.); *vividhair drumaiḥ kānanam* (Rām.); *yajñais tu Devān prīṇāti svādhyāyatapasā Munīn* (the causes of pleasing 'the Devas and the Munis are in the instrumental ; Mbh.); *kṣudhā tṛṣā ca kliśyam* (Daśa.); *bhartur viprakṛtâpi roṣaṇatayā mā sma pratīpam gamaḥ* (Śāk.); *mahān prajñayā paśubhir bhavati mahān kīrtyā* (Chh. Up.); *harṣeṇa naṣṭâsyāḥ kṣun na rāgataḥ* (note here the close association of the instrumental and the ablative ; Kathās).

Instrumentals are also used for comparison to show equality and sometimes also superiority and inferiority. Here, too, the usual construction is with the ablative. The idea at bottom seems to be that the two things are set side by side (in association, as it were) for the purpose of comparison. *aham jyotiḥ Sūryeṇa* (AV); *anena sadṛśo loke na bhūto na bhaviṣyati* (Hi.); *yeṣām aham na pādarajasā tulyaḥ* (Mbh); *prāṇaiḥ priyatarau mama* (Rām.); *apakramaṇam eva sarvakāmair aham vṛṇe* (above all other desires, above everything else ; Rām. Some would translate as "with all my heart", but this is not so good as "above all other desires"); *api tvadāvarjitavārisambhṛtam pravālamāsam anubandhi vīrudhām cirojjhitâlaktakapāṭalena te tulām yad ārohati dantavâsacā* (here the idea of comparison, *tulām yad ārohati*, is brought out beautifully by the great poet ; Kumāra.); *tejasā yaśasā vīryād atyaricyata* (note the association here also of the instrumental and the ablative ; Mbh.), *dvau putrau vanitā vavre kadrūputrâdhikau bale tejasā vapuṣā caiva* (here the association of the locative with two instrumentals might be noted ; Mbh.) The ins. of price is an extension of the ins. of comparison ; the price and the object being as it were balanced together ; e.g., *gavām śatasahasreṇa dīyatām Śabalā mama* (Rām.); *sa te 'kṣahṛdayam dātā rājā 'śvakṛdayena vai* (the king shall give thee the secret of dice in exchange for the secret of horses ; Mbh.)

The instrumental is essentially a sociative case while the ablative is essentially a case of separation, exactly examplified in *yasyāḥ saṅgena jīvyeta mriyeta ca viyogataḥ* (Pañc.). Hence by a sort of "analogy by contrast" we often get the instrumental used in the sense of "separation". In English also we say "differ from" and "differ with" ; "part from" and "part with". Examples : *mahatâpy enaso māsāt tvacevâhir vimucyate* (here, too, the contrast of the ablative *enasaḥ* and the instrumental *tvacā ;* Manu); *Sītādevyā Rāmo viṣehe virahavyathān* (here the *sandhi* might have been with °*devyāḥ* (ablative); but it is more idiomatic to take it as the instrumental °*devyāḥ* ; Kathās.); *ayam ekapade tayā viyogaḥ priyaya copamataḥ suduḥsaho me* (Vikramo.); *anyasya kṣaṇikā prītir anyaḥ prāṇair vimucyate* (Hi.); *pāpmanaivainam vi punanti* (verily, they cleanse him from evil ; Mait. Sam.); *tuṣair akhaṇḍais taṇḍulān pṛthakcakāra* (Daśa.). Even more anomalous is the use of the *saha* for indicating separating as in *bhartrā saha viyoga* (Mbh.). In the same category is to be counted the instrumental of bodily defects, e.g., *pādena khañjaḥ ; rūpeṇa vikṛtaḥ* (Rām.); *ya evam veda nâṅgena vihūrchati* |he who knows this is not crippled in any limb ; Chh. Up.). Such phrases as *virudhya te śatruṇā* is also a similar instance of "analogy by contrast".

In some cases the instrumental is the "instrumental of circumstances" accompanying the action. Examples : *tasya sakāśam gatvā bhrātṛsnehenaikatra bhakṣaṇapānaviharaṇakriyābhiḥ ekasthānâśrayeṇa kālo neyaḥ* (Pañc.); *anena vārtāvyati-*

karena rajanī vyuṣṭā (Pañc.);*akleśena śarīrasya kurvīta dhana sañcayam* (Manu). In some of these cases the "circumstances" constitute a quasi-independent clause giving to the instrumental the value of an "absolute case". In this the clause is without a finite verb and the relation of it with the main part of the sentence is that of "circumstances". Theoretically any case may be used as an "absolute case". The main idea seems to be that the circumstances thus depicted are not directly connected with the main theme of the sentence. Usually the "subject" of the "absolute clause" is different, but not always. This might be called the "instrumental absolute" : *Damanakasācivyena Piṅgalako rājyam akarot* (Damanaka being the minister, Piṅgalaka ruled ; Pañc.); *na tvayātra mayāvasthitena kāpi cintā kāryā* (Pañc.); *na devi tava duḥkhena svargam apy abhirocaye* (Heaven itself would not attract me, my queen, when grief is thine ; Rām.). There are some other instances of the use of the instrumental which might be classified as "instrumental absolute", e.g., *sakhi bhuktaiḥ phalair etair jarā na te bhaviṣyati* (these fruits being eaten); *sa coddhṛtabāṇena sahasā svargam āsthitaḥ* (as soon as he had drawn out the arrow he went up to heaven ; Rām.); *samastaiḥ śatrubhir hatair annam pānam cāsvādayiṣyāmi* (Pañc.); *bhadra na bhetevyam asmadvidhair mitrair vidyamānaiḥ* (Pañc.); *tathā samakṣam dahatā manobhavam Pinākinā bhagnamanāratha satī ni- ninda rūpam hṛdayena Pārvatī* (Kumāra.); *Lakṣamaṇena sahāyyena vanam gac- cchasva putraka* (Rām.). In the last instance the instrumental might be taken as purely "sociative", but it may be taken as "Lakṣamaṇa being thy companion, thou mayest go to the forest". Such instances on the border-line, where one idea melts insensibly into another, show how these different usages have arisen.

A few idiomatic uses of the instrumental may now be noted. There are instrumentals of space or path : *divā yānti Maruto bhūmy Āgnir ayam Vāto antarikṣeṇa yāti* (i. 161. 14 ; cf. English "go by this path"); *Sarasvatyā yānti* (they go along the Sarasvatī ; Taitt. Sam.); *udnā na nāvam anayanta* (v. 45. 10 ; cf. "to travel by water); *eha yātam pathibhir devayānaiḥ* (i. 183. 6); *ekayā yāty anāvṛttim anya- yāvartate punaḥ* (Bh. G.); *tayor vrajator yojanadvayamātreṇāgrataḥ kācin nadī samu- pasthitā* (within a distance of two yojanas ; Pañc.). There are instrumentals of time : *dvādaśabhir varṣair vyākaraṇam śrūyate* (Pañc.); *sa kāleneha mahatā yogo naṣṭaḥ Parantapa* (Bh. G. ; cf. Eng. "with the passage of time"). More difficult to explain would be such instances as : *mayā svajīvanamātreṇaiva sthāpitau* (Mudrā.); *acirād asau śarīreṇaiva na bhaviṣyati* (Prabodha.); *putrair api śapāmahe* (we swear even by our children ; Mṛccha.); *Devās tenāham satyena mā virādhiṣi brahmaṇā* (Oh ye Gods, by this truth, may I not fall from Brahman ; Chh. Up. Here *tena satyena* is equivalent to *yathā mayoktam satyam tena satyena*—by the truth I have uttered. The second instrumental *brahmaṇā* is again due to "analogy by contrast"); *guṇair na parituṣyāmaḥ* (Mudrā.); *jahāsa tena sa nṛpaḥ* (the king laughed at it)Kathā. In the last two instances we may see the instrumental of reason); *bhartur ājñām ādāyā mūrdhnā Madanaḥ pratasthe* (Kumāra. metaphorical carrying); *Kālidāsagrathitavastunā navena nāṭakenopasthātavyam asmābhiḥ* (Śāk.); *alam ativistareṇa ; sadaivopavitinā bhāvyam sadā baddhaśikhena ca* (Manu ; an "impersonal" construction); *tasya ca śabdānurūpeṇa parākrameṇa bhāvyam* (his prowess should be in proportion to his voice ; Pañc. Here the idea of comparison is also working); *bhuṣaṇaiḥ kim prayojanam* (a 'reason' or 'cause' instrumental

in an interrogative sentence); *bhāryayârthī* (desirous of getting a wife ; Rām); *ete-ṣam madhye kecid areḥ koṣadantibhyām arthinaḥ kecid viṣayeṇa* (of these some long for the treasure and elephants of the foe, and some for his domains ; Mudrā. In the last two instances we may explain the instrumentals as reasons for the longing).

Many instrumentals are adverbial in function and some have now become stereotyped as adverbs : *avajñayā na dātavyam kasyacil līlayâpi vā* (one should not give a gift contemptuously nor jestingly ; Rām.); *na kauṭilyena vartate* (Pañc.); *dūreṇa hy avaram karma buddhiyogād Dhanañjaya* (Bh. G.; cf. Eng. "by far the lower"); So also *prāyeṇa, sahasā, sahobhiḥ, sukhena, kṛcchreṇa, acireṇa, añjasā* (straightaway), *mahobhiḥ, uccaiḥ, śanaiḥ, uttareṇa* etc. In the Veda these instrumentals used as adverbs are often indicated by a shift of accent *divâ ; svapnayâ* (in a dream); *āśuyâ* (quickly); *raghuyâ* (swiftly) *mithuyâ* (*mithyā*); *amuyâ* (in this place).

Prepositions governing instrumental are *saha*, and those having the element *sa-*, and *vinā* (itself the ins. of *vi*). These are practically the only two prepositions used with this case. In RV. *adhi* is also found, and *upa* in only three passages ; *sam* is also found a few times. One peculiar use of the instrumental is with numerals to indicate deficiency ; *ekayā na triṁśat ; dvābhyāṁ nāśītim ; pañcabhir na catvāri śatāni* (395) (all in Śat. Br.). Other cases are also used in such constructions, mainly the ablative.

The Dative Case :

The real sense of the Dative is to indicate the person *to* whom or *for* whom something is done or who is regarded as chiefly affected or interested. In that sense the dative is chiefly of persons, rarely of things. Another sense of the dative ("the dative of things", it might be called) is that of "the indirect object", and in that usage it approaches the accusative pretty closely.

The most usual sense associated with the dative is that of giving (*sampradānam*); the word *dative* means "the case of giving" (√*dā*) and its various extensions of imparting (information), sending, offering etc. etc. E. g., *dadāti dāśuṣe vasūni* (vii. 27. 3); *kasmai Devāya haviṣā vidhema* (x. 121. 1); *Vidurāya caiva Pāṇḍuḥ preṣayāmāsa tad dhanam* (Mbh.); *imam Vivasvate yogam proktavān aham avyayam, Vivasvān Manave prāha, Manur Ikṣvākave 'bravit* (Bh. G.); *apahnuvān asmai janāya nijām adhīratām* (Naiṣadha. ; here the idea is concealing, i.e., *not imparting* to others, a sort of "analogy by contrast"). There is the peculiar use of √*sthā* in *ātmanepada—tiṣṭhate* in the sense of *ātmānam prakāśayati* which would come under this heading when used with the dative ; e.g., *tiṣṭhate Vṛṣalī grāmaputrebhyaḥ* (V. manifests herself amongst the village youngsters ; instanced in the Kāśikāvṛtti). Similar are *āvir Agnir abhavan Mātariśvane* (i. 143. 2); *Ṛtuparṇam Bhīmāya pratyāvedayaṁ* (introducing Ṛtuparṇa to Bhīma ; Mbh.).

This sense may be extended metaphorically to giving attention to, or directing emotions (anger, love etc.) towards a person or thing : e.g., *yad dudrohitha striyai puṁse* (the mischief thou hast done to women and men ; AV.); *ayam ha tabhyam Varuṇa hṛṇīte* (Varuṇa is indeed angry with thee ; vii. 86. 3); *tasmād evam viduṣe brāhmaṇāyaivam cakruṣe kṣatriyo na druhyet* (Ait. Br.); *gsūyanti sacivopadeśāya kupyanti hitavādine* (Kādam.); *prītābhyaḥ prajābhyaḥ priyam icchanti rājānaḥ* (Mudrā.); *dasyave vṛkaḥ* (viii. 52. 2); *spṛhayāmi rājñe Daśarathāya* (Mahāvīra.);

nâyodhyāyai na rājyāya spṛhaye (Rām.); *tathâpi Rāmo lulubhe mṛgāya; manora-thāya nâśaṁse* (I do not hope—I do not direct my hope that—I get my wish; Śāk.).

Another use of the dative is to indicate motion (physical or metaphorical) to-wards something or somebody. This dative is to be sharply distinguished from the "accusative of motion", for the latter indicates that *the end or the goal of motion has been reached,* whereas the dative tells us merely of the motion directed towards it. The loc. is also used with motion. The acc. gives the idea primarily of the *motion* in a direction, the dative gives the goal or the *direction* (a sort of reason) for the motion, the locative concentrates on the idea of *reaching* the goal and *resting there.* Thus, *grāmāya gacchati* implies that the person has started with the purpose of reaching the place, whereas *grāmam gacchati* means that the place has been reach-ed. The dative can never be used in the latter sense. Examples : *nagarāyodacalam* (I started out for the town ; Daśa.); *dūḍāśe asyasi* (Thou dischargest (thy missile) at the sinner ; AV.); *sṛjad astā didyum asmai* (the archer shot a blazing bolt at him ; i. 71. 5); *vajram bhrātṛvyāya praharati* (Taitt. Sam); *cikṣipuḥ paramakrud-dhā Rāmāya rajanīcarāḥ* (Rām.); *Kusumapurāya Karabhakaṁ preṣayāmi* (Mudrā; the sense here is I am staring K. on the way to Kusumapura); *saṁhṛtya yuddham yayatuḥ svaniveśāyobhaye bale* (stopping the fight both armies started for their res-pective camps ; Kathā); *aśakāya pādam prahiṇoti* (lifts her foot to kick ; metaphori-cally ; Mālavikâ.); *tad ānantyāya kalpate* (Kaṭh. Up.); *vātāya kapilā vodyut* (lightn-ing is the forerunner of a hurricane ; Mbh.); *paścāt putrair apahṛtabharaḥ kalpate viśra-māya* (Vikramor.); *kṛṇvānāso amṛtatvāya gātum* (constructing the path to immor-tality ; i. 72. 9); *dehavimuktaye sthitā Ratiḥ* (Rati stood prepared to give up her body ; Kumāra.).

The "dative of concern" is one of the commonest uses of this case. It indicates the person to whom the result of the action accrues. This use of the dative has been gradually replaced by other cases especially the genitive and the accusative. Exam-ples : *Devān devayate yaja* (worship the Gods for the sake of the pious ; i. 15. 12); *darbhān ṛtvigbhya upaharāmi* (Śāk.); *tasmai pratikuruṣva* (do to him in return, requite him ; Mbh.); *Yamāya ghṛtavad havir juhota* (x. 14. 14); *ādhivyādhi-parītāya adya śvo vā vināśane ko hi nāma śarīnāya dharmâpetam samācaret* (for the sake of such a body who should act contrary to religion ; Kāmanda.).

The other very common use of the dative is the "dative of purpose" indicating the result desired to be attained by the action : *gṛhaṇāmi te saubhagatvāya hastam* (Āś. Gṛ. Sū.); *rāṣṭrāya mahyam bādhyatām (maṇim) sapatnebhyaḥ parābhuve* (bind on (the gem) to me for the sake of my kingdom, and for the overcoming of my foes ; AV. The *sapatnebhyaḥ* is dat. by "attraction", as explained below. In this instance both the dative of concern (*mahyam*) and the dative of purpose have been used); *gaccha tvam svavyāpārāya* (go about your own business ; Ven.); *ūrdhvas tiṣṭhā na ūtaye* (stand up for our help ; i. 30. 6); *adhi śriye Duhitā Sūryasya ratham tasthau* (the daughter of the Sun has mounted the chariot for beauty, i.e., to pro-duce the beautiful effects of dawn ; vi. 63. 5); *tenaivainam saṁ sṛjati śāntyai* (with him (Mitra) he unites him (Agni) in order to gain peace ; Taitt. Saṃ.); *asti hi ṣma madāya vaḥ* (here is something for your intoxication ; i. 37. 15); *ity uktvā tapase yayau*)Rām.); *ārtatrāṇāya vaḥ śastram* (Śāk.); *upadeśo hi mūrkhāṇam prakopāya na śāntaye* (Hi.); *paritrāṇāya sādhūnām vināśāya ca duṣkṛtām*

dharmasaṁsthāpnârthāya sambhavāmi yuge yuge (Bh. G.); *sugopā asi na dabhāya* (Thou art a good shepherd, not to be deceived, lit. not for deceit ; v. 44. 2); *tvarate me manaḥ saṅgrāmâvataraṇāya* (Ven.); *gamyatām punardarśanāya* (cf. Fr "au revoir," Ger. " auf Wiedersehen"); *tad anujānīhi mām gamanāya* (permit me to depart; Uttara.); *yatirye sakhīpratyānayanāya* (Vikramor.); *vanāya gām mumoca* (in the sense of *vanam gantum*); *na śobhārthāv imau bāhū, na dhanur bhūṣaṇāya me, nâsir ābandhanârthāya, na śarāḥ stambhahetavaḥ* (Ram. Here all four *pādas* show different ways of expressing purpose).

In many instances we find two datives together, one of which is not really a dative, but has become that by " case attraction". Examples: *śrayantām prayai Devebhyaḥ* (let (the doors) be open wide for the entrance of the Gods ; i. 142. 6); *Indram arkair avardhayann ahaye hantavā u* (they strengthened Indra with hymns for the slaying of the dragon ; v. 31. 4); *yathedam pāṇibhyām avanejanāyâharanty evam* (just as they bring it for washing the hands ; Śat. Br.); *cakāra Sūryāya panthām anvetavā u* (made a path for the revolving of the Sun ; i. 24. 8. Perhaps *Sūryāya* might be explained as dative of concern and *anvetavai* as dative of purpose, both together in one sentence); *tāv asmabhyam dṛśaye Sūryāya punar dātām asum adyeha bhadram* (x. 14. 12); *nânujñām me Yudhiṣṭhiraḥ prayacchati vadhe tubhyam* (Yudhiṣṭhira does not give me permission to slay thee ; Mbh.).

The dative may be construed with other words, but *never* with any preposition. With *namas*, and other words indicating salutation, and with certain Vedic invocations like *svāhā, svasti, vaṣaṭ*[1] etc. the dative is used. E.g., *namo 'stu brahmiṣṭhāya* (Śat. Br.); *yathā śam asad dvipade catuṣpade* (so that there may be blessings on bipeds and quadrupeds ; i. 141. 1); *āhutayo hy Agnaye kam* (for oblations are a joy in Agni ; Śat. Br.); *ayam somo 'satv aram manase Yuvabhyām* (let this Soma be agreeable to the heart of Ye two, Indrāgnī ; i. 108. 2); *nālam āhutyā āsa nālam bhakṣāya* (he was not suitable for sacrifice, not suitable for food ; Śat. Br.); *alam eṣā kṣudhitasya tṛptyai* (refers to the cow ; Raghu.).

Some idiomatic phrases with the dative may be noted : Promise : *pratiśuśrāva Kākutsthas tebhyo vighnapratikriyām* (Raghu.); *tebhyaḥ pratijñāya Nalaḥ kariṣya iti* (Mbh.). 2. Obedience : *tasmai śuśrūyante* (Śat. Br.). 3. Belief : *devebhyaḥ śraddadhāti ; eko hi rudro nahi dvitīyāya tasthuḥ* (they believe in no other—lit. stand for no second ; Śvetā. Up.). 4. Tielding : *mā câham dviṣate rādham.* 5. Pre? vailing over : *vidhir api na yebhyaḥ prabhavati* (Bhartṛhari); *prabhavati mallo mallāya* (Mbh.). 6. Sale or Exchange : *śatāya* (or *śatena*) *parikrīto 'yam dāsaḥ ; tilebhyaḥ pratiyacchati māṣān.*[2]

Other idioms are : *aham devāya bhūrṇaye anāgāḥ* (I, sinless before the angry God ; vii. 86. 7); *anāgaso aditaye syāma* (may we be sinless in the eyes of Aditi ; i. 24. 15). In asking about health we use the dative : *api kuśalam bhavatyai.* The phrases showing contempt, like *tṛṇāya manye, śune manye*, might almost be called " datives of comparison". There is also a ' dative of time ' : *saṁvatsarāya samam ayate* (an alliance is entered with for year ; Mait. Saṁ); *mayā vatsarāya nivartanīyo nirargalas turaṅgamo visarjitaḥ* (Mālavikā.); *nūnam na indra aparāya ca syāḥ*

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1. Avestā *uśta*, also used with the dat., seems connected ?

2. APTE takes this as abl., but I fail to see the special sense of *apādāna* in this, *sampradāna* is much more naturally connected here.

(vi. 33. 5). There is also in early Sanskrit the use of dative as a genitive ; e.g., *pitā mahyam* (cf. " father to me "); *vibhur viśvasmai bhuvanāya* (i. 31. 2); *pṛthivyai rājāsyāḥ* ; *yasmai vā etad annam tasmā etan na dattam* (Chh. Up. Here the first dative *yasmai* might be in the sense of the gen. *yasya*. It is certainly in the sense of " whose " i.e. " to whom it is due "); *striyai payaḥ* ; a similar construction is found in the *Gāthās* of Avesta, *gātum cā Mazdāi* (the Path of Mazdā or to Mardā).

Datives used as adverbs are rare : *kāmāya* and *arthāya; aparāya* (for the future), *cirāya, ahnāya* (just now, this very day).

The Ablative Case :

The Ablative case is for expressing removal, separation, distinction, what Sanskrit grammarians have called *apādāna*. All usage of the ablative can be traced to these original senses. Besides the usual case suffix *-as* or *-āt* there is another ancient suffix *-taḥ* used in an ablative sense. This is a so-called an " adverb-building " suffix but · syntactically it has all the force of the ablative case and in many phrases the word in *-taḥ* could be very well replaced by the ablative case.

The first sense implied by the ablative is motion away from : *te sedhanti patho vṛkam* (they drive the wolf away from the path ; AV.); *eti vā eṣa yajñamukhāt* (Mait. Saṁ)ṭ; *āre asmād astu hetiḥ* (may the weapon be far away from us ; AV.); *asato mā sad gamaya; yad vo divaḥ havāmahe* (viii. 7. 11) ; *Śunaś cic chepam*[3] *yūpād amuñcaḥ* (vi. 2. 7)'; *yajamānāt paśavo 'nutkrāmukā bhavanti* (the animals are not likely to run away from the sacrificer ; Ait. Br.); *na ca nimnād iva salilam nivartate me tato hṛdayam* (my heart returneth not therefrom any more than water floweth upwards (lit., from downwards); Śāk.); *Cāṇakyataḥ skhalitabhaktim aham sukhena jeṣyāmi Mauryam* (Mudrā.). The idea of " distance " is inherent in the ablative whether motion is implied or not ; *nātidūreṇa vanād asmāt* (Mbh.); *dūram ha vā 'smān mṛtyur bhavati ; dūrāc ca bhāvyam dasyubhyo dūrāc ca kupitād guroḥ* (here *dūrāt* itself is an ablative form by " case-attraction ").[4]

From this idea of ' going away from ' or ' keeping at a distance ' we get the next idea of the ablative, which denotes the starting point, or the origin, or source Examples : *śukrā kṛṣṇād ajaniṣṭa* (she is born dazzling white out of darkness ; i. 123. 9; referring to Uṣas); *ye prācyā diśo 'bhidhāsyanty asmāt* (AV. ; here, too, there is " case-attraction " for *prācyā diśāḥ*); *tac chrutvā sakhīgaṇāt* (Mbh.); *vāyur antarīkṣād abhāṣata ; saṅgāt sañjāyate kāmaḥ kāmāt krodho 'bhijāyate* (Bh. G.); *agaccham ahorātrāt tīrtham* (Mbh. This has been explained as the starting point of the journey—at the close of the *whole* day (of 24 hours), i.e., when the day was over); *prāsādāt prekṣate* (the sight is directed from the palace); *śaiśavāt prabhṛti poṣitām* (Uttara.); *nivasann āvasathe purād bahiḥ* (outside the limits of the town); *mālatyāḥ prathamāvalokadivasād ārabhya* (Mālatī.); *pāṇipīḍanavidher anantaram* (after the ceremony of joining hands ; Kumāra.); *keśavāt puruṣāt sīsena Pariśrutam krīṇāti* (he buys with lead Pariśruta from the hairy man ; Ait. Br.); *nahy aham pariṇeṣyāmi kulād yādṛśatādṛśāt* (I will not take a bride from any ordinary family).

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3. Note the *cid* inserted in the middle of the name *Sunaḥ-śepa*. Such an insertion is called " tmesis ".

4. Exactly paralleled in the AV. *dūrāt haca akmāt nmānāt* (far from this house ; Yar, 57. 14).

The " starting point" of an action is often the cause or reason for it. Hence we have the "ablative of cause". This type of ablative goes on developing and is exceedingly common in technical and philosophical works. Examples : *vajrasya yat te nihitasya śuṣmāt svanāc cid Indra paramo dadāra* (when by the force of thy bolt hurled by its very sound, O Indra, the foremost (of thy foes) burst asunder ; vi. 27. 4); *yasya daṇḍabhayāt sarve dharmān anurudhyanti* (Mbh.); *anāditvān nirguṇatvāt parmātmāyam avyayaḥ* (Bh. G.); *anṛtād veitāḥ prajāḥ varuṇo 'gṛhṇat* (Mait. Sam.); *sauhṛdād apṛthagāśrayām* (Uttara.); *śvaśurāj jirheti* (she feels shy on seeing the father-in-law); *strīdharṣaṇād vadhyaḥ* (Pañc.); *madhyasthā bhagavatī nau guṇadoṣataḥ paricchettum arhati* (judge us according to our merits and shortcomings ; Mālavikā.); *parvato vahnimān dhūmāt ; duṣṭaḥ śabdaḥ svarato varṇato vā* (the word is wrong either in (i.e., because of) accent or in spelling); *yadi ṛktaḥ riṣyet* (if it is vitiated through (a mistake in) the *ṛk* ; Chh. Up.); *vīrasūr iti śabdo 'yam tanayāt tvām upasthitā* (Mālavikā.); Speijers gives this instance as an example of the transition from the " adverb of origin " to the " adverb of cause "). ' Similarly *sa hi vidyātaḥ tam janayati* (Āpastamba.). The adverbs *kasmāt, 'tasmāt*, etc. are also used in the causal sense. cf. Guj. *akasmāt* (accidental ; for which no reason is discernable)'.

The ablative is essentially a case of separation and so ideas leading to separation or removal from the cause are expressed by ablatives. Such are :

1. Fear : e.g., *asurarākṣasebhya āsaṅgād bibhayāṁcakruḥ* (they were afraid of attachment t the Asuras and demons ; Śat. Br. Here the first ablative is due to "case attraction "); *yasmān norvipate loka lokān nadvijate ca yaḥ* (Bh. G.); *sammānād brāhmaṇo nityam udvijeta viṣād iva* (Manu.); *tasyā jātāyāḥ sarvam abibhet* (AV. Here the construction might be called " ablative absolute ", almost like the " genitive absolute " or the *sati saptamī ;* as soon as she was born all become afraid).
2. Exclusion : *vajreṇainam svargāl lokād antardadhyāt* (with the thunderbolt he would exclude him from the heaven-world ; Taitt. Sam.). 3. Concealment : *upādhyāyād antardhatte ; Agnir Devebhyo nilayata* (Taitt. Sam.). 4. Rescue or Protection : *aṁhaso no Mitra uruṣyeta* (May Mitra protect us from distress ; iv. 55. 5); *upa chāyām iva ghṛṇer aganma śarma te vayam* (we enter thy shelter as into a shade from heat ; vi. 16. 38). 5. Prevention : *vṛthākolāhalāddhāsyād dyūtapānāc ca vāritaḥ* (Kāmanda.). 6. Abhorrence : *pāpāj jugupsate* (Mbh.); *adhyayanāt parājayate* (lit., he is overcome by study, i.e., he cannot bear it, he detests it ; Mbh.). 7. Prohibition or Desisting : *prāṇāghātān nivṛttiḥ* (Bhartṛhari); *rambhoru virama saṁrambhāt* (Vikramo.); *Umeti mātrā tapaso niṣiddhā* (Kumara.). 9. Neglect : *svādhikārāt pramattaḥ* (Megha.); *svādhyāyān mā pramadaḥ.* (Tait. Up.); *dharmān muhyati* (he neglects his duty). 9. Deception : *vañcayitum brāhmaṇam chāgalāt* (in order to do the Brāhmaṇa out of the goat).

There is a good instance in Śākuntalā where there is an ' ablative of unworthiness' : *Maghavataḥ satkriyāviśeṣād anupayuktam ivātmānam samarthaye* (I regard myself as if unworthy of such special honour from Indra); in this sentence it is the negation that makes the ablative at all possible).

Ablatives are also used to indicate multiples : *mūlyāt pañcaguṇo daṇḍaḥ* (Manu); or deficiency : *ekānna śatam* (i.e., 99); *ekasmād akṣarād anāptam* (incomplete by one syllable ; Tait. Sam.); *teṣām alpakād evāgnir asañcita āsa* (by a very

little their fire was not completely arranged ; Śat. Br.). In the last three the ablative might also be taken to indicate the cause of the deficiency or incompleteness.

One out of many or a remainder is sometimes indicated by an ablative—as it were separating these as distinct : *krauncamithunād ekam avadhīḥ* (Rām.); *agneḥ śeṣaṁ ṛṇāc cheṣaṁ śatroḥ śeṣaṁ na śeṣayet* (Prabodha.).

A very frequent use of ablatives is for comparisons. Here the idea is to keep the two things compared *separate* (and distinct), as contrasted with the instrumental of comparison where they are put *together*. Examples : *pra mātrābhī ririce roca-mānaḥ pra devebhir viśvato apratītaḥ pra majmanā diva Indraḥ pṛthivyāḥ proror mahoṛ. antarikṣād ajīṣi* (He hath surpassed all measures in his brightness, and the gods as well, unequalled everywhere ; impetuous Indra in his might exceedeth the wide vast mid-air and heaven and earth together ; ii. 46. 3. In this sentence the first two objects of comparison are in the instrumental *mātrābhīḥ* and *devebhiḥ*, while the other objects of comparison show the ablative); *svādoḥ svādīyaḥ* (sweeter than sweet ; referring to the song of praise ; i. 114. 6); *ajñebhyo granthinaḥ śreṣṭhā gran-thibhyo dhāriṇo varāḥ* (Manu. Note the irregular superlative *śreṣṭhā* here); *pūrvā viśvasmād bhuvantād apodhi* (Thou wast awake earlier than all creation ; i. 123. 2); *jananī janmabhūmiś ca svargād api garīyasī ; gām avṛṇīthā mat* (thou didst choose cows rather than me ; Ait. Br.); *somāt sutād Indro 'vṛṇīta Vasiṣṭhān* (Indra chose the Vasiṣṭhas rather than the pressed out Soma juice ; vii. 33. 2); *jātāny avarāṇy asmāt* (born later than he ; viii. 96 6); *brahma hi pūrvam kṣatrat* (Pañc. Br.); *Caitrarathād anūne Vṛndâvane* |in Vṛndāvana not inferior to Vaitraratha ; Raghu.); *bhāryā sarvalokād api vallabhā bhavati* (Pañc. Note the use of the positive degree in the sense of the superlative here); *vajrād api kaṭhorāṇi mṛdūni kusumād api lokottarāṇam cetāṁsi ko nu xijñātum arhati* (Uttara.); *bhavitā na ca me tasmād anyaḥ priyataro bhuvi* (Bh. G.) In this last we have both the comparative adjective as well as *anya*—as in the English 'other than'. This also is a common idiom with the ablative, because "other" means "something different" or distinct ; *itaro deva-yānāt* (i. 18. 1); *neto 'nye vidyante* (there are none else but these ; Chh. Up.); *jagan mitho bhinnam abhinnam Īśvarāt* (The creatures are different amongst them-selves ; Prabodha. Here the word *bhinna* is expressly used); *yasmin nântakaḥ Kusumāyudhāt* (Kumāra. Here the *anyaḥ* is omitted). In *gāmbhīryāt sāgaropa-mam* (Rām.) the *point* of comparison is put in the ablative by a rare process of thought.

With many prepositions, adjectives and other words the ablative may be con-strued : *jāto Himavatas pari* (born on the Himavat ; AV.); *samudrād adhi jajñiṣe* (born from the ocean ; AV.); *ā mūlād anu śuṣyatu* (may it dry up from the root ; AV|); *tasmād ā nadyo nāma stha* (since that time ye have been called rivers); *Sara-svatī nadīnām śuir yāati giribhya ā samudāat* (vii. 95. 2. Here the second abl. might be due to "case attraction"); *bahor dṛṣṭam kālāt* (seen after a long time ; Uttara.); *arvācīnam Ādityāt* (below the Sun ; Śat. Br.); *yajñāj jihmā īyuḥ* (they would go astray from the sacrifice i.e., they would lose it ; Ait. Br.).

The preposition *ā* usually has the sense of "upto", i.e, it indicates the limit to be reached. It expresses not the beginning but the end. Still by a sort of "ana-logy by contrast" *ā* in this sense also is construed with the ablative : *ā ṣoḍaśāt* (until the sixteenth year ; Manu); *ā pradānāt* (until she is given (in marriage); Śak.);

ā Kailāsāt (Megha.). Similar is the use of the ablative in *purā jarasaḥ* (before old age. Some might take this as genitive).

Ablative forms are used as *avyayas* also ; *āt, yāt, lāt* (for *asmāt* etc.), *āgāt* (far), *balāt, sakāśāt, dūrāt, paścāt, samantāt, sākṣāt*, and many others in the earlier language. In the AV. is found *pratyakṣatamāt* (most obviously) and in the Sūtras *pratyantāt* (to the end).

The Genitive Case.

The original idea of the genitive case is that of " possession " or " partaking of " (literally or metaphorically). From this the usage steadily expanded so as to include all sorts of relationships. All grammarians admit the varied use of this case. This Kāśikā says clearly *bahavo hi ṣaṣṭyarthāḥ* and there is the well known dictum *sambandhasāmānye ṣaṣṭhī*. Pāṇini himself has a rule *śeṣe ṣaṣṭhī* (ii. 3. 50) which Patañjali explains by saying that the case is required if the categories, object and the rest, are not to be directly expressed " but tacitly implied " (*karmādīnām vivakṣā śeṣaḥ*). The one thing that strikes a student of syntax is the way in which the genitive overlaps the domain of the other cases. It is seen clearly in our Vernaculars today. (All the other so-called case-suffixes might be preceded by the genitive suffix ; e.g. Guj. *'tenā vaḍe, tenā māṭe, tenā thakī, tenā mā*). The domain of the dative has been particularly strongly invaded by the genitive, for we find even Pāṇini making note of it in the rule *caturthyarthe bahulam* (ii. 3. 62). Here the rather vague word *bahulam* has been explained by commentators thus :

> *kvacit pravṛttiḥ kvacid apravṛttiḥ kvacid vibhāṣā kvacid anyad eva*
> *vidher vidhānam bahudhā samīkṣya catūrvidhaṁ bāhulakam vadanti.*

In the Krakrits (and especially in Pali) the dative is the earliest case to disappear, being replaced by the genitive. In fact, it seems that if orthodox (i.e. Pāṇinian) grammar had not stopped the growth of Sanskrit as a living language, there might ultimately have remained only three cases as in Arabic—nominative, objective and oblique (i.e. genitive). The genitive would have become the general oblique case, including within itself the instrumental, dative, ablative and locative.

It is really impossible to classify properly the uses of this case without considerable overlapping. Indeed different writers on grammar have given different classifications. It is best to consider the grammatical aspect of the genitive first, i.e., the " subjective ", the " objective " and the " possessive " use of this case. This is perhaps a simple method and the divisions are fairly exclusive mutually. But we need another type of classification *depending upon the idea involved*, as we have done so far with the other cases). For it is only by the latter method that we apprehend the rich domain of ideas covered by this case and appreciate the working of the human mind in giving rise to such bewildering variety of usage.

The *subjective* genitive is so-called because if paraphrased it could be expressed by a nominative, or more often by a passive construction with the subject as instrumental. Examples :, *yasyâmatam tasya matam, matam yasya na veda saḥ, avijñātam vijñātam, vijñātam avijñātām* (Kena. Up.); *mūrkhāṇāṁ paṇḍitāḥ dveṣyāḥ* (Pañc.); *na kiñcid aprāpyatamam guṇānām* (Mṛccha.); *vayam grāmyāḥ paśavo 'raṇyacāriṇāṁ vadhyāḥ* (Pañc.); *eka eva havyaś carṣaṇīnām* (vi. 22. 1); *na marṣayi-*

ṣyati rākṣasakalatrapracchādanam bhavataḥ ; *neyam mama mahī durlabhā* (it is not difficult for me to conquer the earth ; Rām.). Instances of the subjective use of the genitive are rarer than the objective use.

The *objective* genitive might ·in a paraphrase be replaced by an accusative or simetimes (especially when· used with a preposition) by a locative. Examples : *cikīrṣā Viṣṇumitrasya katasya* (here the first gen. is subjective); *śaṅkayā tasyāḥ* (suspecting it was she ; Mṛccha.); *Vasiṣṭhasya stuvato Indra aśrot* (vii. 33 5); *yathā mama smarāt* ; *nadīnām śastrapāṇīnām nakhinām śṛṅgiṇām tathā viśvāso naiva kartavyaḥ strīṣu rājakuleṣu ca* (Hi. Here the gen. and loc. are used side by side); *Bhīmasyâ-nukariṣyāmi bāhu śastram bhaviṣyati* (Mṛchha.); *katham mṛtyuḥ prabhavati veda śāstravidām* (Manu); *apriyasya ca pathyasya śrotā vaktā ca durlabhaḥ* (Mbh.); *śāstrāṇām paricayaḥ* (Kādam.); *duḥkhāyedānīm Rāmasya suhṛdām darśanam* (Uttara. The second gen. is subjective). In *sāgarasya amṛtasya manthanam* ; *gavām dugdhasya dohanam* both genitives in each are "objective" genitives, because the verbs usually govern two accusatives ; but usually the genitive of both the agent and the object is avoided, *āścaryam gavām doho 'gopena* (Siddh. Kau.).

The ordinary *possessive* genitive is too well known to be illustrated by examples. The proper value of this original genitive is adjectival. Whitney says (Sanskrit Grammar, §294) : " It belongs to and qualifies a noun, designating something relat-ing to the latter in a manner which the nature of the case, or the connection, defines more nearly ". Whitney thinks that the other two grammatical uses of the genitive, the "subjective" and the "objective", might be traced ultimately to this original, the "possessive", genitive. The essential feature of this type is that it is attached to a *subanta* and not to a *tiṅanta*, and as the vast majority of instances of the geni-tive belong to this type it is held with a good deal of reason that the genitive is *not* essentially a *kāraka*.

Turning now to the variety of ideas expressed by the genitive, the first and natural transition from the idea of possession is that of "belonging to a larger group" : *kakudam vedavidām* ; *yatatām• api siddhānām kaścin mām eti tattvataḥ* (Bh. G.); *dhaureyaḥ sāhasikānām agraṇīr vidagdhānām* (Kādam.); *eteṣām madhye kecid areḥ koṣadaṇḍābhyām arthinaḥ* (Mudra.); *sa evaikâtra sarveṣām nītiśāstrâr-thatattvavit·* (Pañc.); *vintā dvayor madhye cintā nama garīyasī* ; *gṛhyatām anayor anyatarā* (Mālavikā.). When the same word is used for the genitive plural and the dependent word, it is equivalent to a ~superlative : *sakhe sakhīnām* (O, best of friends ; i. 30. 11); *mantrakṛtām mantrakṛt* ; cf. Old Pers. *Xšāyaθiya Xšāya-θiyānām* (King of Kings ; Mod. Fers. Pers. ˌShāhān-Shāh. Also cf. Mod. Parsi Guj. *devenām* dev (in the sense of the most consummate scoundrel ; from Skt. *devānām deva*[5]).

This type has been called "partitive" genitive by some grammarians. But the real partitive genitive is used in the older texts with verbs of giving, asking, eating, drinking etc.‧ It implies a part of the whole, as distinct from the whole, in which latter case the accusative would be necessary. Examples : *eteṣām me dehi* (Chh Up. The sense is "some of these", not all ; if all were meant we would get *etān ·me dehi*)·. Exactly as in French "donnez-moi *le pain*" (all the bread ; acc.) and

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5. The word *deva* is used in the Iranian sense of an "evil one",

"donnez-moi *du pain*" (some of the bread ; partitive gen.) *piba sutasya* (AV.); *na tasyâśnāti kaścana* (x. 85. 3); *sa bhikṣamāṇo 'mṛtasya cāruṇaḥ* (ix. 70. 2); *somasya tvā yakṣi* (iii. 53. 2); *samudrasya na pibanti* (Taitt. Br. The accusative in this connection would only be possible with Agastya2!); *Agni-Somābhyāṁ chhāgasya vapāyai medaso 'nubhūhi* (announce to Agni and to Soma their share of the omentum and of the fat ; Śat. Br. Note here the use of the dat. *vapāyai* for the gen. *vapāyāḥ*). A very peculiar partitive gen. is *Ādityasya vā dṛśyamāne praviśeyuḥ* (they should enter (the village) even while the Sun is visible ; Āś. Gr. Sū.). Here the genitive is in the sense of "even a small part of the Sun".

The genitive of material or origin may be explained as being derived from the idea of 'belonging to' and thus partaking of the same nature. Examples : *asya sūtrasya śāṭakaṁ vaya* ; *kanyā dāśānām* ; *etasya vai saumya eṣo 'nimnaḥ evam mahānyagrodhas tiṣṭhati* (from that minute speck, my dear, stands forth, indeed, the mighty banyan tree ; Chh. Up.); *kasya tvam* (whose (son) art thou)[6]; *eteṣām vṛkṣānām bhavanti* (they are (made) of wood ; lit., "of trees"; refers to fences ; Śat. Br.); *kṛṣṇānām vrīhīṇām carum srapayati* (he cooks a porridge of black rice ; Śat. B.); It may be noted that this genitive of material is never used by itself with a noun ; if necessary we use either a derivative adjective or a compound. *haimam pātram* or *hemapātram* but never *hemanaḥ pātram*. This type of genitive encroaches upon the province of the ablative mostly. The identity of the abl. and gen. forms in the sing. of most nouns (except those ending in -*a*) has doubtless helped this idiom.

The genitive of lordship is a variety of the ordinary genitive of possession. But in the older language it is construed with finite verbs : *tvam viśvasya medhira divaśca gmaś ca rājasi* (i. 25. 20); *ekaḥ san bahūnām iṣṭe* (Śat. Br.); *ya īśe asya dvipadaś catuṣpadaḥ* (x. 121. 3); *prabhavati kumārīṇāṁ janayitā daivam ca* (Mālatī.) This construction gets rarer and rarer in later language.

The gen. of knowledge is found at all periods. When a man knows something the knowledge becomes the possession of that person, hence the genitive : *prāṇo vai jātavedāḥ sa hi jātānām veda* (Ait. Br.); *abhijñaḥ khalu asi lokavyavahārāṇām* (Mudrā.); *avijñātā bhaviṣyāmo lokasya* (we will be unknown to the people ; Mbh.); *avedanājñam kuliṣakṣatānām* (Kumāra.); *vāyur yūnām abhinavavadhūsannilhānam vyanakti* (Mālatī.); *adarśayat tasyāḥ putrikāḥ* (Kathās.); *bhaginyās te mārgam ādeśaya* (Śak.); *kathayāsmākam deśāntaravṛttāntam* (Pañc.); *yasyāmatam tasyamatam, matam yasya na veda saḥ, avijñātam vijñātām, vijñātm 'avijānatūm* (Kena Up.).

Similarly when a thing is given it becomes the possession of the recepient. The person who wants a thing asks for what is in the possession of another. Hence we have genitives with verbs of asking, receiving, promising and giving. Here the case overlaps both the dative and the ablative. Examples : *rājñas tasya yayāce kācid abalā bhojanam* (some woman begged for food from that king ; Rām.; cf. the old English idiom " to ask of a person"); *praśastānām svakarmasu dvijātīnām brāhmaṇo bhuñjīta pratigṛhṇīyāc ca* (a Brahmaṇa might partake of food and receive presents from twice-born people who are reputed to be good in their duties ; Gau. Sū.);

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6. Cf. Avesta *kahyā ahi* (whose art thou ; i.e, to whom do you owe allegiance).

cārāṇām Rāvaṇaḥ śrutvā prāptam Rāmam (Rām.); *śruṇu vadato mama; Prajā-
pater ātmānam pari dadāmi* (Chh. Up.); *anyasya pratijñāya punar anyasya dīyate.*

Most Indo-European languages outside the Indian branch possess a verb which
indicates "possession" like the English "to have". In Sanskrit we have the verb
dhṛ to hold which might be used in that sense, but the more usual way is to use what
is called the "predicative genitive" with the verb *as* (to be) generally left out. The
same construction is found in our Vernaculars, e.g. Guj. *tenā sāt haccā che*; but
usually we translate such a sentence as "he has a horse" with a sort of locative in
Guj. *tenī pāse ghoḍo che.* This construction with the "predicative genitive" is found
in all periods of Sanskrit : e.g. *tasya ha śatam jāyāḥ babhūvuḥ* (Ait. Br.); *anyatra-
gatānām dhanam bhaviṣyati* (those who go elsewhere shall have wealth ; Pañc.);
asti no 'nyad api praśnam (we have yet another question to ask ; Śak.); *mama mahatī
prīti sañjātā* (I had great pleasure); *yathā 'sau mama kevalaḥ* (so that I' may have
him all to myself ; AV.); *pañcasvâpatsu nārīṇām patir anyo vidhīyate* (Manu);
buddhiḥ yasyā balam tasya; ye ca tvā anujīvanti nâham teṣām na te mama (Rām ;
said by Daśaratha to Kaikeyī); *Devā Arjunasyâbhavan* (Arjuna had the Gods on
his side ; Mbh.); *ke mama dhanvino 'nye* (what other archers have I ? : Kumāra).

The genitive of comparison is also found (cf. English "equal of") *Arjunasya
samo loke nâsti kaścid dhanurdharah* (Mbh.); *babhau kruddhasya siṁhasya mukhasya
sadṛśam mukham*)Rām.); *sadṛśam ceṣṭete svasyāḥ prakṛter jñānavān api* (Bh. G.);
tato 'nukuryād viṣadasya tasyās tāmrauṣṭaparyastarucaḥ smitasya (Kumāra.); *etāvān
evâyuṣmataḥ Śatakratoś ca viśeṣaḥ* (this much only is the difference between you and
Indra ; Śak.); *atrabhavato mama ca samudrapalvalayor ivântaram* (between me and
him there is a difference as between the ocean and a puddle ; Mālavikā). Note
that in the last two instances it is the *difference* that is brought out, a sort of "ana-
logy by contrast".

There is the genitive of dependence (including the cause) which usurps the
place logically belonging to the locative or the ablative. More or less closely connect-
ed are genitives indicating possibility, suitability, worthiness etc., and these are com-
paratively rare. Examples : *alpasya hetor bahu hātum iccham* (Raghu.); *vismṛtam
kasya hetoḥ* (Mudrā.); *caurasya rujati* (suffers or is sick of); *tavâyattaḥ sa prati-
kārah* (the remedy depends upon you ; Pañc.); *sarvam asya mūrkhasya sambhāvayate*
(Mṛcch. Here the possibility depends upon the folly). Ultimately this may connect
up with the idea of 'origin' ; *na yuktam bhavataḥ ; śītakriyā câsyā rujaḥ praśastā*
(cold applications are proper for her illness); *paryāptam etāvatā kāminām*
(Mālavikā.); *sarvathā 'sadṛśam Sīte mema svasya kulasya ca* (Rām.); *nâsty asā-
dhyam Manobhuvaḥ* (Kumara.).

The person or thing towards which the feeling is directed is put in the genitive
case. This includes behaviour towards some person or thing, imitation also being in-
cluded. This might be called the genitive of feeling. Instances are fairly common :
te bhadramukhās tava dayantām)Daśa.); *nanu kalabhena yūthapater anukṛtam*
(Mālavikā.); *pitur anuharati* (he takes after his father); *amṛtasy eva câkāṅkṣed
avamānasya sarvadā* (Manu ; the desire directed towards the nectar); *api bhavān
utkanthate Madayantikāyāḍ* (Mālatī.); *tasyās tuṣṭo 'bhavad guruḥ* (Rām.); *tutoṣa
tasya muneḥ* (he was satisfied with the sage ; Mbh.); *nâgnis tṛptyati kāṣṭhānām*

nâpagānām mahodadhih nântakah sarvabhūtānām (Pañc.); *giram visṛjet hlādinīm sarvasatvānām* (Kāmanda.); *mūṣikamāṁsasya nirviṇṇo 'ham* (I am sick of mouse-flesh; Pañc.); (*Madanah*) *satpuruṣasya bhavati mṛduḥ* (Mbh.); *bhartur viprakṛtâpi roṣaṇatayā mā sma pratīpam gamaḥ* (Śak. Here *bhartuḥ* is best construed with *roṣaṇatayā*); *rājñām bahumataḥ; sa na kasyacid viśvasiti* (Pañc.); *ātmanaḥ pratikūlani na pareṣām samācaret* (the first is genitive of feeling, the second of behaviour); *mamâti kruddho muniḥ* (Śak.); *pituḥ kāmaḥ putrasya; bibhītas tava* (Mbh.); *nadīnām śastrapāṇīnām nakhinām śṛṅgiṇām tathā viśvāso naiva kartavyaḥ strīṣu rājakuleṣu ca* (Hi. Note here the two locatives at the end "putting confidence in a person"); *mitrāṇām upakurvāṇo rājyam rakṣitum arhati* (Rām.); *kim mayā tasyās tavâpi câpakṛtam* (have I injured either her or you? Pañc.); *aparāddho 'smi tatrabhavataḥ Kaṇvasya* (Śak.); *Rāmasya asatkṛtya* (Rām. Cf. Guj. *Rāmnū apamān karine*); *kim asya bhikṣoḥ kriyatām* |how should one behave towards this beggar Cf. Guj. *ā bhikhārīnū śū karye*); *kim arthinām vañcayitavyam asti* (Hi.).

The verb *smṛ* is also used with the genitive, Remembrance is usually accompanied by a yearning for "old times" and for old friends, hence probably this is a genitive of feeling. Indeed, grammarians say that *mātuḥ smarati* implies regret at her loss. Examples : *hā, Deva Nanda, smarati te Rākṣasah prasādānām* (Mudrā.); *smara tasyā haṁsakathāyāḥ*. With *vismṛ* this usage is not sanctioned by grammar, though one instance is quotable, strangely enough from *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (xvii. 10)—*śāstrāṇām vyasmaran bhaṭāḥ*. Another instance is in a Prakrit passage in *Uttararāmacarita* : *visumaridā ahye Mahārāā Dasarahassa Rāmabhaddena* (we have been made to forget king Daśaratha by Rāma).

There are genitives of time and direction which may be regarded as idiomatic. The meaning seems to be associated with the "course *of* time" and "in the direction of" thus connecting up with the original sense of the case. Examples : *śrāddham trir abdasya nirvapet* (Manu); *asakṛt saṁvatsarasya* (Parā. Gr. Sū.); *imām ājñākarīm vo gāndharvavidhinopayamya kasyacit kālasya bandhubhir ānītām smṛtiśaithilyāt pratyādiśann aparāddho 'smi* (after the lapse of some time; this is almost a gen. absolute; Śak.); *sudīrghasya tu kālasya Rāghavo 'yam samāgataḥ* (Rām.); *mama śiśor eva* (the time of my childhood); *uttareṇa nagarasya ; trimārgayeva tridivasya mārgaḥ* (Kumāra.); *yatra kva ca Kurukṣetrasya* (somewhere or other in Kurukṣetra ; Śat. Br.); *āśramapadasya nātidūre*.

Certain prepositions like *madhye, upari, adhaḥ, puras, agre, purastāt* etc. govern the genitive. These are mainly indicative of direction. So also the genitive with *kṛte, arthe* etc. might be regarded as indicating metaphorically the direction (with reference to). Examples : *jyotiṣām madhyacāri* (Vikramor.); *tena tvam viduṣām madhye paṅke gaur iva sīdasi* (Hi.); *gatam upari ghanānām* (Śak.); *purastād yatīnām* (Mālavikâ.); *rājñaḥ samakṣam* (Mālavikâ.); *amiṣām prāṇānām kṛte* (Bhartṛhari); *asya dagdhodarasyârthe*.

There are a great many usages of the genitive which cannot be classified satisfactorily and therefore have to be put together in a loose sort of group and labelled "idioms". A few such might be enumerated : *Sākaṭāyanasyaiva* (in the opinion of Ś.) or *ekeṣām* (in the opinion of some ; *mate* being understood). This is found the terse style of the Sūtras. Peculiar are : *vaktram āpūryate 'śruṇām* ; the face is bathed in tears); (*nāvaḥ*) *nārīṇām abhipūrṇās tu kāścit* (some ships filled with

women ; Rām. ; if a similar idiom in Eng., " a bottle of wine ", " a ship of corn ", in the sense of " filled with "); *daśasuvarṇasya dyūtakaraḥ* (a gambler staking ten gold pieces ; Mṛccha.); *kaccic chuśrūṣase pituḥ* (dost thou serve (do the service of) thy father ; Rām.); *tava sarve hi bibhyati* (Rām. ; cf. Eng. " afraid of "); *iha śākhā-mṛgāḥ siṁhāḥ .... katham tebhyo na bibhyase, kuraṅgāṇām tapasvinām katham na bibheṣi* (Rām. Here we have both the abl. and gen. of fear in the same sentence); *sarvam tasya kṣamāmahe* (we forgive him everything ; Rām. This might be taken as an " objective genitive " or a " genitive of behaviour "); *Pitṝnām anṛṇaḥ* (Manu) (with the debt to the Pitṛs discharged); *Hiraṇyako 'pi Mantharasya praṇāmam kṛtvā* (Hi); *nyapatat kāko Rāghavasya mahātmanad* (Rām., *carṇayoḥ* is understood); *yo vāco gṛhītaḥ* (who has been afflicted in speech ; Mait. Saṁ.).

" Prepositions " used with genitives are really stereotyped case-forms of nouns ; these are *agre, arthe, kṛte, hetau, madhye, arthāya, kāraṇāt, sakāśāt* etc. There are also directional words *uttareṇa, dakṣiṇena, dakṣiṇāt, paścāt, ūrdhvam, samakṣam, sākṣāt,* etc. Other words such as *paritaḥ, purastāt, parastāt,* and *adhaḥ, avaḥ puraḥ, upari antar,* also take the genitive sometimes ; they are coming into use from the period of the Brāhmaṇas. Examples : *saṁvatsarasya parastāt ; sūktasya purastāt* (Ait. Br.). Such constructions are unknown in the Saṁhitās. The growing use of these is an additional illustration " of the general looseness of the use of the genitive " (Whit., Sanskrit Grammar, §1130).

Certain genitives have passed into *avyayas ;* these are but few, denoting time and are found only in the older language : *aktoḥ, naktoḥ* etc. ; *kasyacit kālasya* (Śak.) is a later phrase.

In later language the genitive is used loosely with another word mostly a participle and denotes the attendant circumstances without being directly connected with the main sentences. This is called the " genitive absolute ". It begins in the later Vedic literature and it is used increasingly by later classical writers. Sanskrit grammarians have laid down that the genitive absolute indicates *anādara,* i.e., conveys the idea of disregard or despite. But there are many examples quotable where this idea is entirely absent. The instances show various degrees of connection between the absolute clause and the principal clause. Examples : *tasyâlabdhasya sā vāg apâ-cakrāma* (he being sacrificed, the voice departed ; Śat. Br.); *tasmād apām taptānām pheno jāyate* (waters being heated foam ariseth ; Śat. Br.); *teṣām hottiṣṭhatām uvāca* (when they were getting up he said ; Ait. Br.); *paśyato bakamūrkhasya naku-lair bhakṣitāḥ sutāḥ* (Hi.); *gato 'rdharātraḥ kathāḥ kathyato mama* (Kathās.); *yathārthavādino dūtasya na doṣaḥ karaṇīyaḥ* (even if he speaks the truth ; Pañc.); *tadīyahṛdayadūrabhūtasya aihikâmuṣmikaprasaṅgo dūrata eva* (if removed from his good graces the chance of happiness here and hereafter is indeed remote ; Mahāvīra.).

All these cases show a very close connection of the absolute and the principal clauses ; indeed, each of them may be put down under one of the several varieties noted already. In the following instances the connection is more remote and the genitive is more or less independent of the principal clause. *kā khalu velā tatra bhavatyāḥ prâptāyāḥ* (how long, indeed, has the lady been waiting? Venī.): *devāḥ śūnyasya jagato dvādaśaḥ parivatsaraḥ* (since the world has been bereaved of the queen. Here the first gen., *devyāḥ,* is a sort of ' subjective gen.'; *devyā śūnyam jagat kṛtam*); *ciraḥ khalu kālo Maitreyasya Vasantasenāyāḥ sakāśam gatasya* (it

is, indeed, a long time since Maitreya went to„ Vasantasenā ; Mṛccha. Here the gen. *Vasantasenāyāḥ* is due to "case attraction"); *divam jagāma Kākutastha munīnām paśyatām tadā* (Rām.); *iti vādina evâsya dhenur āvavṛte vanāt* (Raghu.), *mamâllôṣasyâpy evam vadasi* (you speak thus, even though I am innocent ; Pañc. This is true *anādara*); *anantapuṣpasya madhor hi cūte dvirephamālā saviśeṣasaṅgâ* (Kumāra.); *Nandāḥ paśava iva hatāḥ paśyato Rākṣasasya* |Mudrā.); *na hi tvam jīvitas tasya vanam āgantum arhasi* (Rām. While he is alive), *nâyam pāpmā mamâgatāyā utthitaḥ* (this rogue (the husband) did not get up when I was away‎; Pañc. ; said by the barbar's wife to her friend); *aham enam haniṣyāmi prekṣantyās te sumadhyame* (even when thou art looking on ; Mbh.); *yasya (amṛtasya) pītasya vai jantur mṛtyugrasto 'maro bhavet* (which being drunk ; Bhāg. Purāṇa); *teṣām nivasatos tatra tīvro durbhikṣaḥ samajāyata* (Kathās); *evam cintayato mahākaṣṭena so divaso vyatikrāntaḥ* (Pañc.); *tad enam muktvā mama jīvantyā nânyaḥ pāṇim grahiṣyati* (Pañc.); *karau vyādhunvantyāḥ pibasi ratisarvasvam adharam.*

The Locative Case.

The locative case expresses the sphere in which the action takes place. The essential idea is that of rest in a place (*adhikaraṇa*). But with verbs of motion it implies the goal or limit of motion, after reaching which there would ultimately be a state of rest. . The sphere of action includes not merely the place or receptacle (concrete or abstract), but also persons, time, circumstances etc. surrounding the act.

The most usual and fundamental locative is that of the place or receptacle wherein the action is performed. This would naturally by an extension of meaning include the state or condition surrounding a person or action. Examples : *aharn ahim parvate śiśriyāṇām* (i. 32. 2); *Sarasvatyām revad Agne didīhi* (O Agni, shine richly o the Sarasvatī; iii. 23. 4); *vardhamānam sve dame* (i.1.8); *dharmakṣetre Kurukṣetre samavetā yuyutsavaḥ* (Bh. G.); *sthālyām pacati* ; *mṛdīke asya sumatau syāma* (viii. 43. 12); *sarvam tad Indra te vaśe* (viii. 42. 4); *ya Ādityānām bhavati praṇītau* (who is under the guidance of the Ādityas ; ii. 27. 13); *yat kiñca dūritam mayi* (whatever sin there is in me ; i. 23. 22); *asmin puṣyantu gopatau* (may they prosper under this herdsman ; ii. 19. 3); *lajjā tiraścām yadi cetasi syāt* (Kumāra.); *Bhīmârjunasamā yudhi* (Bh. G.); *vipadi dhairyam athâbhudaye kṣamā sadasi vākpaṭutā yudhi vikramaḥ, yaśasi câbhirucir vyasanam kṣitau prakṛtisiddham idam hi mahātmanām* (here the *yaśasi* and *kṣitau* may be classified under another type of locative); *Kāśyām vāsaḥ* Chh. Up.); *nārīṇām ciravāso hi bandhuṣu na rocate* (Mbh.); *yamavatām avatām ca dhuri sthitaḥ* (Raghu.); *brahmacaryam bhagavati vatsyāmi* (a regular phrase in Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads); *vayam Malayaketau kiñcit kālāntaram uṣitāḥ* (Mudrā.); *lokaḥ pibati surām narakapāle 'pi* (Pañc.); *na me śāsane tiṣṭhati* (is not under my authority ; Śak.); *viṣayeṣv abadhyata* (are bound up with worldly matters ; Bhāg. Purāṇa); *maurvī dhanuṣi câtatā* (Raghu.); *pāṇau saṅgṛhya* (here the idea is holding in the hand ; and this is somewhat different from *pāṇinā saṅgṛhya*. Catching a ball in cricket could very well be expressed by the locative, while picking it up from the ground by the instrumental).

With verbs of motion the mind might emphasise the actual idea of moving in a particular direction or it might have the ultimate idea of reaching the limit or goal and resting there. In the former case the accusative is used in the latter the locative.

The idea of motion as also that of the goal or limit might be direct or secondary, concrete or abstract. The idea may thus be extended to any action which might be directed towards something. Examples : *sa id Deveṣu gacchati* (i. 1. 4. *Devān gacchati* would merely imply motion in the direction of the gods, whereas the locative as used here means that it actually gets there); *ya eṣām bhṛtyāṃ ṛṇadhat sa jīvāt* (he who hath attained their support shall live ; i. 84. 16); *taviṣiṣu vāvṛdhe* (grew in strength ; i. 52 2); *vīryam yajamāne dadhāti* (Taitt. Saṃ.); *sā rājahaṃsair iva sammatāṅgī gateṣu līlāñcitavikrameṣu vyanīyata* (was instructed in the art of walking ; Kumara.); *ya martyeṣu ... it kṛṇoti devān* (who brings down gods amongst the mortals ; i. 77. 1); *na vā eṣa grāmyeṣu paśuṣu hitaḥ* (he was not placed amongst tame animals ; Taitt. Saṃ.); *divi svano yatate* (the sound reaches up to heaven ; x. 75. 3); *uta yo mānuṣeṣvā yaśaś cakre* (i. 25. 15); *imam no yajñam amṛteṣu dhehi* (iii. 21. 1); *ya āsiñcanti rasam oṣadhiṣu* (AV.); *mā prayaccheśvare dhanam* (Hi); *dhuri dhuryo niyujyate* (Hi.); *Śukanāsanāmni mantriṇi rājyabhāram āropya yauvanasukham anubabhūva* (Kādam.); *śucinām śrīmatām gehe yogabhraṣṭo 'bhijāyate* Br. G.); *ratnādiṣv anabhijñaḥ* (not having insight into ; Kathās.); *vitarati guruḥ prājñe vidyām yathaiva tathā jaḍe* (Uttara.); *ārtatrāṇāya vaḥ śastram na prahartum anāgasi* (Śak.); *mṛgeṣu śarān mumukṣuḥ* (Raghu.); *samīpavartini nagare prasthitaḥ* (started to reach ; Pañc.); *paureṣu preṣayāmāsa dūtān* (Rām.); *reṇuḥ pataty āśramadrumeṣu* (Śak.); *eko hi doṣo guṇasannipāte nimajjatīndoḥ kiraṇsv ivāṅkaḥ* (Kumāra.); *nyastam mūrdhni padam tavaiva jarayā* (Mudrā.); *mūrdhani niveśitāḥ sarvā evājñāḥ* |Praboḥha.[7]); *śṛṅge kṛṣṇamṛgasya vāmanayanam Kaṇḍūyayamānām mṛgīm* (Śak. Here the eye is first brought to the horn); *prāk pādayoḥ patati*; *sampradānam sutāyās tu Rāghave kartum icchati* (Rām.); *śarīram vikrīya dhanavati* (Mudrā.); *mokṣyāmi śatrusainyeṣu kakṣeṣv iva hutāśanam* (Rām.).

Feelings and emotions might metaphorically be directed towards a person or thing and here too the loc. might be used, and in an extended sense behaviour towards a person (inspired by various feelings) might also be expressed similarly. Examples: *Viśve Devā haviṣi mādayadhvam* (vi. 52. 17); *agnihotriṇi Devatā āśaṃsante* (the gods center their hopes on the Fire-priest ; Mait. Saṃ.); *tasminn evaitā nimiślatamā iva* (these women are as it were most devoted to him ; Śat. Br.); *priyaḥ Sūrye priyo 'gnā bhavāti* (v. 37. 5); *vayam syāma Varuṇe 'nāgāḥ* (may we be sinless in the eyes of Varuṇa ; vii. 67. 7); *te vacane ratam* (delighted at thy speech ; Mbh.); *rājā samyagvṛttaḥ sadā tvayi* (Mbh.); *svāvamānahetumate pratyāyane Rāmo na pravarteta* (Mahāvīra.); *mayi mā bhūr akaruṇā* (Mālatī); *viṣayeṣu vināśadharmasu niḥspṛho 'bhavat* (Raghu.); *mama janmani janmanīśvara bhavitā bhaktir ahaituki tvayi* (here the first loc. is that of time); *āryo 'smin vinayena vartatām* (Uttara.); *aho nu khalu bāle 'smin snihyati me manaḥ* (Śak.); *vāñchā sajjanasaṅgame guṇigaṇe prītir gurau namratā vidyāyām vyasanam svayoṣiti ratir lokāpavādād bhayam bhaktiḥ Śūlini śaktir ātmadamane saṃsargamukti khaleṣv ete yeṣu vasanti nirmalaguṇās tebhyo narebhyo namaḥ* (Bhartṛhari); *kurupriyasakhāvṛttim sapatnījane* (Śak); *deve Candragupte dṛḍhānuraktāḥ prakṛtayaḥ* (Mudrā.); *nirguṇeṣv api satveṣu dayām kurvanti sādhavaḥ* (Hi.); *dṛṣṭis tasminn apatye na jagāma tṛptim* (Kumāra.); *na tṛpto 'smi yauvane* (Mbh.); *abhilāṣe tathāvidhe mano babandha*

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7. Cf. the Pers. phrase *bā sar o chashm* (on (my) head and eyes).

(Raghu.), *āśaṁsante surayuvatayo baddhavairā hi daityair asyâdhijye dhanuṣi vijayaṁ paurahūte ca vajre* (their hopes of victory are centered on ; Śak.); *na ca laghuṣv api kartavyeṣu dhīmadbhir anādaraḥ kāryaḥ* (Pañc.); *prīto 'smi jāmātari* (Mālatī.); *manye durjanacittavṛttiharaṇe Dhātā 'pi bhagnodyamaḥ* (Bhartṛhari).

From this type, the locative of feeling or behaviour, it is an easy transition to what might be termed the "locative of concern". It indicates the person or thing with reference to which an action is performed. Examples : *nā nas loke rīriṣa* (injure us not in our progeny ; v. 114. 8); *yān abhajo Maruta Indra Some* (the Maruts, whom thou, O Indra, didst allow a share in the Soma ; iii. 35. 9); *ā tu na Indra śaṁsaya goṣv aśveṣu* (pray give us hope, O Indra, of cows, of horses ; i. 29. 1); *na tasya vācy api bhāgo 'sti* (he has no share even in speech ; ii. 71. 6); *rāṣṭram evâsmin dhruvam akaḥ* (he made the sovereignty firm in him ; Taitt. Saṁ.); *amam bhaja grāme 'śveṣu goṣu* (grant him his share of retinue, horses and cows ; AV.); *satītve kāraṇam striyāḥ* (the cause of chastity in women ; Mbh.); *na śakto bhavān nivāraṇe* (Mbh.); *daivam eva hi nṛṇām vṛddhau kṣaye kāraṇam* (Bhartṛhari); *gṛhakarmaṇi kuśalāḥ* ; *kasminn api pūjārhe 'parāddhā Śakuntalā* (Śāk.); *daṇḍanītyām nâtyāhato 'bhūt* (Daśa.); *adhītī vaturṣu āmnāyeṣu* (learned in the four Vedas ; Daśa.); *anayor bhūpālayor vigrahe bhavadvacanam eva nidānam* (Hi.); *sarvam sambhāvayāmy asminn, asādhyam api sadhayet* (I believe everything regarding him, he makes the impossible possible ; Mbh.); *pṛthivyām sarvavihāreṣu kulapatir ayam kriyatām* (Mṛccha. The first loc. here, *pṛthivyām,* is probably an instance of "case attraction"); *Pāṇḍavānām) dahane buddhim akārayat* (Mbh.); *vegam kracakratur vadhe tasya* (Rām.); *patitve varayāmāsa tam.*

In many cases the loc. indicates "for the sake of", "for the purpose of". This is the *nimma saptamī* or the "locative of reason". It is often hard to distinguish between this and the "locative of concern" just described, Examples : *Agnim toke tanaye śaśvad īmahe* (we constantly implore Agni for children, for grandchildren ; vii. 71. 13); *anneṣu jagṛdhuḥ* (they yearned for food ; ii. 23. 16); *Ādityāś ca ha vāṅgīraś ca svarge loke 'spardhata* (for the sake of the heaven world ; Ait. Br.); *asmākam udareṣv ā* (for the sake of our bellies ; i. 25. 15); *tam it sakhitva īmahe* (we implore friendship of him ; i. 10. 6); *yatate ca tato bhūyaḥ saṁsidhau Kurunandana* (Bh.G.); *carmaṇi dvipinam hanti, dantayor hanti kuñjaram, keśeṣu camarīm hanti, sīmni puṣkalako hataḥ* (Mbh.); *yan mām vidheyaviṣaye sa bhavān niyuṅkete* (Mālatī.); *kṣetre vivadante* (they dispute about a field); *poto dustaravārirāśitaraṇe* (Bhartṛhari).

Ability to do a work or suitability for a task is also often indicated by a loc. This may be regarded as a variety of the locative of concern indicating, ability concerning a particular requirement. Examples : *prabhur agniḥ pratapane* (Mbh.); *trayo hodgithe kuśalā babhūvuḥ* (Chh. Up.); *nāṭye ca dakṣā vayam* (Ratnâ.); *trailokyasyâpi prabhutvam tasmin yujyate* (Hi.); *athavopapannam etad ṛṣikalpe 'smin rājani* (Śak.); *te guṇāḥ Parasmin Brahmaṇy upapadyante* (these attributes suit the Supreme Brahman ; Śat. Br.); *asamartho 'yam udarapūraṇe 'smākam* (Pañc.); *kālam manye palāyane* (Mbh.)

So far we have been considering locative expressions more or less connected with movement directed to some goal or limit. All these varieties might be ultimately traced to the 'locative of motion'. From the 'locative of rest' (i.e. locative in the

narrow sense of locality) we get some important varieties. One of these is the locative indicating "among". Often it is used with superlatives. Examples : *goṣu kṛṣṇā bahukṣīrā ; na tadasti pṛthivyām vā divi deveṣu vā punaḥ* (Bh. G. Here the first two locatives also imply 'rest'); *bhūteṣu prāṇinaḥ śreṣṭhāḥ prāṇinām buddhijīvinaḥ buddhimatsu narāḥ śreṣṭhā nareṣu brāhmaṇāḥ smṛtāḥ* (Manu. Note here the genitive *prāṇinām*); *na ca tasmān manuṣyeṣu kaścin me priyakṛttamaḥ* (Bh. G.); *loke hāri ca Vatsarājacaritam* (Ratnā.); *na kaścid bhrātṛṣu teṣu śakto niṣeddhum āsīd amumoditum vā* (Raghu.); *na deveṣu na yakṣeṣu tādṛg rūpavatī kvacit mānuṣeṣvapi cānyeṣu dṛṣṭapūrvāthavā śrutā* (Nala.); *samānaśīlavyasaneṣu sakhyam* (Pañc.).

A further extension of the idea of 'among' is the idea of the concomitent circumstances. These are of two sorts. The first indicates the time of the action, e.g., *minīmasi dyavidyavi* (i. 25. 1); *jāyate māsimāsi* (x. 52. 3); *tvam no asyā Uṣaso vyuṣṭau tvam Suro udite bodhi gopāḥ* (iii. 15. 2. Be thou to us while now the morn is breaking, be thou a guardian, when the Sun hath arisen ; iii. 15. 2); *etasminneva kāle ; dvādaśe varṣe* (in the 12th year); *kāle śubhe prāpte* (Mbh.); *Āṣāḍhasya prathamadivase* (Magh.); *prāpte tu ṣoḍaśe varṣe putram mitravad ācaret* (Manu); *śaiśave 'bhyastavidyānām yauvane viṣayaiṣinām vārdhakye munivṛttinām yogenānte tanutyajām* (Raghu.); *jvalatu gagane rātrau rātrāv akhaṇḍakalaḥ śaśī* (Mālatī. The second and third locatives indicate the other circumstances in which the action takes place). The loc. indicates also something happening simultaneously or an event which has occurred just preceding the principal action); *vajrasya yat patane 'pādi Suṣṇaḥ* (when at the flight of the bolt Suṣha fell ; vi. 25. 5); *ghṛtakīrtau* (at the mention of *ghṛta* ; Śat. Br.); *trikadrukeṣu apibat sutasyāsya made 'him Indra jaghāna* (while he was intoxicated ; ii. 15| 1); *aparādhe kṛte 'pi ca na me doṣah* (Mbh.); *stīrṇe barhiṣi samidhāne 'gnau* (iv. 6. 4); *avasannāyām rātrāv astācalacūḍāvalambini bhagavati kumudinīnāyake candramasi Laghupatanako nāma vāyaso ... vyādham apaśyat* (Hi.); *ity ardhokte ; evam sati ; dūre bhaye ; tathā 'nuṣṭhite ; kṣīṇe vitte kaḥ parivāraḥ ; gantavye na ciram sthātum iha śakyam* (as we have to go. Mbh.); *tvayyākṛṣṭabale 'bhayoktari nṛpe Nandānurakte pure Cāṇakye calitādhikāravimukhe Maurye nave rājani, svādhīne mayi mārgamātrakathanavyāpārayogodyame tvadvāñchāntaritāni samprati vibho tiṣṭhanti sādhyāni vaḥ* (all the circumstances are favourable only your desires obstruct our plan ; Mudrā.).

Many of the instances given above as 'locatives of circumstances' would be classed as "locative absolute" (*sati saptamī*). Whether the case is 'absolute' or not is a matter of the degree to which the two events are connected together. The last instance from Mudrārākṣasa indicates clearly the transitional stage from 'circumstances" to the "absolute". A few more instances of the absolute locative might be added : *tamasi vijṛmbhite...utthite kṣapākare...yathocitam śayanīyam abhaje* (Daśa.); *rājñi dharmiṇi dharmiṣṭhāḥ pāpe pāpaparāḥ sadā (prajāḥ)*; *kuto dharmakriyāvighnam satām rakṣitari tvayi, tamas tapati gharmāṁśau katham āvirbhaviṣyati* (Śak.); *ka eṣa mayi sthite candram abhibhavitum icchati* (Mudrā.); *abhivyaktayām candrikāyām kim dīpikāpaunaruktyena* (Veṇī.); *vikārahetau sati vikriyante yeṣām na cetāṁsi ta eva dhīrā* (Kumāra.); *tāte cāpadvitīye vahati raṇadhurām ko bhayasyāvakāśaḥ* (Veṇī.).

A few idiomatic usages of the locative might now be given ; *ito me ṣaṣṭiyojanyām gṛham* (Kathā.); *ihastho 'yam kośe lakṣyam vidhyet* (at a distance of a *kośa*). In

the last instance the ablative might also have been used. There is a subtle distinction between the two. When we use the ablative we associate the distance with the archer (who is *ihasthaḥ*), i.e., the distance *from* here is thought of. But when the locative is used it refers to *lakṣyam* (*upto* the target), and hence the target is uppermost in our mind. Some other locatives are : *tataḥ saṁvatsare puruṣaḥ samabhavat* (at the end of the year ; Śat. Br.); *āsedur Gaṅgāyāṁ Pāṇḍunandtnāḥ* (in the sense of " on the banks of the Gaṅgā " ; Mbh.); *śūdrāyāṁ brāhmaṇāj jātaḥ* (Manu. Here both the cases are obviously correct); *sā bhūdharāṇām adhipena tasyām samādhi-matyām udapādi bhavyā* (Kumāra.); *imām valkaladhāraṇe niyuṅkte* (orders her to put on *valkala* ; Śak); *mayi tiṣṭhate* (it depends on me); *nāma cakrur mahākhage* (gave a name to ; Mbh.); *bāṇo Bāṇāsure śare* (Amara.); *śārdūladvīpinau vyāghre* (in the sense of ; Amara.); *niyameṣu tapaḥ śabdaḥ* (Āpastamba); *ḍukṛñ karaṇe.*

A few locative forms have become stereotyped *avyayas* (adverbs). These are : *agre* (used in the compound *agrepā*, iv. 34. 10), *kṣipre*, quickly, as in *kṣipre ha yajamāno 'mum lokam iyāt* ; Śat. Br.); *ṛte, samīpe, pārśve, arthe, kṛte, ādau, ekānte, rahasi* and some others. A remarkable instance is *ekasmin* in the sense of " alone ", " all by himself " used in the Mbh., (*jambukaḥ*) *khādati sma tadā māṁsam ekasmin* (it seems that this is a *sati saptamī ;* the word *sati* being omitted).

The locative is the case used least with prepositions. Whitney says that these prepositions " stand to it only in relation of adverbial elemets, strengthening and directing its meaning " (Sanskrit Grammar, §305). Examples : *niṣasāda dhṛtavrato Varuṇaḥ pastyāsv ā* (i. 25. m); *darśam ratham adhi kṣami* (i. 25 18); *tejo mayi dhārayā 'dhi* (AV.); *yāḥ pārthivāso yā apām api vrate* (*santi*) (those who are earthly and those who are in the kingdom of the waters ; v. 46. 7); *amūr yā upa Sūrye* (*santi*) (who are up yonder on the Sun ; i. 20. 17); *pitroḥ sacā sati* (ii. 17. 6, being with the parents). This last (loc. with *sacā*) is confined only to the RV.

V. OUTLINES OF THE VERBAL SYSTEM IN EARLY SANSKRIT

The main idea of the verbal system we gather from the ordinary grammars of Classical Sanskrit is bewildering. There are the " ten Tenses and Moods " and the " ten Conjugations ", and all these seem to be perfectly arbitrary and arranged in a very haphazard manner. Of course no language could be perfectly regular, because language follows the very devious twists and turnings of the human mind. Still there must be some framework within which these twistings might be confined. It is only when we contemplate the Grammar of the Vedic Language and when we compare the language with others like Homeric Greek or Avesta, that we can see the framework complete. We then realise that the verbal system preserved in later times and described by Pāṇini is but a broken down-remnant of a very elaborate verbal system.

Another difficulty in the way of a correct appraisement of the original verbal system of Sanskrit is the momenclature used. If we use the terms of Sanskrit grammarians they connote the later forms and later usage and are thus obviously unsuited to describe correctly the Vedic usage. As regards the European system of nomenclature the danger is of investing the terms with senses they bear in European (and to most of our students, English) grammar. This would be utterly misleading as well ; and it would be pedantic to invent an entirely new terminology. So on the whole

European terms with the necessary explanations and reservations would cause the least confusion.

In the first place we must clearly drop out the word "tenses", because in all grammars of modern European languages that word, implies the element of *time*. In the Vedic the time-element has a secondary importance and though we may use the names "Present" or "Future" it must be clearly understood that *the idea of time is not implied* in these terms as far as Vedic Sanskrit is concerned. In all the ancient languages of the Indo-European family, as also in those of other families, the chief distinction made is between "completed" and "incomplete" (or continuous) action. The idea of past *time* is a secondary growth from that of completed action. Bearing this clearly in mind we will entirely drop the word "tense", and with it all its implications. The word 'mood' might be retained, as it seems to cover much the same idea—that of the "mode" or "manner" of the action. In a more general way by "mood" we mean the feeling present in the mind of the speaker as regards the action, whether it is a mere statement, or is a command, or a request, or a wish or a yearning, and so forth.

After these preliminary words of caution as regards terminology we may proceed to describe the verbal system as found in the Veda.

In the first place there are what are called the *"finite* forms"—the true *tiṅanta,* which show the *tiṅ-* endings ; and secondly there are a considerable number of "infinite" forms in the shape of participles, infinitives, gerunds etc. These latter are essentially either adjectival or are to be regarded as "verbal nouns". The finite forms again may belong either to the main conjugation or to the secondary, such as, causal, desiderative or intensive. There are also 'denominatives' i.e. finite verbal forms built up from nouns (or adjectives). All these varieties are to be found very fully represented in earlier Sanskrit but many had fallen into disuse even before Pāṇini's days and he has merely put in *bahulam chandasi* as an explanation of many of the obsolete forms found in his own days. And in the language of "classical" times even more of these forms get out of use doubtless owing to "Prakrit" influences. For examples, the growing use of participial and adjectival derivatives instead of finite verbal forms, the increasing use of the passive construction, and of constructions made up with auxiliary verbs like *as, bhū* etc. (expressed or understood), the new "periphrastic" constructions, all these are clear indications of the influence of the spoken languages of the Prakrit (or Middle-Indian) period over the "dead" language, which continued to be used by the learned.

The main verbal conjugation in Vedic consisted of four distinct "systems", viz., the Present, the Perfect, the Future an the Aorist. These names are retained for convenience, but it may be better to call these the *bhavati, babhūva, bhaviṣyati* and *abhūt* systems respectively. In each of these systems there are five distinct varieties two so-called "tenses" and three "moods". The two "tenses" are :

    1. The Primary "tense",

    2. Th Secondary "tense" (or the Preterite, i.e., the form with the "augment").
And the three "moods" are :

    3. Subjunctive,

    4. Imperative, and

    5. Optative.

In the Aorist system, however, the Primary is wanting even in the Vedas. So that altogether there are 19 varieties of " tenses and moods " in Vedic Sanskrit of which only nine survive in the Classical. One of the ten *lakāras* of later Sanskrit (the so-called " First Future " or *luṭ*) is a later formation.

Of these " systems " the " Present " System is the best preserved. As the language progresses we find the forms of this system came to be used more and more. Whitney (Sanskrit Grammar, §600.a) gives the following proportion of the Present to the other " systems " at various periods, in the Veda it is 3 : 1, in the Ait. Br. 5 : 1, in Hi. 6 : 1, in Śak. 8 : 1, in Manu 30 . 1. The whole of this system has survived practically intact. The Primary forms are the " Present " and the Secondary forms are what we know as " Imperfect " or " Preterite ". Of the three moods the Subjunctive is not used now, but the Imperative and Optative (also called " Potential ") have survived.

These four survivals out of five varieties of the Present System are usually known in our ordinary grammars as the " Conjugational tenses and moods ". The remaining we know as " Non-Conjugational tenses or moods ".

The " Perfect " System in the Veda shows all the five varieties. The Primary survives as the " Perfect " in the Classical ; but the Secondary (or the Pluperfect), the augment Preterite of the Perfect, is rare even in the Veda. Forms like *ajagrabham, ajabhartana, amamanduḥ, ajagrabhīt, acakriran* etc. are found in the Veda. There are a few survivals in the later (i.e. Post-Saṁhitā) literature : *ānarcchat* (Mbh.), *ānarṣat* (Tait. Āraṇn.), *paricacārit* Chh. Up., augmentless). The three moods—Subjunctive, Imperative and Optative of the Perfect are rare even in Vedic literature outside the Ṛg Veda.

Of the " Future " System the " Primary " survives as the so-called " Second Future " (*lṛt*), the Preterite also survives as the Conditional. None of the three moods of the Future, however, survive into the classical period.

The " Aorist " System lacks the Primary forms even in the Veda. The Secondary are the only forms used throughout the whole of Sanskrit literature. But the use of the aorist falls off very considerably in later literature. It is very common in the older language, particularly in the RV., where nearly half the roots occurring show aorist forms. In the AV. the aorists are found from about less than a third of the roots used. Counts made from Epic and Classical Sanskrit show how rapidly the use of the aorist has fallen off. It occurs only 29 times in the whole of Nala, 8 times in the Hi., 6 times each in Bh. G. and Śāk., and in the Rām. (in the first Kāṇḍa) it is found made up from about 14 roots in all (in 2500 lines or so). Only the optative of one (the sibilant) variety survives into the classical as the " Precative " (or ")Benedictive ") mood. The other moods have disappeared.

Thus we see that only nine forms out of the 19 found in the Veda have passed over into Classical Sanskrit. These are four from the " Present ", one from the " Perfect " and two each from the " Future " and the " Aorist " systems. The chief reason for the disappearance of the remaining forms has been the overlapping of sense between the various forms and a clearer analysing of ' syntactical precepts '. These points may be best considered by considering the main syntactical implications of each of the systems in some detail.

The " Present " System

This consists of the so-called "conjugational" tenses and moods. We are told that there are ten "conjugations", but really speaking ₁there ₁are 'eleven if we include the passive. These conjugations are each distinguished by a "conjugational sign" or by reduplication (as in the case of the 3rd conjugation). These have been styled *vikaraṇā* (lit. modifications). These were originally in the nature of distinct modifications in the *meaning* of the root. Shanskrit shows ten such modifications in the "Present" System and seven in the "Aorist". But by comparing with Latin, Greek and other I.-E. languages we find that the number of original *vikaraṇas* was close upon thirty. Many of these have fallen together under the 1st conjugation (*bhū*-class). Thus, there was a distinct *vikaraṇa -ccha*, corresponding to the Greek and Latin *-sko*. Then again many of the *vikaraṇas* have got fused with the root and are now taken as part of the root itself : e.g., *yu, yuj*, and *yudh*. A very interesting point is the arrangement of the roots in the famous list *śakl pac* ... etc. There the arrangement is in the alphabetical order of the *final* letter. These final letters were either the *vikaraṇas* originally or were somehow closely associated with them. These are divided into two groups, those ending in *-a*, and those not ending in *-a*. The 1st, 4th, 6th and 10th conjugations make up the first (or "thematic") group. In the second (the "non-thematic") group are put together (i) the miscellaneous or irregular class of verbs with no *vikaraṇa* at all (the 2nd conj.), (ii) a group of verbs undergoing reduplication as their "conjugational sign" (the 3rd conjugation) and (iii) a group of the *n*-class of conjugations comprising the remaining four, where the *vikaraṇas* are characterised by the element *n* in them. The 5th and 8th are practically one group for all roots of the ₍8th end in *n* except *kṛ* and that even belongs to the 5th in the Veda.

There are two sets of endings in each of the four "systems". These are the *Parasmaipada* and *Ātmanepada* endings. European grammarians have called these the "active voice" and "middle voice" respectively. It is under these names they have been described in Greek grammars.* Our Sanskrit names are very clear and definite as to the original significance of these endings. If the result of the action accrues to some person other than the doer, the Parasmaipada is used ; and if it accrues to the doer himself, it is Ātmanepada. This distinction is adhered to in Homeric Greek and in the Avesta and to some extent in Vedic Sanskrit. Theoretically almost every verb could be conjugated in both the *padas* but in later Sanskrit each verb has got its *pada* fixed. Still the old significance of the *padas* is clearly seen in the meanings of some Ātmanepada roots. Thus, *aś* (to enjoy), *yaj* (to worship), *Mṛ* (to die), *ram* (to play), *śī* (to lie down); and many others might be called ' natural' Ātmanepadas. So also some roots become Ātmanepadī when used with certain *upasargas*, e.g., *gam* with *sam* (to conjoin), *yam with upa* (to marry); *mantra* with *ā* (to take leave of). *jñā* with *anu* (to permit, or consent). It is difficult to put down exactly when the distinction between the two faded away completely. The Prakrits have lost the Ātmanepada entirely, as its special distinction becomes less and less felt in course of time it ceased to be needed as a separate form. Upto the time of the epics we do find unmistakable Ātmanepadas used. A few instances may be given : *evam tribhir varṣair apa pāpam nudante* (they remove the sin from themselves in three years ; Āpastamba); *Satyakāma eva Jābālo bravīthāḥ* (you must call yourself Satyakāma Jābāla ;

Chh. Up.); *paridhatsva vāsaḥ* (dress thyself ; Pārāśara ; this is from the " wedding service "); *Devā vai yajñam atanvata* (for their own benefit ; Ait. Br.); *avṛṇita kāmārtā tam vidyādharakanyakā* (Kathās.[1]); *sa tam duhitaram sākṣāt sākṣi viśvasya karmaṇām vṛṇute varadaḥ Sambhuḥ* (Kumāra.); *saha vīryam karavāvahai ... mā vidviṣāvahai* ; *uttapate pāṇi* (he warms his hands); *rajo 'ntaḥpure jalakrīḍām kurute* (Pañc.); *rājaputra nayasva mām* (O prince, take me away with you, as your bride ; Rām.); *darśayasva naravyāghraḥ* (show thyself ; Mbh.); *tad idam gatam īdṛśīm daśām na vidīrye* (when thou hast been reduced to this state, I do not burst ; Kumāra.); *yathā te teṣu varteran, tathā teṣu vartethāḥ* ; Taitt. Up.); *pūrayasva śareṇaiva svabalam darśayasva ca* (Rām.); *na kāṃkṣe vijayam Kṛṣṇa* (Bh.G.); *haniṣye cāparāṇy api* (Bh.G.); *rājahaṁsa tava saiva śubhratā cīyate nā ca na cāpacīyate ; kim lajjase no manāk* (are you not the least bit ashamed of yourself ?).

The " strong " and " weak " endings give us an indirect clue to the original idea of the Parasmaipada and Ātmanepada. We know that in the " Present " the Primary (*bhavati*) and the Preterite (*abhavat*) forms the singulars of the Parasmaipada are strong, while in the Ātmanepada they are weak. With the " strong " endings the vowel of the root takes either *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* or is strengthened in some way. This phenomenon is due to an accent shifting, the principle working here being that the accented syllable needs strengthening. So we see that in the " strong " or Parasmaipada forms the root-syllable is accented while in the Ātmanepada forms there is no accent on the root *but on the ending.* In the passive the root is further weakened by *samprasāraṇa.* Now the verbal-endings (at any rate in the singulars of the Primary and Secondary 'tenses') were originally connected with personal pronouns. Naturally in the Ātmanepada that element should bear the main accent because the advantage of the action accrues to the doer thereof. Also the endings of the Ātmanepada show the " stronger " or *guṇa* forms as compared with Parasmaipada in the Primary (*é, sé, té* as against *mi, si, ti*) and fuller forms in the Secondary forms. (*i, thāh, ta* as against *am, s, t*). Also in the Imperative the Ātmanepada shows the strongest grade or *Vṛddhi* (*ai, āvahai, āmahai*).

The passive conjugation always takes the Ātmanepada endings, because the object becoming the subject the result of the action accrues to it. In the Present system the passive has a special *vikaraṇa* ; but in the other systems merely the Ātmanepada endings are deemed enough to indicate the passive.

The Secondary or Preterite forms are usually characterised by the " augment " *a.* This is the original " time element " in verbal forms because it indicates completed action, hence past time. In older texts the augment is often omitted The proportion of augmentless to augmented forms in the RV. is given by Whitney as 2000 : 3500. But in the AV. it is 475 to 1450. Later on in the Brāhmaṇas augmentless forms are practically confined to the aorists with *mā.*

The Primary tense of the present system indicates a continuous or habitual action, or an action in the immediate past, or in the immediate future. Examples : *aham api hanmīti ha uvācà* (he said, ' I too will slay ' ; Śat. Br.); *svāgatam te 'stu kim karomi tava* (be thou welcome, what shall I do to thee ?); *Agnir ātmabhavam*

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1. An Avesta also this root (*vṛ-, var-,* to choose) is ātm., e.g., *Spentāṃ Ārmaitim versnē hā mōi astū* (Skt. *spentām Āramaitim vṛṇe sā me stu*).

prādād yatra vāñcchatn Naiṣadhaḥ (Agni gave his own presence wherever Naiṣadha wanted it ; Mbh.); *prahasanti ca tam kecid abhyasūyanti cāpare akurvata dayām kecit* (Mbh.).

With *sma* the Present is used as the " historical present " and the verb gets the sense of the past in " lively narration ".[2] Examples : *āviṣṭaḥ Kalinā dyūte ñyate sma Nalas tadā* (Mbh.); *śrameṇa ha sma vaitad Devā jayanti* (Śat. Br. Here the sense is continuous past, " used to win "). Similar seems to have been the force of *pūra* with the present forms, but here the sense is more that of the English perfect, " hàs been " or " have been ". E.g., *Saptarṣīn u ha sma vai purā ṛkṣā ityâcakṣate* (the seven Rishis have been formerly called " bears " ; Śat. Br.); *tanmātram api cen mahyam na dadāti purā bhavān* (if you have never before given me even a particle ; Mbh.); *kva tāni nau sakhyā babhūvuḥ sacāvahe yadavṛkam purācit* (where has that friendship between us gone ? We have hitherto gone together inoffensively ; vii. 88. 5).

The Imperfect (the Preterite of the " Present ") almost always has the augment and hence all through the history of the language it has denoted past time. Of all the finite verbal forms it is the nearest in the sense of a " tense ". And it has no further implication besides past time.

Of the Perfect system only the Primary forms have come down into later Sanskrit. The usual rule of grammar is that Perfect is used for narration of events not personally witnessed. Hence it is laid down that the Perfect cannot be used in the first person unless one was unconscious when the event occurred. This seems a very artificial distinction and it is by no means universally applicable, especially in the earlier language. In the Brahmanas the Perfect is used as interchangeable with the imperfect, and with the value of a " past tense ". But in the Veda we have perfect forms used in the sense of present time also : *sa dādhāra pṛthvīm dyām utemām* (x. 121.1); *vi yas tastambha rodasi cid udvī* Avii. 96.1).

The reduplication in the Perfect often implies an action continued from the past into the present : *purā nūnam ca stutayo ṛṣiṇām paspṛdhre* (the praises of the Rishis have yield tgether formerly and, (do so) even now ; vi. 34.1); *śaśvaddhi vaḥ ... ūlibhir vayam purā nūnam bubhujmahe* (viii. 67. 16); *na soma Indram asuta mamāda* (never has the unpressed Soma intoxicated Indra ; vii. 26. 1. Here the idea is both of past and present time); *Indra .... ubhe ā paprau rodasī mahitvā* (Indra has at all times been filling both worlds with his greatness ; viii. 54. 15); *yat sīm āgaścakṛmā tatsu mṛḍatu* (i. 179. 5) (whatever sin we have been committing).

The Perfect is used often with the Present in the sense of present time : *na śrāmyanti na vinuñcanti ete vayo no paptuḥ* (here the value of all verbs is present); *ahann ahim anv apas tatarda* (here the meaning is past time and the Perfect is yoked with Imperfect); *na methete na tasthatuḥ* (they (Night and Morning) clash not, nor stand still ; i. 113. 3); *bhadrā dadṛkṣa urviyā vi bhāsi ut te śocir bhānavo dyām apaptan* (vi. 64. 2); *mumude 'pūjayac cainam* (Rām.); *vastrānte jagrāha skandhadeśe 'sṛjat tasya srajam* (Mbh.).

Sometimes the Perfect shows by the context a distinct " past " meaning : e.g., *uvāsoṣā uchhāc ca nu* (Dawn flashed (in the past) and she shall flash (even)

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2. As an example of ' lively naration " without the *sma* may be quoted *amuyā śayānam ...apyanti āpaḥ* (i. 32. 7).

now ; i. 48. 3); *indraś ca yad yuyudhāte ahiś ca* (i. 32. 13. In the previous verse the description is by Imperfect ; and the Perfect here seems to imply that they went on fighting); *etena vā Upako rarādha* |with this Upaka once prospered ; Mait| Saṁ); *devāś câsurāāś ca paspṛdhire* (Ait. Br.).

The so-called "periphrastic perfect" is really a combination of a verbal noun with the auxiliaries *kṛ, bhū,* and *as.* This formation is unknown in the Veda. Only one instance is quotable from the Saṁhitā, *gamayām cakāra* from AV. 18. 2. 27.[a] The periphrastic perfect comes on only gradually in the Brāhmaṇas. The verbal noun is in the accusative. The formation was at first quite loose, both members being separately taken : *mīmāṁsām eva cakre* (Śat. Br.); *vidāṅ vā ayam idam cakāra* (Jai. Br.). And in Raghu. we find two instances of this loose type of the periphrastic perfect : *prabhraṁśayām yo Nahuṣam cakāra* ; and *tam pātayām prathamam āsa papāta paścāt* (ix. 61).

[aa] The Preterite of the Perfect (also called the "Pluperfect", owing to its resembalance in form to the Greek pluperfect) seems to have been of the same value as the imperfect or the aorist and meant "past" time. Examples are somewhat rare even in the Veda : *atrâ samudra ā gūḍhaṁ ā sūryam ajabhartana* (then ye brought forth the sun hidden in the sea ; x. 72. 7); *ud u ṣya Devaḥ Savitā hiraṇyayīm amatim yām aśiśret* (that god Savitṛ now has raised up the golden sheen which he has spread out ; vii. 38. 1); *sapta vīrāso adharād udāyann aṣṭottarāttāt samajagmir ante* (seven heroes came out of the nether part and eight came together from the upper part ; x. 27. 15); *āsno vṛkasya vartikām abhike yuvam narā Nāsatyâmumuktam* (from the wolf's jaws, as ye stood together, O heroes, Nasatyas, ye released the quail ; i. 116. 14).

In the Future System both the Primary and the Secondary forms have come down to later times. The moods were rare even in the Veda—only two instances are quotable from the Veda *kariṣyāḥ* 2/1 subj.). There are a few more (not more than about 25) from Brāhmaṇas and the Epics. Even simpler forms are comparatively rare in the Saṁhitā. The reason for this limited employment is that its sense is expressed by the moods of the other systems and by the ordinary present. The sphere of the Future includes "will", which is specially that of the subjunctive, as noted below.

The Future indicates generally "future" time—something that is going to happen in the time to come. And, as in other languages, an element of intention, will or determination is also introduced. To these are also added the ideas of promise or threat. Examples : *staviṣyāmi tvām aham* (i. 44. 5); *kim svid vakṣyāmi kimu nu maniṣye* (vi. 9. 6); *na tvāvāṅ Indra kaścana na jāto ṡa janiṣyate* (i. 81. 5); *tatra vidyād varṣayiṣyatîti* (there he should know, it will rain ; Śat. Br.); *parjanyo vṛṣṭimān bhaviṣyati* (Śat. Br.); *ā vai vayam agni dhāsyāmahe 'thā yūyam kim kariṣyatho* (Śat. Br.); *kariṣye vacanam tava* (Bh. G.); *tam Indro 'bhyādudrāva haniṣyan* (Śat. Br.); *dantās te śatsyanti* (thy teeth shall fall off ; AV); *na mariṣyasi mā bibheḥ* AV.); *aham tvā sarvapāpebhyo mokṣayiṣyāmi* (BhG.); *rātrir gamiṣyati bhaviṣyati suprabhātam ḍhāsvān udeṣyati hasiṣyati cakravālam ittham vicintayati koṣagate dvirephe hā hanta hanta nalinīm gaja ujjahāra* ; *tatah putravatīm enām pratipatsye tavâjñayā* (Raghu.); *yāsyasi lāghavam* (Bh. G.).

The future is in many cases closely akin to the desiderative in force ; *gamiṣyan*

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3. A sort of "periphrastic present", *gamayām asi*, is found in AV. 3.13.3.

tam tam aham evam .avocam (*gamisyantam = gantukāmam*); *yad aṅga dāśuṣe tvam Agne bhadram kariṣyasi, tavetat satyam Aṅgirah* (Thou wouldst do i.e. *kartum icchasi;* v. 1. 6); *yathânyad vadiṣyant so 'nyad vadet* (as if about to say one thing he were to say another ; Śat. Br.). There is scarcely any difference in the idea connoted when the pure desiderative is used : e.g., *prāṇa uccakramiṣan* (the life about to depart ; Śat. Br.); *mumūrṣur ivābhavat* (Hi.) The future might also express mere conjecture or doubt, e.g., *yas tan na veda kim ṛcā kariṣyati; ko 'yam devo gandharvo vā bhaviṣyati* (he is doubtless a God or a Gandharva ; Mbh.); *dhanurvaṁśaviśuddho 'pi nirguṇah kim kariṣyati* (Hi.).

The preterite of the future is the so-called "conditional mood". It originally expresses an action "that was going to happen". Examples : *yo vṛtrāya sinam atrā 'bhariṣyat pra tam janitrī viduṣa uvāca* (him, who was going to carry off Vṛtrā's wealth ; ii. 30. 2); *śatāyum gām akariṣyam* (I was going to or I should have ; Ait. Br.); *sa tad eva nâvindat Prajāpatiṁ yatrāhoṣyat*)where he was going to sacrifice ; Mait. Saṁ.) *na prājaniṣyanta* (they would have had no progeny ; Śat. Br.).

From this arises the true "conditional", indicating one event about to happen depending upon another event happening. And in such cases the future might be used for both the clauses, e.g., *yady evā kariṣyatha sākam devair yajñiyāso bhaviṣyatha* (i. 161. 2); *yadi mām pratyākhyāsyasi viṣam āsthāsye* (if you reject me I will resort to poison ; Mbh.); *śriti vipratipannā te yadā sthāsyati niścalā, samādhāvacalā buddhis tadā yogam avṛpsyasi* (Bh. G.); *pariṇeṣyati Pārvatim yadā tapasā tat pravaṇī kṛto Harah upalabdhasukhas tadā Smaram vapuṣā svena niyojayiṣyati* (Kumāra.).

The true use of the preterite of the future is to denote the dependence of one event upon the occurrence of another *in the past*. This might be termed ' conditional pluperfect', if such an awkward phrase be permitted.[4] Examples : *evam cen nâvakṣyo mūrdhā te vyapatiṣyat* (Go. Br.) ; *kim vâbhaviṣyad aruṇas tamasā vibhettā tam cet sahasrakiraṇo dhuri nâkariṣyat* (Śak.); *paraspareṇa spṛhaṇāyaśobham na ced idam dvandvam ayojayiṣyat asmin dvaye rūpavidhāna yatnah Patyuh prajānām viphalo 'bhaviṣyat* (Kumāra.); *tau ced rājaputro nirupadravāv avardhiṣyetām iyatā kālena tavemām vayovasthām aspraksyetām* (Daśa.); *yaddhy etad avediṣyan katham me nâvakṣyan* (Chh. Up.).

The Periphrastic Future (the so-called "First Future") is not found at all in the Saṁhitās. It begins to appear first in the Brāhmaṇas and becomes fairly common in later language. Still the older form in *-sya* is much more frequent throughout. Grammarians have laid down that it is used when a definite point of future time is indicated and its early use is certainly limited to that. But later on this point is lost sight of very often, and at any rate is not clearly expressed : Examples : *adya varṣiṣyati...vṛṣṭā* (Mait. Saṁ); *yatarān vā ime śvah kamitāras te jetārah* (whichever of the two these shall choose tomorrow, they shall win ; Kāṭhaka.); *augha imāh sarvāh prajā nirvoḍhā tatas tvā pārayitâsmi* (Here the point of time is not specified but there is an emphasis implied in this form. The flood shall surely carry away all creatures and I will assuredly rescue thee; Śat. Br.); *tau Devabhiṣajau tvām cakṣuṣumantam kartārau* (Mbh.); *yaje yakṣi yaṣṭāhe ca*

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4. See Apte, Guide to Sanskrit Composition, §241.

(I sacrifice, I have sacrificed, I will certainly go on sacrificing; Taitt. Saṁ); *prajā-yām enam vijñātâsmo yadi vidvān vā juhoty avidvān vā* (in his children shall we know him, whether he offers sacrifice with or without knowledge; Ait. Br.); *katham tu bhavitâsy aika iti tvām nṛpa śocimi* (how shall you get on alone; Mbh.). In a general sense this future can be used even conditionally like the other future. e.g., *yadā te·mohakalilam buddhir vyatitarṣyati tadā gantâsi nirvedam śrotavyasya śrutasya ca* (Bh. G.). This periphrastic future is exactly translated into our modern vernaculars, as in Guj. *hū kale janār chū*; *te kharidnār che* etc. The agent noun used here is without the auxiliary in the 3rd person. Sometimes if the subject is feminine we get the feminine form, though most often the ordinary masculine form is used, e.g., *ekā janayitā putram* (Rām.); *tām nāradaḥ...samādideśaikavadhūm bhavitrīm premṇā śarīrârdhaharām Harasya* (Kumāra. This is not strictly a periphrastic future, being in the accusative. But it seems to be a clear 'contamination' especially in view of the comment of Mallinātha : *Harasyârdhaṅgahāriṇy ekapatnī bhaviṣyatîty âdiṣṭavān ityarthaḥ*).

The sense of the future is often inherent in desideratives and in certain derivatives like those in *-in*. Examples : *dhārtarāṣṭrasya durbuddher yuddhe priyacikīrṣa-vaḥ* (Bh. G. The sense is *śriyam kariṣyanti*), *gamī* (= *kantā*) *grāmam*; *uttiṣṭha rājan bhāvī te vīro vaṁśadharaḥ sutaḥ* (shall be born; Kathās.); *surâsuravimardo bhāvī* (a quarrel between Gods and demons shall break out); *bhavantam abhivādakaḥ* (=*abhivadiṣyati*) (Mbh.).

In the Aorist system we get seven varieties (or conjugations) with appropriate *vikaraṇas*. These seven varieties are (i) the Root-Aorist, |ii) the *a-* (or thematic) aorist, (iii) the Reduplicated Aorist and (iv-vii) four varieties of the Sibilant Aorist, —the *s-* aorist, the *sa-* aorist, the *iṣ-* aorist and the *siṣ-* aorist. In the first two varieties many roots have the same form for the imperfect (the Preterite of the Present) and the Aorist.

The Aorist is rare in Classical Sanskrit but is very common in the Vedic period (as also in Avesta and old Greek). The name 'Aorist' signifies indeterminate. But when used with the augment it has the clear sense of the just completed action and is equivalent to the English "perfect". This distinction of Imperfect and Aorist is strictly observed in the Vedic period. Examples : *kuvit somasyâpām* (x. 119. 1.; Have I not drunk Soma?); *yam aicchāma manasā so 'yam āgāt* (whom we wished for in our minds has now come The first verb is imperfect and the second is air.); *jyog vā iyam Urvaśī manuṣyeṣv avātsīt* (long indeed has Urvaśī dwelt among mortals; Śat. Br.); *tasya ha dantāḥ pedire* (perfect) *tam hovāca apatsata vā asya dantāḥ* (his teeth fell out; he told him, 'his teeth have fallen out; Ait. Br.); *divo adarśi duhitā* (the Daughter of Heaven hath appeared ! iv. 52. 1); *yasmād duṣvapnyād abhaiṣmâpa tad ucchatu* (let her (Uṣas) drive away the bad dreams that we have feared or that we fear ; viii. 47. 18). There are, however, cases when the completed action is so close in time as to be almost a present : *yad adbhir abhiṣiñcanti Varuṇam evainam akaḥ* (inasmuch as they sprinkle him with water, do they make him Varuṇa himself ; (Mait. Saṁ.); *svayam enam abhyudetya brūyād Vrātya kvā 'vātsīḥ* (going up to him in person, let him say, 'Vrātya, where dost thou live?'; AV.); *putrasya nāma gṛhṇāti prajām evânu samatanīt* (he gives his son a name, he thus extends his race ; Mait. Saṁ.).

In later Sanskrit the aorist expresses merely past time and is interchangeable with the Perfect and the Imperfect. Examples : *tenâsau pañcatvam agamat* (Hi.); *tam adahat kāṣṭhaiḥ so 'bhūd divyavapus tadā* (Rām.); *sakhe tāvad enām na jānāsı yena tvam evam avādīḥ* (Śāk.); *tadâham kim akaravam kvâgamam kim vyalapam iti sarvam eva nâjñāsiṣam* (here *vyalapam* might be either aor. or imperfect ; Kādam).

The passive Aorist form of the 3rd person singular ending in *i* is used thoroughout literature, e.g., *ajani te vai putro yajasva mām aneneti* (Ait. Br.). This passive aorist is very frequent in the later artificial prose, perhaps as conscious archaisms. Examples : *praṇatayā śabaryā salilam alāpi* (Daśa.); *kumāro 'py anāyı* (Daśa.); *adarśi visrutir divaḥ* (the path to heaven was manifest ; i 46. 11); *abodhy Agniḥ samidhā janānām* (v. 1. 1); *rakṣa vyāpādi tat* (Kathās.); *sā bhūdharāṇām adhipena tasyām samadhimatyām udapādi bhavyā* (Kumāra.). When the augment is dropped it has the passive value, but is used in a subjunctive sense (the so-called injunctive) e.g., *śrāvi* (lit. it is heard).[5]

The moods of the various systems are used in various ways which are pretty close to one another and overlap considerably. The system to which the mood belongs makes no difference except with reference to time. Even the so-called " original significations ' of the moods are so close together that in many cases it is impossible to give the reason why a particular mood has been used. In the earliest language we find these moods used more or less interchangaably. In later language the subjunctive disappears and only the imperative and optative continue and these too only of the Present system. All moods of the Perfect and the Future systems have entirely disappeared. From the moods of the Aorist only one variety of optative has survived as the " Benedictive " (or " Precative ") and the special use of the unaugmented Aorist with the prohibitive *mā*, giving it a modal value, has also come down into Classical Sanskrit.

The Imperative primarily expresses a command and properly it should have the 2nd and 3rd person forms alone. But the primary idea of the subjunctive being " will ", the first person forms of the subjunctive came to be attached to the imperative. The meaning of the imperative is toned down into " wish ", " request ", " advice ", " direction " etc. : e.g., *devān ihâ vaha* (i. 14. 12); *aheḍamāno bodhi* (i. 24. 11 ; be thou not angry); *vṛkṣe nāvam pratibadhnīṣva* (Śat. Br.); *pra vāmı aśnotu suṣṭutiḥ* (may this fine hymn reach you two ; i. 17. 9); *varam vṛṇīṣvâtha 'me punar dehı* (choose a boon and give it back to me ; Taitt. Sam.); *vi no dhehi yathā jīvāma* (ordain it so that we may live ; Śat. Br.); *pratyakṣābhis tanubhir avatu vas tābhir aṣṭābhir Īśaḥ* (Śak.); *santaḥ santu sadā sukṛtinaḥ* (Mālatī.); *krodham Prabho samhara samhara* (Kumāra.).

The use of the ending -*tāt*, as a sort of general imperative ending, might be noted. It is found in the Veda but becomes rare in later language even though grammar has recognised it. Examples : *yad ūrdhvas tiṣṭhād draviṇeha dhattāt* (when thou standest upright, thou bestowest riches here ; iii. 8. 1); *vanaspatir adhi tvā sthāsyatī tasya vittāt* (the vegetation shall be upon thee, make a note of it ; Taitt. Sam.); *ā vyūṣam jāgṛtād aham* (let me remain awake till daybreak AV. This is the only

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5. In Avesta also *śrāvı* has a closely similar usage.

instance of -*tāt* quotable in the 1st person); *ayam tasya rājā mūrdhānam vighātayatāt* (this king here shall cause his head to fall off ; Sat. Br.); *Nāsatyāv abruvan Devāḥ punar vi vahatād iti* (the Gods said to the two Nāsatyas : 'bring them back again'; x. 24. 5); *bhavān prasādam kurutāt* (Mbh.); *enam bhavāṁ abhirakṣatāt* (Daśa.).

The Subjunctive is essentially expressive of "will" as distinct from "wish" or "possibility" which is expressed by the optative. The will is best expressed in the 1st person and becomes a sort of command to one's own self and hence the 1st person forms of the subjunctive attached themselves to the imperative when the former disappeared. The subjunctive also indicates certainty or promise, as opposed to the mere possibility of the optative. Examples : *svastaye Vāyum upabravāmahai* (v. 51. 12); *jeṣāmendra tvayā yujā* (we will conquer, O Indra, united to thee ; viii. 63. 11); *hanta imān bhīṣayai* (well, I will frighten them ; Ait. Br.); *Agne...devebhyo bravasi* (i. 139. 7); *imam naḥ śṛṇavaddhavam* (let him hear this our call ; viii. 43. 22); *ā ghā tā gacchān uttarā yugāni* (there shall indeed come the later ages ; x. 10. 10); *na tā naśanti na dabhāti taskaraḥ* (they perish not, no thief shall harm them ; vi. 28. 3); *akāmam sma mā ni padyāsai* (against (my) will you shall approach me); *yā vyūṣur yāś ca nūnam vyucchān* (which have shone forth and which shall hereafter shine forth ; i. 113. 10); *yo dyām atisarpāt parastān na sa mucyātai Varuṇasya rājñaḥ* (even though he may steal away beyond the sky, he shall not escape king Varuṇa ; AV. Note here both verbs are subjunctive).

In the Veda very often we get an augment-form (mainly the aorist) used without the augment and then it is called the Injunctive. Whitney names this "the improper Subjunctive". It is used very widely and loosely. "Its use constitutes", says Macdonnell[6] "one of the chief difficulties of Vedic grammar and interpretation .... Judged by its uses the injunctive probably represents a very primitive verbal form which originally expressed an action irrespective of tense or mood the context showing what was meant .... The general meaning of the injunctive expresses a desire combining the senses of the subjunctive, the optative and the imperative". Often it is merely in the sense of present or future, just tinged with the idea of desire. Exactly the same construction is to be found in the Avesta and in the few cases in Homer, where the augment has been omitted.[7] Examples are very copious in the Vedic literature ; a few may be quoted : *Indrasya nu vīryāṇi pravocam* (i. 32. 11); *Pūṣann iha kratum vidaḥ* (O Pūṣan, procure for us wisdom ; i. 42. 7, 8, 9); *Agnir juṣata no girah* (i. 173. 13); *imā havyā juṣanta naḥ* (let them enjoy these our offerings ; vi. 52. 11); *mā na Indra parā vṛṇak* (do not, O Indra, drop us aside ; viii. 97. 7); *mā tantuś chedi vayato dhiyam me* (let not the thread be cut as I am weaving the hymn ; ii. 28. 5); *darśam nu viśvadarśatam* (i. 25. 18); *kadā naḥ śuśravad giraḥ* (i. 84. 8).

The use of the Injunctive with the negative *mā* is often in the sense of a command, almost with imperative force. This construction is continued in Classical literature also. *pra pata meha raṁsthāḥ* (fly away, tarry not here ; AV.); *dviṣaṁś ca mahyam radhyatu mā cāham dviṣate radham* (let my foe be subject to me, but let me not be subject to my foe ; AV.); *mā no dīrghā abhi naśam tamisrā*

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6. *Vedic Grammar*, pp. 349f.

7. In the Avesta the augmentless forms far exceed those with the augment.

'(may not the long darkness come upon me ; ii. 27. 14) ; *mā bhūt kālasya paryayaḥ* (let there be no change of time ; Rām.) ; *samāśvasihi mā śucaḥ* (Bh. G.) ; *mā bibher na mariṣyasi* (AV.) ; *mā putram anutapyathāḥ* (grieve not after thy son ; Mbh.). *pāpe ratim mā kṛthāḥ* Bhartṛhari) ; *anyasyām api jātau mā veśyā bhūs tvam hi sundari cāritryaguṇasampanne jāyethā vimalekule* (Mṛcch.) ; *mā sma bhavatyo bhaiṣuḥ*)Daśa.) ; (*Kaikeyī*) *māmakāṅgāni mā sprākṣīḥ* (Rām.). In one or two cases the augment is retained : *mā Vālipatham anvagāḥ* (Rām.) ; *mā niṣāda pratiṣṭhām tvam agamaḥ śāśvatīḥ samāḥ* (Rām.) ; *mā tvām kālo 'tyagāt* (may not time pass thee by ; Mbh.)'.

In the Veda the subjunctive is often used in relative or dependent clauses : *yo naḥ pṛtanyād apa tam tam iddhatam* (i. 132. 6) ; *yas tubhyam dāśān na tam aṁho aśnavat* (who shall serve thee, him no distress shall reach ; ii. 73. 4) ; *yad asurāñ jayāma* (so that we may conquer the demons ; Taitt. Saṁ) ; *nen mā Rudro hinasad iti* (lest Rudra might hurt him ; Śat. Br.) ; *vyucchā duhitar divo mā ciram tanuthā apaḥ net tvā stenam yathā ripum tapāti sūro arciṣā* (v. 79. 9) ; *yad vindāsi tat te 'gnihotram kurmaḥ* (what thou findest, that we will make thy fire-offering ; Mait. Saṁ) ; *na pāpāso manāmahe. . . yad in nu Indram . . . sakhāyam kṛṇavāmahai* (viii. 61. 11. We do not hold ourselves to be wicked, so that we can make Indra our friend) ; *yatra hotā chandasaḥ pāram gacchāt* (while the Hotṛ shall have got to the end of the recital ; Śat. Br.) ; *gṛhān gaccha gṛhapatnī yathā 'saḥ* (go into the house that thou mightest be the mistress of the house ; x. 85. 26) ; *yadā gacchāti asuvītim etām athā Devānām vaśanīr bhavāti* (when one goeth to that spirit world, he shall become subject of the Gods ; x. 16. 2. Note here the subjunctive even in the principal clause) ; *yajāma devān yadi śaknavāma* (i. 27. 13. Note also the subjunctive in both clauses).

The significance of the Optative (also called Potential) is primarily wish or desire. This may become a request or entreaty and it might even become a " timid imperative ". It shades off into what is proper or what should or ought to be done or even is a possibility. When very weak it just expresses an existing fact with just the shade of a note in it indicating whether the fact is liked or disliked. In later language the optative takes up the full function of the subjunctive as well. Examples : *vayam syāma patayo rayīṇām* (iv. 50. 6) ; *viśe ca kṣatrāya ca samadam kuryām* (I should like to create enmity between the people and the rulers; Mait. Saṁ) ; *imam me samidhan vaneḥ* (pray accept this my fuel ; ii. 6. 1) ; *imam amṛtam dūtam kṛṇvīta martyaḥ* (the mortal should make this immortal his messenger ; viii. 2. 9) ; *apaśuḥ syāt* (may he be bereft of cattle ; Taitt. Saṁ) ; *mā va eno 'nyakṛtam bhujema* (may we not suffer for a sin committed by another ; vi. 51. 7. This is the only instance of *mā* with the opt.) ; *yam dviṣyāt tam dhyāyet* (he should think (always) of the person he hates ; Taitt. Saṁ. Note here the two optatives by a sort of " attraction ") ; *na divā śayīta* (Śat. Br.) ; *na tvā vidur janāḥ* (let not people know thee ; Mbh.) ; *ṛṇam kṛtvā ghṛtam pibet ; kuryām Harasyāpi Pinākapāṇe dhairyacyutim* (Kumāra.)' ; *Maurye bhūṣaṇavikrayam narapatau ko nāma sambhāvayet* (Mudrā.) ; *kāmo me bhuñjīta bhavān* (I have the wish, sir, that you dine) ; *api jīvet sa bhrāhmaṇaśiśuḥ* (Uttara.) ; *kṛtyam ghaṭeta suhṛdo yadi tatkṛtam syāt* (Mālatī. Note here, too, the two optatives) ; *ka īpsitārthas thiraniścayam manaḥ payaś ca nimnā*

bhimukham pratīyayet (Kumāra.); *viśam apy amṛtam kvacid bhaveḍ amṛtam vā viṣaṃ Iśvarecchayā* (Raghu.).

The Benedictive is a special optative of the Aorist (the Parasmaipada from the simple Aorist and the Ātmanepada from the sibilant variety); it occurs in RV. and AV., and expresses a wish addressed as it were to heaven. Instances are not very common : *yo no dveṣṭy adharaḥ sa spadīṣṭa* (may he who hates us fall down ; iii. 53. 21); *bhago me 'Agne sakhye na mṛdhyāḥ* (may my good fortune, O Agni, not relax as regards thy friendship ; iii. 54. 21); *sarvam āyur jīvyāsam* (may I live the full measure of my life ; AV.); *ahavyavād evāham tubhyam bhūyāsam* (I would like not to be a conductor of sacrifice for thee ; Śat. Br. Note the peculiar regative construction ; *kim anyad āśāsmahe vīraprasavā bhūyāḥ* (Uttara.); *svayam ripus tanvam rīriṣīṣṭa* (may my foe do harm to himself ; vi. 51. 7); *vidheyāsur devā parmaramaṇīyām pariṇatim* (Mālatī.). The Benedictive is rare on the whole ; and Ātmanepada forms are utterly unknown in later literature.

The line of demarcation between these three moods is very thin and indeterminate. The Imperative alone is fairly well marked out. As Whitney has clearly explained[8] : ' The difference, then, between imperative, subjunctive and optative, in their fundamental and most characteristic uses, is one of degree, command, requisition, wish ; and no sharp line of division exists between them ; they are more or less exchangeable with one another, and combinable in co-ordinate clauses." Thus we get *śatam jīva śaradaḥ* (imperative); *śatam jīvāti saradaḥ* (subjunctive); *jīvema śaradām śatāni* (optative); all from the Atharva Veda ; and even the Benedictive *śatam varṣāṇi jīvyāsam* in Śat Br. Examples of the moods co-ordinated are : *syān naḥ sūnus tanayo vijāvâgne sā te sumatir bhūtv asme* (iii. 1. 23. To us be (born) a san and spreading offspring ; Agni may this be thy gracious will towards us ; *iyam Agne nārī patim videṣṭa .... suvānā putrān mahiṣī bhavāti gatvā patim subhagā vi rājatu* (may this woman, O Agni, find (aor. opt.) a husband...giving birth to a son may she become (subj.) a queen, having acquired a husband may she rule (imp.) in happiness); *putra mā sāhasam kārṣīr mā sadyo lapsyase vyathām mā tvām daheyuḥ saṅkruddhā vālakhilyā marīcipāḥ* (Mbh. Here, too, two moods are used and a future besides).

VI. COMPOUNDS

In primitive languages, when syntactical apparatus like affixes or prepositions and such other aids to sentence-construction have not developed, the relations between words are indicated by their position. The three principal relations are (as already mentioned) those of the subject, and the object of a verb, and that of the possessor and the thing possessed. In the former two cases, unless the subject or object happens to be a pronoun, it cannot be combined with the verb. The pronoun is very often thus combined or " incorporated " with the verb. In the case of the possessor and the thing possessed, both belong usually to the same category (nouns) and hence a combination of the two cannot be difficult. Thus in the instances (already quoted) from the Sudan languages such phrases as " village-inside ", " river-inside " etc. might be regarded as compounds ; if put down in writing, they would be

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8. Sanskrit Grammar, §575.

one word with a hyphen in between. Writing has not yet been evolved for these primitive languages of Sudan and so we cannot say for certain whether these are true compounds or merely two words in juxtaposition.

In more developed languages we do get compounds. In fact the fusing of two closely connected ideas into one is a device made use of in most of the languages of the world. after they have developed sufficiently to possess some grammatical apparatus. In Basque, for instance, we get words like *odots* (thunder), made up of *odei* (cloud) and *ots* (noise); or *belaun* (knee), made up of *belar* (foot) and *oiñ* (leg). These might be called true compounds as much as those of Sanskrit.

In the Semitic languages, too, we have true compounds as seen in Hebrew words like *Bethel,* made up of *beth* (house) and *El* (God), "the house of God"; and *Benjamin* from *ben* (son) *and Jamin* "the son of Jamin". The former can be rendered into Sanskrit exactly by *devālaya* and the latter by *Yamīnaputraḥ.* Note also that the order of the words in Hebrew compound is the reverse of what we have in Sanskrit. Still these are undoubtedly compounds. In Hebrew such "compound nouns" are, probably without exception, proper names and as such are very frequent".

In most other language families compounds are allowable within certain narrow limits and even these, being in most cases confined to the relation of possessor and object possessed, are formed by the very simple device of juxtaposition. Being descriptive (as with the Hebrew proper names) they may be regarded as being something more than mere "juxtaposition". It is only in the Indo-European family that we get compounds in the true sense *used as syntactical devices* to express all sorts of relations between words, not merely the relation of possession. The power of building true compounds is fully developed in all Indo-European languages and in fact constitutes one of the distinguishing characteristics of this language-family. It is best developed in Sanskrit, but it is an extremely fine device used in Greek, in Welsh and in German, to name only three of the Indo-European languages.

Greek compounds come nearest to those of Sanskrit both in their construction as well as their meanings. There are compounds which mean : trainer-of-boys, steadfast-in-battle, obedient-to-authority, soul-delighting, continual-talking, unwritten, childless, hard-to-pass, of-the-same-womb, fore-thought, speech-writer, worthy-of-mention, erring-in-mind, belonging-to-the-soil, pelted-with-stones, delighting-in thunder, physician-prophet, wretchedly-married, having-the-same-laws etc. These examples are sufficient to show that in Greek also compounds are formed in the same way and for the same reason as in Sanskrit. The vast majority of Greek compounds are made up of two members and there are a few which are longer. There is a compound in the *Ekklezousai* a drama by Aristophanes, which is 78 syllables long and is written with 171 letters. This is certainly a rival to any compound in the Kādambari, and this extraordinary "word" is the name of "a pungent dish of pounded limpet, slices of salt fish and bits of sharks' heads, silphion with sea-crayfish, honey poured over it, thrush, blackbird, ringdove, pigeon, roasted cock's head, curlew and dove, hare's flesh dipped in new wine when boiled down, and the whole edged with figs."

Welsh and German too are rich in compound words. The majority consist of two or three members but there are a few long ones. Thus in Welsh there is the name of a village in the Isle of Anglesea which is written with 56 letters, of which

the first 20 are enough as postal address ! The name is really a description of the place, for it means : " the church of St. Mary in the hollow of white hazel, near to the rapid whirlpool and to St. Tisilio church, near to a red cave.'

In German books long compounds catch one's eye pretty often. Mark Twain, in his delightful book *A Tramp Abroad,* has very aptly called them " alphabetical processions ". He goes on to say : ' Some German words are so long that they have a perspective . . . . These things are not words, they are alphabetical processions. And they are not rare : one can open a German newspaper any time and see them marching majestically across the page and if he has any imagination he can see banners and hear the music, too. They impart a martial thrill to the meanest subject." In German too these long compounds serve the same distinct syntactical purpose as they do in the other Indo-European languages.

The growth of compounds is best studied in Sanskrit and for the earlier stages parrallel instances can also be cited from the Avesta. The sense of a compound is not merely the *sum* of the meanings of the components (except, of course, in the *dvandva*) but is *syntactical resultant* as it were of the components. In other words, a compound syntactically considered is a sort of phrase or clause. The *dvandva* is of course different. This notion is clearly seen in the accentuation of compounds. The two ideas compounded together give a single new idea and therefore the whole compound has only one accent. This is also found in Greek ; even the long compound of Aristophanes bears only one accent.

The *dvanda* stands on a different footing altogether. This is really the *sum total* of the ideas put together hence each member of it bears an accent. In the Veda the *dvanda* is confined to the names of Deities only—the *devatā-dvanda*—and what is more, each member is put in the dual number. As the name implies, *dvanda* is originally and essentially a dual compound.[1] The ' plural-dvanda ' is a later growth by analogy. Thus *Mitrāvárunā, Agnišómau, Índrāgní, Turvāśáyādū, Dyā-vāpṛthivī, Uṣásānáktā* ; *Śúryāmásā, etc.* These are in origin mere juxtapositions and the fact that each member is in the dual is the only indication of their compound nature. But, though true compounds, these are loose enough ; and in the oblique cases either the last member takes the ending or *both* members take the ending : e.g, *Indrāmarutaḥ* (voc.); *Mitrāvárunābhyām* (ins.); *Mitrāvárunayoḥ* (gen.) *Mitrá-yorvárunayoḥ* (gen.). The components of a *devatā dvandva* may even be separated by other words : *ā Náktā barhíḥ sadatām Uṣásā* (vii. 42. 5); *úd u tyác cákṣur máhi Mitráyor ā́ṃ éti priyám Várunayor ádabdham* (vi. 51. 1).

.In the Avesta also this looseness of declining each member of the compound is found *pasu-vīra* (for an older form **pasū-vīrā,* nom.) animal and man, referring to the " moving creation " ; and *pasubya-vīraēbya* (dat.); *Nairyhe-Saṇahe* (gen., Skt. *narāśaṁsa*); *Ahurem Mazdām* (arc.); *Ahurahe-Mazdao* (gen.).

Compounds other than *dvandva* in the Avesta show this loose construction also and even several words might separate the two members : *Vaṇhǝus dazdā Manaṇhō* (gifts of Good-Mind); *at hōi Vohū Sraošō pantū Manaṇhā* (may Sraosa come to him with Vohu Manō). But with adjectival compounds such looseness is not allowed : *ustāna-zastō* (*uttānahasta*), having uplifted hands)'; *naskō-fasoṇhō* (studying the

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1. See remarks on the dual number above.

scriptures); *hazaŋrō-gaośa* (possessing a thousand ears); *frāt-fsu* (increasing cattle)*. These are true compounds in every sense of the term.

In Vedic Sanskrit there is another kind of compound called *āmreḍita*. This consists of merely a repetition of a word for the sake of emphasis. That these are compounds might be seen from the fact that they have but one accent between the two. Examples : *jahy éṣām váraṃ-varam* (slay of them each best person ; AV.); *tána jeṣma dhánan-dhanam* (x. 156. 1); *minimāsi dyávi-dyavi* (day by day we violate : i. 25. 1); *yajñásya-yajñasya ketúm rúśantam* (the shining banner of every sacrifice ; x. 1. 5); *dhiyā-dhiyā tvā vadhy āsuḥ* (may they slay thee with repeated thought ; Taitt. Saṃ.); *yajasva-yajasva* (Śat. Br.). In later literature such phrases like *bhūyobhūyaḥ, śanaiḥśanaiḥ; pṛthakpṛthak* are repetitions of the same nature. So also in later literature we get instances as *jvalatujvalatu rāṭraurātrāv akhaṇḍa-kalaḥ śaśī* (Mālatī.); *dṛṣṭvādṛṣṭvā bhavanavalabhītuṅgavātāyanasthā* (Mālatī.).

Another peculiar compound, which might be almost regarded as an " ancestral type ", is the *aluk-samāsa* where *the case-ending is retained*. All the cases are represented in *aluk*-type. Examples : accusative : *Dhanañjaya, vācamiṅkhala,* *bhayamkartṛ, udarambhari, vasundharā, dhanyammanya* (Daśa.); *paṇḍitammanyamānāḥ* (Muṇḍ. Up.); *avaśyambhāvin;* Instrumental : *girāvṛdh* (increasing through praise), *vācāstena* (stealing by incantation), *bhāsāketu* (shining through light); dative : *nareṣṭhā* (serving a man), *asmehiti* (errand to us); ablative : *balāt-kāra, sarvatomukha, viśvataspāt* ; genitive : *akasyavid rāyaskāma, Śunaḥśepa, Bṛhaspati* (it may be noted that the last two are very loose compounds and the members can even be separated by other intervening words); locative : *vanecara, Yudhiṣṭhira* ; *savyeṣṭhā, rathesubha* (resplendent on his car), *ratheṣṭhā* (standing in the chariot : the exact equivalent of Av. *raθaēśśtā*), *agrega, divikṣit, antevāsi, apsuja* (note plural of first member here). We also get the dual ending retained *hanūkampa* (trembling of both jaws), of the feminine ending *dāsīputra, mṛgīdṛś* etc. Contrast, however, the name of the great poet which is spelt with a short final *i* in the first member, *Kalidāsa*. This—so the legend avers—was to distinguish this great genius from any other devotee of Kālī. So the latter might be called *Kālīdāsa*.

In the living period of the language compounds are often construed *ad sensum*. Not only the whole, but only a part of the compound, only one member of it, might be connected with another word in the sentence. Many instances can be cited : *svānāṃ śraiṣṭyakāmaḥ* (Āś. Śr. Sū.): *brāhmaṇañ cchrutaśilavṛttasampannām ekena vā* (Āś. Gr. Sū.); *cittapramāthinī bālā devānām api* (Mbh.); *Vasiṣṭha-vacanād Ṛṣyaśṛṅgasya cobhayoḥ* (Rām.); *jyotiṣām madhyacārī* (Hi.); *dārupātram ca mṛnmayam* (This construction is exceedingly common in modern German e.g. *Strassen- und Eisenbahnen* (lit. Tram- and Railways); *syandane dattadṛṣṭiḥ* (Śak.); *himavato girer upatyakāraṇyavāsinaḥ* (Śak.); *prāg eva karṇaparamparayā tasyāḥ śrutāpavādaḥ* (Pañc.); *kim bhavān āhārārthī kevalam* (Pañc.).

The distinctions made by Sanskrit grammarians with regard to compounds are largely stilted and artificial. The three main groups more or less correctly represent the main types of compounds ; and this classification can be applied to any language. These are (1) the Copulative (or Co-ordinating i.e., *dvandva*), (2) the Determinative, further sub-divided into Dependent (*tatpuruṣa*) and Descriptive (*karmadhā-raya*) and (3) Secondary Adjectival Compounds (*bahuvrīhi*). The fourth class of

compounds--*aryayibhāva*--are essentially the accusatives of class 3 used adverbial-ly.   But the hair-splitting Sanskrit grammarians and their numerous commentators have introduced numerous sub-groups and give subtle (mainly unnatural) explana-tions and have thus introduced rules too complex and fanciful to be of any use in a language that is virile and *living*.   Thus for instance the long and pedantic dis-quisitions whether *pippalyārdhaḥ* or *pippalyārdham* or *ardhapippalī* is the correct form (Pat. 1. 407) is utterly futile for any speaker of a *living* language, and is of no interest except to a narrow-minded grammarian.   So also a phrase like *vicitrā sūtra-kṛtiḥ Pāṇininā* is not allowed by grammarians, and on this Speijers has commented that " now and then the cavillations of the commentators have rather obscured the good understanding of some rules ". Pāṇini has accepted the popular speech of his day and mentions compounds like *kākapeyā nadī* and *śvalehyaḥ kūpaḥ* as proverbial expressions. Then again compounds like *namitonnamitena (śirasā), gatapratyāgata, draṣṭanaṣṭa, snātānulipta, suptotthita* etc. are more obviously *dvandvas* of a special kind, though grammarians vay otherwise. Hence instead of quibbling over the intricate hair-split-ting of grammarians, it would be more interesting to see how the *living* language takes full advantage of this peculiar facility of compound-building to attain a certain amount of terseness, and clarity of expression.   Examples from all periods of litera ture are abundant a few might be given without any attempt at classifying them.

vyājasapraṇayair vākyair vañcyate* (falsely kind words ; Kathās.) ; *paryāyāliṅ-gitaḥ* (embraced by turns ; Kathās.) ; *prativasatipatākāḥ* (flags fluttering from every house ; Kathās.) ; *avaśyagamtavyā purī* (a town which must be visited ; Kathās.) ; *yāvadvātsyāyanoktavidhinā* (in accordance with the ritual of Vātsyāyana ; Pañc.) ; *jalāntaścandracapalam jīvanam* (Kāmanda.) ; *sukhaduḥkhasuhṛd bhavān* (Mṛc-cha.) ; *anuvācitalekham amātyam vilokya* (Mālavikā.) ; *uditabhūyiṣṭa eṣa bhaga-vāṁs tapanaḥ* (Mālatī.) ; *sahasram ekam mama kāryapurḥsaram* (whose guiding aim was my work ; Rām.) ; *munayaḥ kalaśodyatāḥ* (busy lifting water jars ; (Rām.) ; *aśrukaṇṭhaḥ* ; *kācic chṛgālikā māṁsapiṇḍagṛhītavadanā* (Pañc. A sort of ' contamination '—taking up the flesh and with the flesh in her jaws) ; *ubhayavetano bhūtvā* (receiving bribes from both ; Pañc. Cf. " traitor or per-jured, one or both "[2]) ; *prāpârkasantaptasikatām marubhūmim* (Kathās.) ; *dīrgha-niṣkampapakṣāḥ (gṛdhrāḥ* Mudrā.) ; *sa (śāpaḥ) câyam aṅgulīyakâdarśanâvasānaḥ* (the curse ending with the showing of the ring ; Śāk.) ; *jaṭājinī* (Mbh. Here we have the *-in* ending applied to a compound) ; *viṣṇucihnitaḥ* (marked with signs like those of Viṣṇu ; Pañc.) ; *sakalavidyācāturyavān* (Bhojapra. The possessive suffix *vat* is added to the compound) ; *śailūsa iva vṛthā vahasi kṛtrimopaśamam* (Harṣa) ; *yasyâgamaḥ kevalajīvikāyai* (Mālatī.) ; *ardhapādaspṛtabhūmiḥ* (touching the ground with half his foot ; *jātapretaḥ* (dead as soon as born ; Pañc.) ; *gajoṣṭrahayapādāḥ (rākṣasīḥ* ; Rām.) ; *brāhmaṇabruvaḥ śūramānī na śūras tvam* (Rām.).   We even get words which are really phrases in themselves, but fused together in course of time : *itihāsa* (lit. thus indeed it happened) ; *naghamāra* (lit. not surely dying) ; *ahampūrva* (lit. I first) ; *kuvitsa* (some unknown person, lit. who (is) he) ; *tadi-dartha* (lit. just that meaning) ; *akutaścidbhayaḥ* (out of all danger) ; *kiṅkara* (lit. doer of anything ; or is it an ironical sense ' what will be do ? ') ; *yadbhaviṣya* (lit whatever might happen).

2. Scott, Rokeby.

Enough has been said to show that the compounds in Sanskrit have been always full of vigour and life and in not a few instances they are evidences of subtle humour of the common people. In spite of grammarians this is the one aspect of Sanskrit that has resisted all attempts to shackle it. It will be seen that most of the instances so far quoted consist of two members. The terribly long compounds so frequent in later Sanskrit writers are a part of the natural development of the language.

One essential feature of the earlier compounds is that they are made up of *two* members only. Two compounds may be re-compounded and the process may be repeated as often as we please Hence, however long a compound may be it could always be analysed into parts which always combine two by two. The build-up of a long compound is exactly parallel to that of a complex sentence and herein lies the main function of the long compounds of later Sanskrit literature.

All language growth is essentially a process of analysis and a consequent rearrangement of the grammatical apparatus. Thus synthetic languages gradually become analytical unless other more powerful forces intervene. The same processes worked in Sanskrit in the earlier days and the language grew and developed naturally till the grammarians came. It is not correct to blame Pāṇini for killing Sanskrit. He may have been the ultimate cause, but he never intended this result to follow his *Aṣṭādhyāyī.* It was the growing reputation of Pāṇini, and the strenuous efforts of his devoted admirers. that were really responsible for the stopping of all further growth of Sanskrit. Luckily Pāṇini did not lay down a rule that a compound might not itself be a member of another compound ; and this gave free play later to analytical growth in this direction. For the long compounds of later Sanskrit literature are merely whole subordinate clauses, sometimes even whole independent sentences written down in the analytical way. The natural impulse of the language could find only this outlet after the fetters of grammar had shackled it.

The device of using compounds as subordinate clauses has been known to the earlier dramatists. We find them making full use of compounds, some even fairly long and complex. But we must remember that these compounds are made as in a living language and *not according to the rules of grammar.* One European scholar (Speijers) says that it would be exceedingly interesting to compare the statements in Sanskrit Grammars with the facts presented to us in actual literature. Of course poetic genius counts but the fact that at any rate in the compound Sanskrit is more or less unfettered must not be lost sight of. Take for instance the fine balance implied in the *dvandva* compound at the end of the following verse :

> *tau pṛthag vāradākūle śiṣṭāmuttaradakṣiṇe,*
> *naktaṁ dinaṁ vibhajyobhau śītoṣṇakiraṇāv iva.* (Mālavikā.)

or   *phalaṁ kopaprītyor dviṣati ca vibhaktam suhṛdi ca* (Mudrā.)

It would require fairly complex grammatical rules to clearly bring out the mutual relations implied in these passages.

The use of compounds to express metaphor is a beautiful illustration of the elasticity of this mode of expression. Examples : *gopālena prajādhenor vittadugdhum śanaiḥśanaiḥ grāhyam* (Pañc.); *iha sarvasvaphalinaḥ kulaputramahādrumāḥ niṣphalatvam alam yānti veśyāviṣṭābhakṣitāḥ* (Mṛccha.); *bhartṛbhaktirathārūḍhāḥ śīlasannāharakṣitāḥ dharmasārathyaḥ sādhvyo jayanti matihetayaḥ* (Kathās.);

dhanur vaṁśaviśuddho 'pi nirguṇaḥ kim kariṣyati (Hi. Here the beauty lies in the double meaning of the words used).

A few instances of long compounds from later literature may now be considered.

I. From Mālatī-Mādhava :

atha tāḥ śalilam uttāla-kara-kamala-tālikā-tarala-valaye-āvalīkam uttrasta kala-haṁsa-vibhrama-abhirāma-caraṇa-sañcaraṇa raṇaraṇāyamāna- mañju–mañjīra-raṇi-ta-anuviddha-mekhala-kalāpa-kiṅkiṇi-raṇaraṇatkāra-mukharam pratinivṛtya ... māṁ aṅgulī-dala-vilāsena ākhyātavatyaḥ.

II. From Daśakumāracarita :

tatra vīra-bhaṭa-paṭala-uttara-turaṅga-kuñjara-makara-bhīṣaṇa-sakala-ripu· gaṇa-kaṭaka-jala-nidhi-mathana-mandarāyamāṇa-samuddaṇḍa-bhuja-daṇḍaḥ, puranda-ra-pura-aṅgaṇa-vana-viharaṇa-parāyaṇa-gīrvāṇa-taruṇa-gaṇikā -gaṇa-jegīyamānayā .... kīrtyâbhitaḥ surabhitaḥ, ... anavarata-yāga-dakṣiṇā-rakṣita-śiṣṭa-viśiṣṭa-vidyā-sambhāra-bhāsura-bhūsura-nikaraḥ, viracita-arāti-santāpena pratāpena sa-tata-tulita-viyan-madhyahaṁsaḥ, rājahaṁso nāma ghana-darpa-kandarpa-saun-darya-hṛdya-niravadya-rūpo bhūpo babhūva.

III. From Kādambarī :

(i) *avani-patis tu dūrād ālokayety abhidhāya pratīhāryā nirdiśyamānām tām (cāṇḍāla-kanyakām) .... asura-gṛhīta-amṛta-apaharaṇa-kṛta-kapaṭa·paṭu-vilās.nī-veṣasya śyāmatayā bhagavato harer iva anukurvatīm, ... ā-gulpha-avalambinā nīla-kañcukena avacchanna-śarīrām upari rakta-aṁśuka-racita-avaguṇṭahnām nīlot-pala-sthalīm iva nipatita-sandhyā-ātapām, eka-karṇa-avasakta-dantapatra-prabhā-dhavalita-kapola-maṇḍalām udyad-indu-kiraṇa-cchurita-mukhīm iva vibhāvarīm, ā-kapila-gorocanā-racita-tilaka-tṛtīya-locanām īśana-racita-anuracita-kirāta-veṣām iva bhavānīm, uraḥ-sthala-nivāsa-saṅkrānta-nārāyaṇa-deha-prabhā-śyāmalitām iva śriyam, kupita-hara-hutāśana-dahyamāna-madana-dhūma-malinīkṛtām iva ratim, unmada-hali-hala-apakarṣṇabhaya-prapalāyitām iva yomunām, ... ā-piñjareṇa utsarpiṇā nūpura-maṇīnām prabhā-jālena rañjita-śarīratayā pāvakena iva bhagavatā rūpa eva pakṣapātinā prajāpatim apramāṇikurvatā jāti-saṁśo-dhana-artham śliṅgita-dehām, ... ati-sthūla-muktāphala-ghaṭitena śucinā hāreṇa gaṅgā-srotaseva kālindī-śaṅkayā kṛta-kaṇṭha-grāhām, ... nidrām iva locana-grāhiṇīm, araṇya-kamalinām iva mātaṅga-kula-dūṣitām, amūrtām iva sparśa-varjitām, ... animeṣa-locano dadarśa.*

(ii) *daśaratha-suta-niśita-śara-nikara-nipāta-nihata-rajanī-cara-bala-bahula-rudhi-ra-sikta-mūlam araṇyam.*

(iii) *eka-deśa-avatīrṇa-muni-jana-āpūryamāṇa-kamaṇḍalu-kalaśa-jala-dhvani-ma-noharam .... pampā-abhidhānam padma-saraḥ.*

(iv) *tsya ca rājñaḥ .... majjan-mālava-vilāsinī-kuca-taṭa-āsphālana-jarjarita-ūrmi-mālayā jala-avgāhana-āyāta-jaya-kuñjara-kumbha-sindūra-sandhāyamāna-sa-lilayā unmada-kalahaṁsa-kula-kolāhala-mukharita-kūlayā vetravatyā sāritā pari-gatā vidiśā-abhidhāna nagarī rājadhāny āsīt.*

In all these instances and hundreds of others which might be quoted the com·pounds are really subordinate sentences. They indicate the way in which Sanskrit might have developed if it had been allowed to become analytical unchecked. The word-order in the compounds is indeed fixed to a certain extent, but still it allows an amount of flexibility and permits a display of ingenious word-play and rhetoric *which would not have been possible in the* ordinary synthetic type of Sanskrit. It is, in a sense, a morbid symptom, but the reason for it has been the unnatural stoppage of all growth by grammatical tyranny. No doubt this tendency was helped along by the growing analytical structure of the Prakrits of the classical age.

So here again we get a demonstration that the human mind is superior to any grammar, and if the grammar does not suit the purpose of the human being, he simply brushes it aside. Grammar was made to *explain* a language never to fetter it. Sanskrit grammarians did not realise the truth of this, and we know the result.

SOME PROBLEMS OF SANSKRIT POETICS*

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One of the fundamental problems of Sanskrit Poetics, as indeed of all Poetics, is the problem of the content and expression of Poetry. From the very beginning of the discipline this is recognised ; and the two parts of language, namely. the Śabda and Artha, word and sense, or technically, the Vācaka and Vācya, the expressor and the expressed, had already been distinguished by grammatical and philosophical speculation as the medium of linguistic expression. The essential element of all literature, as of all language, is, therefore, said to consist of the material of word and sense ; and the earliest definitions of Poetry naturally start in terms of Śabha and Artha. So long as Poetry is a kind of expression, conveyed through the medium of language, this is inevitable. Accordingly, Bhāmaha defines Poetry as śabdārthau sahitau kāvyam, which is followed by Rudraṭa's more general statement śabdārthau kāvyam ; while Daṇḍin describes the body of Poetry as iṣṭārtha-vyavacchinnā padāvalī, and Vāmana speaks of viśiṣṭapada-racanā as its essence. Thus, the Śabda and Artha united together, and not in themselves, constitute Poetry ; and all later writers, more or less, accept this position of the Sāhitya or unity of Sabda and Artha as the starting point. The term Sāhitya implies that Śabda and Artha are inseparable and go together. Kuntaka describes this Sāhitya as Anyūna-anatiriktava or Paraspara-spardhā ; but Kālidāsa conveys it more beautifully by his well known comparison of Poetry to Ardha-nārīśvara, in which Pārvatī is Vāc or Śabda and Parameśvara is Artha. That the poets, and not only the theorists, were aware of this idea is also clear from Māgha's declaration that the discerning poet pays equal regard to Śabda and Artha in the well known line : śabdārthau sat-kavir iva dvayam vidvān apekṣate.

This concept of the Sāhitya of Śabda and Artha, from which literature itself came to take the designation of Sāhitya, is not new ; but it had a grammatical origin. It mean¹ the general grammatical and logical relation between word and sense in all linguistic expression, and did not at first connote any special poetic relation between the two. We know that, like Sanskrit Grammar, Sanskrit Poetics started as an empirical and normative discipline ; and, since, from the very beginning, Poetics accepted the authority of the older science of Grammar, to which it was closely related, the grammatical speculations on speech in general not only prompted its speculations on poetic speech, but also influenced its method and outlook. It is no wonder, there-fore, that both Bhāmaha and Vāmana, two of the earliest formulators of poetic theory, devote whole sections of their works to the question of grammatical correctness ; and the grammatical analysis of word and sense came to possess an important place in rhetorical speculation. As set forth by the grammarians, the Śabdārtha or Vācaka-Vācya-sambandha was taken to comprehend the consideration of the struc-ture and variety of the Vācaka, of the syntactic import of a succession of Vācaka in

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a Vācya, and of the logicality of the expressed idea ; in other words, Pada, Vākya and Pramāṇa are comprehended in all expression and constituted the original meaning of Sāhitya.

But it is also perceived that even though grammatical correctness or logical consistency characterises speech in general, this was not enough for poetic speech. What then is Sāhitya from the standpoint of Poetics ? It is true that Bhāmaha's definition *śabdārthau sahitau kāvyam* implies that neither Śabda nor Artha alone is poetry, but both must be united together. In poetry there is no question of the · superiority of the one or the other, or of the one being Bāhya and the other Ābhyantara, or, as Bhartṛhari puts it, of the Artha being the Vivarta of Śabda. But mere Sāhitya of Śabda and Artha is not poetry ; it is a grammatical fact, common to all speech, to the utterances of ordinary life, of Śāstra, of Ākhyāna, as well as of Poetry. It is, therefore, realised that this Sāhitya of Poetry must be of a special kind, so that the special charm of poetic speech, which distinguishes it from ordinary speech, can be properly explained. It cannot be missed that the Śabda and Artha in their unity bring about a special beauty in Poetry, which is not found elsewhere ; Poetry is not merely linguistic expression but beautiful expression. In other words, it came to be recognised that the Sāhitya of Śabda and Artha in Poetry must have a Viśeṣa or speciality. Hence, Vāmana speaks of Viśiṣṭa Pada-racanā ; but Kuntaka declares more clearly that *viśiṣṭam eva sāhityam abhipretam,* and Samudrabandha, in summarising the views of different schools of Poetics, is emphatic that *iha viśiṣṭau śabdārthau kāvyam.* The question of deciding what this Viśeṣa is and how it is realised, thus, becomes the main problem of Poetics.

Some theorists approach the problem from the standpoint of outward expression and declare the Viśeṣa to be the Dharma of Śabda and Artha, which could be analysed into categories of Lakṣaṇa, Alaṃkāra or Guṇa. Some dive deeper into the content and maintain that it is the poet's peculiar way, the work of his poetic imagination, the Kavi-vyāpāra, which is the Viśeṣa, whether it takes the form of Ukti, Bhaṇiti, Bhoga or Vyañjanā. But it is admitted on all hands that the Sāhitya, which by its Viśeṣa makes ordinary Śabdārtha into poetic Śabdārtha, is not the sum-total of grammatical and logical relation, but indicates a certain poetic relation between the two. It is the magical quality pertaining to words and ideas, springing from the imaginative power of the poet, which makes ordinary utterance with its Pada, Vākya and Pramāṇa into the charming utterance of poetry. The Sāhitya, therefore, is a certain charming commensurateness between content and expression, and becomes synonymous with Poetry.

Exactly when and how the term Sāhitya came to be employed for Poetry in this technical sense we do not know, but the concept is acknowledged from the very beginning. We find, however, that it is no longer a grammatical, but a poetical, concept in Rājaśekhara, who mentions Sāhitya and Sāhitya-vidyā as Poetry and Poetics, although Rājasekhara in his allegorical description does not bring out the theoretical implications of the idea. Among the theorists, the credit of divesting Sāhitya, for the first time, of its starting grammatical associations and defining it clearly as a poetic quality imparted by the imagination of the poet, belongs to Kuntaka.

The earlier speculations on the subject are vague and insufficient ; but several tentative approaches appear to have been made. One of the earliest was through the

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*idea of Śayyā, to which Bāṇa refers, and for which the Agni-purāṇa appears to employ
the term Mudrā with a similar connotation.* The Śayyā is described as the repose
of word and sense in their mutual favourableness *like the repose of the body in bed.
The idea of Sāhitya is also recognised in what is called the Maitrī or mutual
friendship* of verbal and ideal elements of Poetry, which is apparently a variation
of Kālidāsa's more perfect conjugal metaphor. The theory, however, is not elaborated,
but only feebly and incoherently voiced here and there, and it is also strange that
the Śayyā is sometimes taken as a mere verbal excellence ; but, at the same time,
it rightly insists upon what is called inevitability of words and ideas as the foundation
of poetic expression. The older views on Pāka, mentioned by Vāmana, appear to
make a similar approach, but greater uncertainty and confusion prevail. The term
Pāka, meaning literally ripeness or maturity, is employed by Vāmana with reference
to the delightful effect of what he calls Śabda-pāka or maturity of words, resulting
from what he considers to be the best mode of diction, namely, the Vaidarbhī Rīti.
He describes Śabda-pāka as " that attaining which the excellence of a word quickens
and in which the unreal appears as real. " This description would lead one to believe
that Vāmana's Śabda-pāka is nothing more than mere verbal proficiency (Śabda-
vyutpatti), in which sense some later writers would like to take the term. But
Vāmana further explains that the Śabda-pāka occurs when the words are so chosen
that they cannot bear an exchange of synonym. It is clear that this view makes
Pāka almost identical in its connotation with Śayyā. We find, therefore, that some
later writers formulate Śabda-pāka as the perfect fitness of word and its sense ; but
in conformity with the prevailing view about the essentiality of Rasa, they speak
rather vaguely of Artha-pāka or maturity of sense of various kinds brought about
by the different taste of different sentiments ? Rājasekhara's naive compilation of
earlier views on the subject is interestng, and deserves reference as illustrating how
undecided aesthetic ideas were and how inconstant the use of aesthetic terminology.
The passage runs thus. " The Ācāryas ask : ' what is Pāka ? Maṅgala says : ' it
is maturity (Pariṇāma) '. ' What, again, is maturity ' ? ask the Ācāryas. Maṅgala
replies : ' it is the skill in the use of noun and verbs '. Hence it is verbal excellence
(Sauśabdya). ' The Pāka is fixedness in the application of words ' say the Ācāryas.
It is said [by Vāmana' i. 3. 15] : " The insertion and deletion of words occur so long
as there is uncertainty in the mind ; when the fixity of words is established, the com-
position is successful '. So the followers of Vāmana say : ' The Pāka is the aversion
of words to alternation by means of synonyms '. Therefore it is said [by Vāmana,
loc. cit.] ' The specialists in the propriety of words have called that Śabda-pāka in
which the words abandon the capability of being exchanged (by synonyms)' ". In
spite of the quaintness of this discourse, it is clear that the older views tended to
formulate the theory of Pāka as a variant of that of Śayyā ; but the theory takes such
a wavering and uncertain direction in later times that it came to be regarded as a
superfluous formality. When other and more convincing theories were advanced, the
Śayyā and Pāka almost disappear from Sanskrit poetic theories.

Bharata's concept of Lakṣaṇa also belongs to that stage of uncertainty of early
speculation which was groping to find a proper solution to the problem of Viśeṣa
or Viśiṣṭa Sāhitya of Śabda and Artha as the basis of poetic expression. V. Raghavan
has already given an exhaustive treatment of the history of this concept, and since

the Lakṣaṇa-paddhati perished very early, or lingered as a superfluous relic ·in the history of Sanskrit Poetics and Dramaturgy, it is not necessary for us to make more than a passing reference. Abhinavagupta, explaining Bharata's text, mentions as many as ten different views concerning Lakṣaṇa but it appears that Lakṣaṇa otherwise called Bhūṣaṇa, is generally taken, on the analogy of Sāmudrika Lakṣaṇa, to be an innate beautifying element belonging to the body of Poetry, or rather constituting the body itself. Although similar in function to Alaṁkāra in being a Kāvya-śobhākara Dharma, it is not a separate entity, but Apṛthak-siddha ; that is to say, it imparts beauty to poetry by itself, and is not added, as an Alaṁkāra is added, for extra beauty. It is obvious that the concept of Lakṣaṇa, even at its birth, had an overlapping of functions with Alaṁkāra, which in course of time swallowed it up. Even as a Nāṭaka-dharma, connected with dramatic Saṁdhyaṅgas, it had little individuality, and the attitude of the *Daśa-rūpaka* in not considering it separately, but including it in Alaṁkāra or Bhāva, is significant. The main view, however, which takes Lakṣaṇa, like Alaṁkāra, as a beautifying characteristic, appears to have died out with Abhinavagupta's somewhat apologetic formulation. Nevertheless, the whole discussion furnishes interesting evidence of an early tentative attempt to explain the essential character of poetic expression.

This brings us to the first systematic approach to the problem made by the so-called Alaṁkāra School of Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa and Rudraṭa, from which starts the earliest known formulation of a definite theory of poetic expression. Although as a theory of expression the Ālaṁkārika view was subsequently described for its insufficiency, the concept of Alaṁkāra persisted and its utility was acknowledged throughout the history of Sanskrit Poetics. It is, therefore, important to consider and understand clearly the concept of Alaṁkāra, in its various aspects, as the Viśeṣa or speciality of the Sābda and Artha.

What then is Alaṁkāra ? — to this fundamental question neither Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭa nor Rudraṭa furnishes a precise answer ; but from their treatment it appears that the term Alaṁkāra *connotes* an extraordinary turn given to ordinary expression, which makes ordinary speech or ordinary Śabdārtha-Sāhitya into poetic speech or poetic Śabdārtha-Sāhitya, and *denotes* the entire assemblage of rhetorical ornaments as means of poetic expression. In other words, it connotes the underlying principle of expression and denotes its means of realisation, the term Alaṁkāra meaning embellishment itself, as well as the means of embellishment. In later Poetics the term Alaṁkāra is almost exclusively restricted to its denotation of poetic figures as means of embellishment, and in this sense it is also known to Bharata and Bhāmaha ; but its connotation as the principle of embellishment appears in a somewhat fluid state in the early works of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana.

To the individual poetic figures (like simile or metaphor), the prominence of which is palpable in his system, Bhāhama applies the term Alaṁkāra ; but he also employs the term Vakrokti as a collective designation of such individual poetic figures. The term Vakrokti, however, is not used as synonymous with the term Alaṁkāra. As a collective designation, it doubtless denotes the poetic figures as such, but it also connotes a deviating strikingness of expression which underlies all individual poetic figures and forms their distinguishing characteristic. It is, thus, the fundamental principle of figurative expression ; but since Bhāmaha regards the figurative

expression to be the only proper expression of Poetry, the Vakrokti becomes the distinguishing characteristic of poetic expression and the essential principle of Poetry itself. Bhāmaha does not define Vakroti, which term, like the term Alamkāra, was perhaps already traditionally established ; but in speaking of it in connextion with the figure Atiśayokti, he perhaps implies in it the *lokātikrānta-gocaram vavah,* which he expressly mentions as a characteristic of Atiśayokti. As explained by Abhinavagupta and developed by Kuntaka, the qualification perhaps implies a heightened form of expression, a certain imaginative quality which constitutes a poetic figure, and as such distinguishes poetic speech from the matter-of-fact speech of everyday life. All poetic expression involves some kind of expressional deviation which constitutes its , charm. Bhāmaha's Vakrokti signifies this expressional deviation proper to poetry ; but since examining the whole field of poetic expression, Bhāmaha finds the Alamkāra or poetic figure omnipresent in it as a means of realising this deviation, his Vakrokti becomes the essential principle of an Alamkāra and necessarily of Poetry itself.

Although Daṇḍin uses the term Vakrokti only once in a significant passage as a collective designation of individual Alamkāras or poetic figures, and thus far agrees with Bhāhama, he does not yet apply it to the essential poetic quality underlying an individual poetic figure or individual Alamkāra. On the other hand, he applies the term Alamkāra itself generically to the attribute, apparently of word and sense, which produces beauty in Poetry, the Kāvya-śobhākara Dharma of Śabda and Artha. Even though he does not define the term Kāvya-śobhā or poetic beauty, he agrees with Bhāmaha that the entire Vāṅmaya or poetic speech is comprehended by Vakrokti or figurative expression, with the only exception of the first or primary figure, the so-called Svabhāvokti or natural description. The reservation made with regard to Svabhāvokti is not found in Bhāmaha. It cannot be said that, like Kuntaka, Bhāmaha entirely rejects it ; he mentions it with the guarded remark *iti kecit pracakṣate.* In so far as natural description involves strikingness of expression, it would be admissible, but Bhāmaha would not then consider it separately ; it would be included in the scope of his Vakrokti as figurative expression.

Although Daṇḍin would employ the term Alamkāra as the essential poetic attribute of Śabda and Artha and the beautifying principle of poetic expression, he would not take the individual Alamkāras or poetic figures as the sole or essential means of the beautifying principle. He elaborates a theory of two modes (Mārga) or kinds of poetic diction, which he calls respectively Vaidarbha and Gauḍa, and finds that the so-called excellences or Guṇas (like sweetness or lucidity) form their essence. Daṇḍin, therefore, employs the generic term Alamkāra, meaning poetic embellishment, to designate both the excellences or Guṇas, on the one hand, and the specific poetic figures, on the other, commonly known as Alamkāras and admitted as such by Bhāmaha. The concept of Guṇa is not new, having been mentioned by Bharata, but it is considered in a new context ; it is, however, neither properly defined, nor its relation to the old concept of Alamkāra exactly determined. Daṇḍin only tells us that the Guṇa is an Alamkāra belonging to the Vaidarbha Mārga exclusively, while the poetic figure is an Alamkāra which is common to both the Mārgas. Thus, it appears that the Guṇa, in his opinion, forms the essence or essential condition of what he considers to be the best poetic diction, but the so-called Alamkāra or poetic figure, on which the Alamkāra School of Bhāmaha laid exclusive stress, is not the

special characteristic of any specific diction, for it may reside in all kinds of diction. *Every Guṇa, to Daṇḍin, is an Alaṁkāra, but he nowhere states that every specific Alaṁkāra is a Guṇa.*

Vāmana further develops the rather indefinite ideas of Daṇḍin regarding Alaṁkāra and Guṇa. He follows Daṇḍin in taking the term Alaṁkāra both in its denotation and connotation, but he draws a more rigid line of distinction between Guṇa and Alaṁkāra. He states at the outset that Poetry is acceptable on account of Alaṁkāra, and he is careful to explain that the term Alaṁkāra should be taken here not in the specific sense of poetic figure, but in the general sense of poetic beauty. He, therefore, lays down sententiously that Alaṁkāra is beauty (*saundaryam alaṁkāra*). He also explains that the term Alaṁkāra or embellishment is primarily synonymous with the act of embellishing, but in the secondary intrumental sense it is applied to that which embellishes or the means of embellishment. In all this he is evidently developing Daṇḍin's teaching ; and like Daṇḍin, but more clearly, he does not make the presence of poetic figures, like simile and metaphor, an essential condition or requisite, as he does with respect to the presence of Guṇas. The Guṇa is defined as an essential characteristic of Rīti, which term Vāmana employs for Daṇḍin's Mārga. The Rīti being, in his opinion, the essence of poetry, the Guṇas are those characteristics which create the beauty of poetry, *kāvya-śobhāyāḥ kartāro dharmāḥ*, a function which is assigned by Daṇḍin to both the Guṇas and the so-called Alaṁkāras or poetic figures. The Alaṁkāras, in his opinion, are such means of embellishment as serve to heighten the beauty thus created by the Guṇas, *tad-atiśaya-hetavaḥ*. The Guṇa, therefore, being the *sine qua non* of poetic expression, is described as Nitya, implying that the Alaṁkāra is Anitya ; the Guṇa is the Dharma of Rīti, which is the 'soul' (Ātman) of poetry, while the Alaṁkāra is apparently the Dharma of Śabda and Artha, which constitute its body. In other words, the Alaṁkāra without the Guṇa cannot by itself produce the beauty of poetry, which the Guṇa can do without the Alaṁkāra. Although Vāmana declares at the outset that the term Poetry applies to such word and sense as are beautified by Guṇa and Alaṁkāra (*kāvya-śabdo'yaṁ guṇālaṁkṛtayoḥ śabdārthayor vartate*), yet the Guṇa, which is rigidly differentiated from Alaṁkāra, is taken as the essence of poetic expression in his system.

Although, like Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, Vāmana acknowledges the omnipresence and utility of Alaṁkāra as a means of poetic expression, he yet elaborates, after Daṇḍin, a theory of Rīti-Guṇa to explain the Viśeṣa of Śabdārtha-sāhitya. He defines Rīti as Visiṣṭa-padaracanā or a particular arrangement of words, and explains the Viśeṣa or particularity of arrangement as consisting of the Guṇa, realised in varying degrees in various kinds of Rīti. Whether the idea of Rīti, like that of Pravṛtti of Bharata, was evolved from geographical association and named Vaidarbhī, Gauḍī and Pāñcālī accordingly, but was afterwards standardised with reference to the subject, it is clear that in Vāmana's system it is synonymous with the literary mode displayed in various distinguishable types of poetic diction, realised by the unification of certain well defined excellences, such as sweetness and lucidity, which are called Guṇas. The Alaṁkāras, on the other hand, like simile and metaphor, are, no doubt, means of poetic expression, but they are merely striking turns of word and sense which have a subsidiary value.

From this brief review of the growth of the fundamental concepts of Alaṁkāra

and Guṇa-Rīti, it is clear that both the Alaṃkāra and Rīti Schools start with Śabda and Artha, word and sense, and find their Sāhitya to consist of the poetic Viśeṣa of Alaṃkāra and Guṇa-Rīti respectively as the essential Dharma of Śabda and Artha. While these early theories rightly call attention to a certain extraordinary quality in the relations of word and sense in poetic expression, which distinguishes it from ordinary expression, their inadequacy from the aesthetic point of view is evident. Their acute analysis of outward form and technique, with which they mainly concern themselves, is admirable, but they forget that the explanation of mere verbal and ideational arrangement is not sufficient for explaining the fact of poetic expression. Mere enumeration of categories of rhetorical embellishment or of so-called literary excellences do not adequately explain as to why they embellish or why they are excellent. As the Dhvani theorists rightly criticise, these earlier views do not correlate outward poetic expression to the inner content of poetry ; nor do they, as Kuntaka rightly points out, correlate poetic expression to the individuality of the poet, to the Kavi-svabhāva.

It is true that the Alaṃkāra School employs the term Alaṃkāra to connote the fundamental characteristic or principle of the beauty of poetic expression, but in actual theory and practice it is applied to the objective beauty of poetic form realised by certain decorative devices, known as poetic figures. The poetic expression, in this view, is chiefly figurative or rhetorical expression. Even if Bhāmaha speaks of Vakrokti as an essential principle of poetic expression, he does not definite it nor does he elaborate the idea in all its implication ; while his successors Udbhaṭa and Rudraṭa never mention the term nor discuss the principle. The attempts of these exponents of the Alaṃkāra School are limited to a systematic classification of poetic expression into fixed rhetorical categories ; and from this formal treatment their works have the general appearance of technical manuals comprising a collection of definitions, illustrations and empirical canons elaborated for the benefit of the aspiring poet. Poetry is regarded, more or less, as a mechanical series of verbal devices, in which a desirable sense must prevail, and which must be diversified by means of certain tricks of phrasing, which consist of the so-called poetic figures and to which the name of Alaṃkāra is retricted. These theorists approach the fact of expression or embellishment as a positive or accomplished fact, just in the same way as a scientist approaches a physical fact, to be methodically collected in their greatest possible variety, analysed with acute scholastic acumen, and grouped in fixed classes and types. In other words, they devote their effort chiefly to the working of the rules and means, formulas and categories, of external production into an exact system ; and this practical or pedagogic outlook must have received a great impetus from the highly developed analytic enquiry into the forms of language made by the normative grammarians. Like the grammarian and the scientist, who label and classify ever new series of facts, the Sanskrit Ālaṃkārika, pretending to find universals, calculates the particular species of expression from the original four ornaments of Bharata to one hundred and twenty-five of Appayya Dīkṣita ; but considering the inexhaustibility of individual poetic expressions, they may be easily renewed to an infinite number, while the universals of a formal analysis are of doubtful theoretic value for explaining the principle of concrete individual expression itself.

The aesthetic insufficiency of rhetorical categories was, however, very speedily perceived, but the theories which were advanced against mere rhetoric did not entirely

reject it. On the contrary, a reserve was made regarding its utility, and its principles were carefully preserved. When Vāmana declared the essence of poetic expression to be the Rīti, by which he meant nothing but a specific arrangement of words, characterised by the so-called " qualities " or Guṇas, he did not advance the speculation much further ; nor did his predecessor Daṇḍin, to whom Poetry was nothing more than a series of words determined by a desired sense. Both agree that the words should have a Vyavacchinna, Viśiṣṭa or particular arrangement, but this Viśeṣa consists not only of a special disposition (Rīti) but also of ornamentation (Alaṃkāra). Daṇḍin gives indeed an extended interpretation of the term ' ornament ', applying it to anything which lends ' beauty ' (Śobhā) to poetry, and including in its scope the figurative devices as well as modes or grades of arrangement of word and sense. Vāmana substantially agrees with this view when he defines ' ornament ' as beauty itself ; but with regard to the means of realising this beauty, he draws a sharp distinction between particularities of arrangement and the mere figures of poetic speech as essential and accidental means respectively.

It must, however, be made clear that the term beauty, Śobhā or Saundarya, which is taken as the test of poetic expression, is not clearly defined. There is no exposition of its character, even if its means are described and detailed. But it appears to have no other far-fetched meaning than that of the logical external effect realised by a carefully worked out adjustment of word and sense, which avoids damaging flaws by adopting, primarily, the so-called literary qualities, and secondarily, the rhetorical figures for heightening the effect thus produced. Whatever attempt later theorists like Kuntaka might have made to place the concept on a better aesthetic footing, or in whatever sense later writers might have employed it, there can be no doubt that the term Rīti in Daṇḍin and Vāmana signified nothing more nor less than a specific arrangement of word and sense, a mere combination, in varying degrees, essentially of clearly defined qualities like perspicuity or smoothness, and incidentally of equally clearly defined rhetorical figures like simile and metaphor. It has no reference to the organic expressive activity of the poetic intuition, which Kuntaka calls Kavi-vyāpāra, nor is it made equivalent, in this sense, to the Western concept of ' style ' as the expression of poetic individuality. The Rīti, as understood by these early theorists, is capable of technical formulation ; and, as such, the so-called literary qualities of ' simplicity ', ' vivacity ' and so forth become only generic or specific categories for labelling particular aspects of the aesthetic activity ; they do not explain the true character of the activity itself. The so-called Rīti and its constituent literary qualities properly designate the different degrees in the development, free or less free, of the expressive activity, and are thus aspects of successful or less successful expression. When completely successful, we have the expression itself. The so-called Doṣas or flaws designate embarrassed activity, ending in failure, and are thus aspects of unsuccessful expression. From the aesthetic point of view, this success or failure of expression may also be termed beauty or ugliness. But the beautiful, as the perfect expression, does not possess degrees : if ugliness does, complete ugliness, as ·complete negation, altogether ceases to be ugly ; for it loses its contradiction, and is no longer an aesthetic fact. The consideration of expression itself, therefore, is important, rather than a scholastic definition and classification of its different degrees of success or failure, of freedom or bondage.

The distinction, again, which the Rīti-theorists draw between Guṇa and Alaṃkāra lacks a proper aesthetic foundation. They found that both imparted beauty to Poetry, that is, both are parts or means of perfect expression. Some, like Daṇḍin said that there was little difference between the two as means of producing beauty, the one being a generic and the other a specific term ; some said that they differed but slightly, the Guṇa being the Dharma of the collocation of word and sense as a whole and Alaṃkāra of Śabda and Artha. The view was also proposed that the Guṇa was Śobhā-hetu and Nitya, while the Alaṃkāra was useful for extra beauty, Sobhātiśaya-hetu and Anitya. All these theorists realised only this that both Guṇa and Alaṃkāra imparted beauty, but they did not understand the vital question as to what in poetry do they impart beauty. They failed to perceive that Guṇa and Alaṃkāra, in whatever sense they are used, are only relative terms, and that they imply a Guṇin and Alaṃkārya. Vāmana, no doubt, stumbled upon something more than Guṇa and Alaṃkāra, upon what he calls Rīti ; but, Ānandavardhana rightly points out, the Rīti-theorists thereby only dimly perceived the real nature of the essence of Poetry, which cannot be the mere objective beauty realised by Rīti-Guṇa and Alaṃkāra. The distinction, again, between literary qualities and rhetorical ornaments as essential and non-essential may be of some use in logical or normative analysis but not in aesthetic realisation, ; for, given a particular expression, the qualities are as much integral parts of it as figures of speech. The expression should be taken not as a mechanic, but as an organic, whole in relation to the poetic intuition. As each individual expression automatically selects its own appropriate qualities and ornaments, it cannot be definitely laid down that a particular expression should possess this and should not possess that. If expression is expression, it is successful ; there cannot be any question of intermediate degrees of success in aesthetic estimate. Kuntaka, therefore, rightly criticises that there can be no classification of Rīti into good, bad or indifferent types. Nor can qualities or ornaments be categorically attached, since such expression is not a fixed and generic, but a variable and individual, fact. Kuntaka, therefore, rightly says that the concepts of Rīti, Guṇa and Alaṃkāra can only be justified if they are related to the Kavi-karman or Kavi-svabhāva, to the amagination or individuality of particular poets.

The poetic expression is capable of infinite diversity in accordance with the infinite diversity poetic individuality. Daṇḍin wisely declares that speech is diversified in its multifarious mode of expression, and admits the impossibility of labelling and classifying all modes of poetic expression with fixed and unalterable characteristics ; but maintaining that the sub-varieties are incalculable, he distinguishes two broad or extreme types, namely, Vaidarbhī and Gauḍī, while his successor Vāmana proposes three types, adding Pāñcālī as intermediate, and recommending the Vaidarbhī as containing all the literary qualities ; while subsequent writers add Lāṭī, Āvantikā, Māgadhī and so forth. But the attempt to exhaust and stereotype the entire poetical output within the clear-cut bounds of ready-made modes and fixed qualities on the basis of more or formal analysis, like the similar attempt of the Alaṃkāra School to classify and label the entire poetic expression into fixed rhetorical categories, is sure to prove unconvincing as the theoretic basis of poetic expression. Neither Daṇḍin's nor Vāmana's differentiation of individual Rītis and Guṇas, therefore, is found, as the criticism of Mammaṭa and others shows, exhaustive and consis-

tent. These varieties of Rīti, with their constituent Guṇas, are really instances of complete and incomplete expression, erected into definite universal types, probably (as the names imply) on the basis of empirical observation of localised usages. But as Kuntaka shows, the Rīti cannot be a Deśa-dharma as localised usage, nor a, Vastu-dharma as an inherent attribute of word and sense, but a Dharma of Kavi-svabhāva, the character of the poet, depending upon the nature of his poetic intuition, upon his Śakti (poetic power), Vyutpatti (culture) and Abhyāsa (practice). In this sense the Rīti becomes synonymous with the manner of individual poets, and not with prescribed or universalised modes or grades ; and all aspects of expression can be comprehended in it. But since the manner of expression varies with various poets, it is of infinite kind. It can be classified under broad types, but the definition and classification are susceptible to infinite, but unprofitable, multiplication.

II

From what we have said, it is clear that by drawing attention for the first time to the aspects of poetic activity indicated by the ' qualities ' or Guṇas, the Rīti-theorists may be regarded as having gone a step further than the mere Ālaṃkārikas, but the speculation in its halting formalism touches only the fringe of the aesthetic problem. By their very attempt at systematisation the Ālaṃkārikas recognised the existence of certain facts of poetic expression, namely, its so-called embellishment or extra-ordinariness, as aesthetic facts ; the Rīti-theorists went further and believed that these facts are reducible to a definite principle ; but both of them failed to realise that this principle is not an external category but a category of the spirit. It should have been clearly understood that every single expressive fact stands by itself as the result of a particular poetic intuition under a particular stimulus. Such facts may be grouped generically by the inductive process, but the continuous variation of individual poetic expression results in an irreducible variety of expressive facts. Each poet has his own mode of expression characteristic of his particular intuition in a particular case ; and with such differentiation, the classification of ' modes ', like the classification of ' ornaments ', would be endless without reaching any definite theoretic principle of expression.

The Dhvani-theorists, who come into prominence in the next stage, consequently declared that the true character of Poetry was imperfectly understood by those who took cognisance only of word and sense (Dhvanyāloka, i. 7) ; but, curiously enough, their own theory finds its origin, in the conventional manner, in the analysis of language and its meaning. The influence of the grammatico-logical concept of the Sāhitya of Śabda and Artha was still acknowledged, and the new theory of Dhvani was started on the analogy of the older theory of Sphoṭa. Ānandavardhana speaks of his own system as being founded on the authority of the grammarians, to whom he pays an elegant tribute as the first and foremost theorists, prathame vidvāṃsaḥ. From grammarians and logicans, the Dhvani-theorists acknowledged the functions of Denotation (Abhidhā) and Indication (Lakṣaṇā) of words, the former giving us the literal sense, and the latter, on the incompatibility of the literal sense, a further secondary but allied sense. But this was not all. They went further than the grammarians and logicians by contending that this did not exhaust the entire significance of Poetry. They pushed the analysis to the positing of another function of word and sense,

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another characteristic of poetic expression, namely, Suggestion (Vyañjanā), which gives a deeper sense, never directly expressed, but depending upon the poet's particular purpose in employing the word in its obviously denoted or indicated sense. This purpose or Prayojana, being always unexpressed, can be arrived at only by the process of suggestion, but it constitutes the essential charm or peculiarity of poetic expression. Here, for the first time, the poet's purpose is brought into the consideration of the product of the poet's mind, and an unexpressed sense (Dhvani) is acknowledged beyond what it directly expressed ; but, we shall see presently, the analysis is still empirical, and concerns itself with the form rather than with the essence.

The Dhvani School, in its analysis of the essentials of Poetry, found that the content of a good poem may be generally distinguished into two parts. The one is that which Śabda and its denoted or indicated Artha give us, that which is expressed in so many words, whether directly explicit or metaphorically implicit ; the other is not expressed but suggested, springing from what is thus expressed or indicated. The unexpressed or suggested part is not something vague, but it is distinctly linked up with the expressed. It is manifested by a peculiar power of suggestion, called Vyañjanā, inherent in word and sense, and is set forth as a fact of aesthetic experience, and distinguished from the concept of mere Vācya or denoted sense of poetry. To the grammarians and learned writers, it perhaps seemed paradoxical to state that the very essence of poetry was that which was not even expressed. On the other hand, some form of symbolical speech, in which wisdom demands that one should express oneself more in hints and suggestions than in actual words, was always in vogue ; and the poets had been more or less partial to the method of speaking in metaphor or wrapping up their ideas in transparent symbol or allegory. But suggestive poetry, according to the new theorists, is something more than the merely metaphorical or figurative, on which the Alaṃkāra and the Rīti Schools placed so much emphasis. The metaphorical or allegoric, however veiled, is still in a sense expressed and must be taken as such ; but the suggested in Poetry is always unexpressed, and is, therefore, a source of proper charm or strikingness by its very capacity of concealment, which, however, is not concealment in the sense in which an enigma is. The Dhvani School thus postulates that the unexpressed or inexpressible is the very ' soul ' or essence of all good Poetry ; it is called into being by a particular function of suggestion inherent in word and sense ; while such means of expression as the Guṇas and Alaṃkāras of earlier schools are mere means or attributes, which receive their justification of employment as such from this inner content of poetry.

The inner content of Poetry is undoubtedly a fact of aesthetic experience, being the poetic intuition itself, but to distinguish or bifurcate the content and expression as two separate, though intimately connected, entities, is formal analysis, and not aesthetic experience. The new theorists, no doubt, clearly perceived that the consideration of the ornamental fitting out of words or of the literary qualities of structure, are not enough to solve the problem of poetic expression. They clearly demonstrated that the so-called ornaments or qualities have no absolute value but depend upon the character of the particular utterance. In recognising all this, they sailed very closely along the coast, but they hardly succeeded in making an effective landing. The theory rendered great service by rightly emphasising that the literal sense alone is not sufficient, but that it should lead to the deeper poetic purpose embodied in the suggested

sense of Poetry. But the analysis still concerned itself with the intellective rather than the intuitive aspect of poetic expression, with the understanding of its ideas only as empirical facts. The unexpressed in this case has no reference to the individual poetic intuition, but is universalised as a mode of thought ; and being bound up by definite links with fixed and mechanical symbols of the expressed, it becomes as much a fixed and mechanical symbol as any rhetorical or qualitative category. It is no wonder, therefore, that the attempt resolved itself into the same empirical and normative method of elaborately distinguishing and classifying thousands of varieties of the unexpressed ; and even when the unexpressed was generically grouped into an unexpressed matter, an unexpressed ornament or an unexpressed sentiment, corresponding to the old mechanical grouping of descriptive, ornamental or sentimental composition, the speculation only labelled and pigeon-holed certain generic or specific aspects of the poetic function without exhausting or explaining the function,

It is not enough to say that the unexpressed is the essence of Poetry or analyse into groups the varieties of unexpressed meaning ; for Poetry in reality is expression, which contains in itself what is obviously expressed, as well as what is implicitly suggested. In aesthetic experience, as opposed to the merely logical analysis, it is impossible to separate the unexpressed and the expressed, for both of them together make up the being of poetic expression. The poet's " purpose ", which embodies the unexpressed, is undoubtedly important, but it is not meant by these theorists to be co-extensive with this poetic intuitivity, which is rich in unified images rather than in disintegrated thought or meaning, in its power of intuitive expression rather than in presenting this or that concept or idea. The expression is the actuality of the intuition, the so-called expressed and unexpressed forming its indissoluble constituents, undistinguishable in the organic whole. It is true that Sanskrit theory recognises that in order to be poetical, language should be generically semantic, but it forgets that the language of poetry must be taken as the language of poetic intuition, and not of logical intelligence, as an aesthetic and not an intellective fact. The scholastic bipartition between the unexpressed and the expressed, therefore, is useful in grammatico-logical analysis, but it hardly helps us in understanding the significance of poetry. The whole constitutes poetry, and not a part ; it avails us little in externally analysing what in its internal unity cannot be analysed ; there is no exteriority and interiority in poetic expression, which is one and indivisible. The attitude finds a parallel in one of the disastrous errors of modern philosophy, namely, the Cartesian mistake of regarding body and mind as separate substances, from which all the insufficiencies and perplexities of the " mind-body problem " flow and render clear thinking of the subject difficult. The poet's " purpose " in poetry, again, is unnecessarily and narrowly segregated from the word and its meaning, when the poetic purpose in its true sense is the word and the meaning themselves in their unity. This is the real meaning of the Sāhitya of Śabda and Artha in poetic expression. It should be admitted that by the unexpressed is pre-eminently intended the poetical, and not the logical or ethical meaning, but the poetic intuition knows of no dualism between word and its meaning, between itself and its expression ; for the content here is form and form is content. In attempting to combat the science of word and sense, the new theory appears to have preserved the same tradition in a fresh garb, inasmuch as it starts with the same pre-occupation with word and sense, with the same pre-supposition that a word

or its sense is a natural, mechanical fact or symbol, which can, in the manner of a scientific fact, be ground in classes, types or categories.

The Dhvani-theorists, however, did an important service by directing attention to an aspect or Poetry which had so far been imperfectly understood or entirely ignored in Sanskrit poetic theory.   Hitherto speculation had been busy with the consideration of poetical ornament or structure ; and it was thought enough if by these means certain definite ideas were expressed in a definite manner.   But it was realised that Poetry was not the mere clothing of agreeable ideas in agreeable language ; the emotions, and not merely ideas, play an important part in it, and can well be the material of Poetry₁ as it forms the material of life.   The question arose—how could the emotions be expressed ?   It is maintained by the Dhavni-theorists that emotions are in themselves inexpressible ; we can give a name to them and call them love, horror or pathos, but the naming of an emotion is not equivalent to expressing it ; at best, therefore, we can suggest them.   Since it was thought that the emotions are the most vital materials of Poetry, the new school took them up as an aspect of the unexpressed, which, under the name of Dhvani, they considered to be the essence of poetry.   They elaborated the thesis that what the poet can directly express or describe with reference to the emotions are the causes which give rise to them and their effects (as, for instance, the environment, the hero and the heroine as the receptacle, their gestures and attendant circumstances) ; with the help of these expressed elements, which must be generalised and conceived, not as they appear in the natural world but as they may be imagined in the world of poetry, the poet can awaken in us, through the power of suggestion inherent in words and their meanings, a particular condition of mind, in which a relishable enjoyment of the emotions is made possible.   It is true that the poet cannot rouse the same particular emotion as, for instance, his hero or heorine, the mythical Rāma or Sītā whom he describes, felt ; but since all human minds possess germs of the same emotion (here love) in themselves, and since the expressed elements, as well as the emotion itself, are generalised, he can suggest and thereby call up the generalised form of a similar emotion.   This condition of the reader's mind in the enjoyment of the poetic emotion is called the relish of Rasa, which can be awakened only by the suggestive power of word and sense.

It will be noticed that these theorists hold that the emotion itself exists in the mind of the reader in the form of latent impression (Vāsanā), being derived from actual experience of life or from inherited instincts.   On reading a poem which describes a similar emotion, this latent emotion is suggested by the depicted factors, which, being generalised or impersonalised, cease to be called ordinary causes but become extraordinary causes in Poetry.   The ordinary causes, therefore, being generalised or impersonalised by the suggestive power of word and sense, do not refer to particularities ; Rāma or Sītā is no longer Rāma or Sītā as an individual lover or his beloved, but is presented as the lover or his beloved in general.   In the same way, the emotion suggested, which is the source of the relish, is also generalised, the love of Rāma or Sītā being presented as love in general ; and in this generalised form it is possible for the reader to relish the emotion, even though it is not his own, inasmuch as the impression is already latent in his mind.   The emotion (Bhāva) is generalised and relished as a sentiment (Rasa) also in the sense that it refers not to any particular reader but to readers in general.   The particular individual, while re-

lishing it as a reader, does not think that it is his own personal emotion, and yet it is relished as such ; nor does he think that it can be relished by him alone but by all persons of similar sensibility. It is also not the personal emotion of the poet, for it is divested of all personal interest and presented in an impersonalised form. The natural emotion, whether of the poet or of the hero, becomes a poetic sentiment, and the natural causes become poetic causes. The relish partakes, no doubt, of the nature of cognition, it is nevertheless different from the ordinary forms of the process, inasmuch as it involves an imaginative or poetic process of idealisation, which has the power of stirring the latent emotional impressions of the reader's mind into a relishable condition of enjoyment. The resulting relish, therefore, cannot be indentified with the constituent factors ; for at the time of relish the factors are not experienced separately, but the whole appears as Rasa, which is thus simple and indivisible, and from which every trace of the contituent elements is obliterated.

Thus, by generalisation (Sādharaṇīkaraṇa) is meant the process of indealisation by which the reader passes from his troublous personal emotion to the serenity of contemplation of a poetic sentiment. The poet must also possess this capacity. of idealisation ; otherwise he will never be able to present his personal emotion as an impersonalised poetic sentiment capable of being enjoyed by others. This description of the poetic sentiment perhaps corresponds to Wordsworth's definition of it as emotion recollected in tranquillity. The resulting relish, therefore, is neither pain nor pleasure in the natural sense, which is found in the ordinary emotions of life associated with personal interests ; it is dissociated from all such interests and consists of pure joy, which is free from the contact of everything else perceived but itself. An ordinary emotion (Bhāva) may be pleasurable or painful ; but a poetic sentiment, transcending the limitations of the personal attitude, is lifted above such empirical pleasure and pain into pure joy, the essence of which is the relish itself. The poetic attitude is thus given as different from the naturalistic, and is explained as very akin to, but not indentical with, the philosophic. It is like the state of the soul serenely contemplating the Absolute (Brahmāsvāda), with the difference that the state of detachment is not as complete or permanent. It is thus recognised that the poetic attitude is entirely spiritual, but the idealised artistic creation affords only a temporary release from ills of life by enabling one to transcend, for the moment, his personal relations or practical interests, and restores equanimity of mind (Viśrānti) by leading him away, for the time being, from the natural world and offering him another in its place. For the poet it is also a release or escape in the sense that he passes in his poetic creation from the tyranny of personal emotion to the delight of impersonal realisation. It is an attitude of pure bliss, detached spiritual contemplation (Citsvabhāvā Saṃvid) ; it is very similar to, but not the same as, the state of true enlightenment, which comes only to the knower who, no longer on the empirical plane, transcends completely and permanently the sphere of pleasure and pain. As such, this state of aesthetic delectation is not capable of proof, because, its cognition is inseparable from its existence ; or, in other words, it is identical with the experience of itself. The only proof of its existence is its relish itself by the man of aesthetic sensibility, the Rasika or Sahṛdaya, the ideal connoisseur of Poetry, to whom alone it is vouchsafed. The reader must reproduce in himself what the poet has produced.

It is clear that the theory demands the existence of the aesthetic intuition, or

capacity of enjoyment of what it calls poetic bliss ; and the presupposition of latent impressions is only an aspect of this demand. Those who do not possess this intuition can never relish this spiritual state. There is plenty of people in this world who do not appreciate Poetry ; and the theorists are merciless in their satire on dull grammarians and mere dialecticians, who are incapable of attaining the aesthetic attitude. It is the Rasika or Sahṛdaya alone, who by his own intuition, can identify himself with the intuition of poetic creation (tanmayībhavana-yogyatā), and thereby or 'taste' renders the word Rasa literally, it does not imply, apart from the reader's reproduction of the poet's production, any conscious ethical valuation, 'good or bad taste'. It implies an experience similar to what we understand when we speak of relishing or tasting food ; but this realistic description must not at the same time drag it down to the level of natural pleasure, because by its aloofness and serenity it is lifted into a personal-impersonal blissful state of mind. The word 'Stimmung' used by Jacobi, may give us the nearest approach, but the Rasa is not a mere highly pitched natural feeling or mood, but indicates pure intuition which is distinct from an empirical feeling.

It is clear that however blissful the aesthetic enjoyment, as conceived by these theorists, may be, it must be distinguished from the enjoyment of natural feelings ; and the theory does not fall into the mistake of aesthetic hedonism, which sees no difference between the pleasure of poetry and that of easy digestion. No doubt, the conventional classification of generic and specific feelings is accepted, but they are given as constituting the material or stimulus of poetry. They may form the substratum (Sthāyi-bhāva) or concominant (Vyabhicāri-bhāva) of the poetic sentiment (Rasa), but they are not identical with it. Just as in the unity of spirit one cannot talk of cause and effect, so in the unity of Rasa, the separate natural feelings, say, of love, grief or horror, which may form its constituents, are never experienced, but the whole appears as a single and indivisible aesthetic sentiment of bliss, from which every trace of the constitutent empirical pleasure or pain is obliterated. In other words, love, grief or horror is no longer experienced as love, grief or horror in their disturbing poignancy, but as pure aesthetic sentiment of blissful relish evoked by the idealised poetic creation. This fact is borne out by the common experience that after experiencing grief in a play on the stage, the spectator says 'I have enjoyed it.' He may shed tears, but Viśvanātha explains clearly that tears constitute no proof that pain is felt ; for the tears that are shed by the spectator are not those of pain but those of sentiment, which causes a melting of the mind as a result of the nature of the particular aesthetic enjoyment. Hence, in a devotee, as Jagannātha observes, tears arise on the contemplation of the deity, when the religious feeling is raised to a serene state of similar enjoyment. The intuitive bliss arising from idealised poetic creations should, therefore, be distinguished from the experience of natural feelings and from all natural experiences of life, as something A-laukika, as something impersonal, disinterested or supernormal.

It follows that the question of the so-called qualities and ornaments, Guṇas and Alaṃkāras, which loomed so large in previous theories, must be revised from this standpoint. The previous speculation recognised that both Guṇa and Alaṃkāra imparted beauty to Poetry, but since they went no deeper than Śabda and Artha, ex-

pressed word and sense, they could not answer the vital question as to what in Poetry they imparted beauty. The inability arose from their not realising that Guṇa and Alaṃkāra are relative terms, and that they must be related to a Guṇin and Alaṃkārya. The analogy is maintained that Poetry, like a man, has two separable constituents, body and soul. The Vācya-vācaka, the form of poetry, the expressed word and sense, however important, constitutes its body or Śarīra. Of some soul, Ātman, in Poetry, Vāmana had a dim idea, for he stumbled upon something more than Guṇa and Alaṃkāra, upon what he calls Rīti. But the Dhvani-theorists point out that the Rīti is still regarded as Vācya-vācaya-cārutva-hetu or means of external embellishment of word and sense ; and the essence of Rīti being, according to Vāmana, a certain normatively standardised collocation of the Guṇas, it becomes a redundant concept. Some idea of Rasa was still there from the time of Bharata, but Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin would regard it an aspect of Alaṃkāra, Vāmana as that of Guṇa, the form of Poetry being alone considered important. But the Dhvani-theorists found that behind the Vācya-vācaka, the Śarīra of Poetry, the most important thing is the Śarīrin ; behind what is directly or figuratively expressed by word and sense, the most essential thing in Poetry is what is unexpressed but distinctly suggested. This, in their opinion, is not Aṅga or Śarīra, body, but the Aṅgin, Śarīrin, Ātman or soul of Poetry. What is suggested as Aṅgin may take the form of a matter (Vastu), or that of a poetic figure (Alaṃkāra), but in most cases it is a sentiment (Rasa), which becomes the most important suggested Aṅgin.

This being clearly formulated that Poetry must have an Aṅgin, a Guṇin and Alaṃkārya, in order to have Guṇa and Alaṃkāra, the problem of differentiation of Guṇa and Alaṃkāra came, as a matter of course, to be solved. So long as the Śarīra or outward form of Poetry alone is accepted, and everything recognised as its beautifying element, there can be no tangible difference between Guṇa and Alaṃkāra as fruitful concepts. If, on the other hand, the poetic sentiment involved in the composition is accepted as the Ātman or essence, distinct from the Śarīrin, there can be this differentiation that the Guṇas, like the qualities of a man's soul, pertain to the Aṅgin named Rasa, and the Alaṃkāras, like ornaments on a man's body, to the Aṅga called Vācya-vācaka. Both the Guṇa and Alaṃkāra are, thus, interpreted in a new sense, and justified by being brought in effective relation with the underlying sentiment in a composition. The mere verbal or structural form of a work cannot, except by way of analogy, be said to possess the qualities, say, of sweetness or energy, unless we mean by it that the underlying sentiment is sweet and vigorous. The Guṇas, as make up the verbal form, are aspects or attributes ; the real cause is Rasa, even as the soul of a man, and not his body, is the true cause of virtues like heroism. Pressing the analogy further, it is held that the Alaṃkāras or poetic figures adorn words and meanings which constitute the body of poetry, although through word and sense they may embellish the underlying soul of sentiment indirectly, but not invariably. Where there is no Rasa, they result in mere charmingness of expression. It is clear that these considerations simplify the classification and useless multiplication of Gunas and Alaṃkāras ; and the Rītis, being a combination of specific Guṇas, is no longer necessary as a separate concept. Although secondarily the Guṇas concern Śabda and Artha (just as Alaṃkāras primarily concern them), the Guṇas, and not Alaṃkāras, are taken primarily as the Dharmas or attributes of Rasa. Words and

ideas, for instance, which have the power of suggesting the quality of sweetness
(Mādhurya) of particular Rasas, are not by themselves sweet, but in relation to the
Rasa we call them sweet. The mental activity involved in the enjoyment of Rasa
is the sole criterion of a particular Guṇa ; and in this sense only three Guṇas are
justified. The Mādhurya or sweetness is supposed to consist of a melting (Druti)
of the mind, appropriate to the erotic and pathetic sentiments ; the Ojas or energy
is a form of brilliant expansion (Vistāra) of the mind, suitable to the sentiments of
heroism, horror and fury ; while the Prasāda or perspicuity, proper to all sentiments,
is an aspect of pervasion of the mind (Vyāpti), necessary for quick apprehension.
The Guṇas, as attributes of Rasas, are thus Citta-vṛttis ; and the three conditions of
the mind, namely, melting, expanding and pervading, which accompany the relevant
poetic sentiment, are made the basis of only three pertinent Guṇas.

The Dhvani-theorists undoubtedly mark an advance in explaining that the so-
called Guṇas or qualities of composition are not mere trick of sound and sense but
should be considered in vital relation to the underlying poetic sentiment. The consi-
deration of structure as such, therefore, is not necessary, and the distinction between
qualities of sound and sense is, from this standpoint, meaningless. The spiritual
activity involved in aesthetic enjoyment can alone justify them. In all this the Dhvani-
theorists show themselves conversant with the true nature of poetic expression. But
since poetic expression knows of no dualism between word and sense, just as there is
no real dualism between body and soul, it is meaningless, from the aesthetic point
of view, to draw an absolute distinction between the so-called quality and ornament.
The poetic intuition automatically chooses its expression, which is only the externali-
sation of the spiritual activity, and which is, therefore, not a mechanically fixed fact
but a part and parcel of that activity. The differentiation of the various means of
exteralisation as qualities or ornaments may have an useful or practical value, and
a doctrine of technique may be evolved ; but since poetic expression is a variable and
individual fact with individual poets, no fixed laws of means and ends can be laid down
for universal application. If we say that a poet has a new technique, we really mean
to imply that the new technique is the poem itself. A vital poetic intuition cannot
have a prescribed technique of expression, for the simple reason that it is an intuition,
of which the expression is the actuality ; it is not a volitional effort about which alone
we speak of means and ends, nor is it an intellectual concept which can be logically
or universally formulated. As the poetic intuition differs in each poet, according to
his psychic organism and the nature of the stimuli acting upon it, there is bound to
be endless kinds of expression, which are individual and concrete, which have their
own standards, spheres and means in each case, and which cannot repeat themselves.
It does not, for instance, help us to understand Kālidāsa's poetry by merely under-
standing that it fulfils the prescribed requirements of ' qualities ' of ' ornaments ', or
even of arrangements of words with a view to suggest this or that sense ; for his
poetry is not what it is by its mere conformity to these formal requirements. The
technique of the poet is his poetic conception itself ; it may express itself in an ornate
or simple manner, sweetly or harshly, expressively or suggestively, as is suitable to
itself. It may be a failure or a success ; but there can be, theoretically speaking, no
question of standardised means, of good, bad or indifferent technique ; what is appro-
priate to itself is its own technique. Even the ordinary man never believes in the

manufacturing of ready-made poetry. No technique can be universalised, and the enumeration of technical means can never be exhausted by formal treatment. · It may serve the practical purpose of supplying information about means, materials or groups of stimuli, or even the logical purpose of exposition, but it possesses no theoretic value for the understanding of the nature of poetic creation.

The Dhvani-theorists were not unaware of all this, although following older rhetorical convention, they did not bring out all its aesthetic implications. Ānandavardhana himself declares that the ways of poetic expression are infinite (*anantā hi vāg-vikalpāḥ*), but he does not fully realise that since there is no end of poetic individuations, it is futile to distinguish or elaborate rhetorical and qualitative categories. He is, however, right when he says that only the broad rule can be laid down that, whether they are qualities or ornaments, they must follow the import of the poetic intuition, which in his theory is the aesthetic sentiment or Rasa intended by the poet ; and if it is necessary to accept the older conventional categories of rhetorical figures and literary qualities, the only rule that should govern their employment is their appropriateness to the particular Rasa. Ānandavardhana, therefore, lays down very clearly that there is no other circumstance which leads to the violation of the Rasa than inappropriateness, and that the supreme secret of Rasa consists in observing the rules of appropriateness. For each poetic intuition there exists its appropriate expression ; and the theory of Propriety or Aucitya alone should explain and justify it.

This, in general outline, is the theory of Dhvani and Rasa finally reached by Sanskrit Poetics. The chief value of its contribution lies in its recognition, already foreshadowed by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, of the poetic sentiment as a fact of internal aesthetic experience and of its process of idealisation from a natural feeling (Bhāva) to a poetic emotion (Rasa). In this the theorists undoubtedly approach the very core of the aesthetic problem, and solve the question of Śabdārtha-sāhitya in a novel way. But unfortunately the starting limitations still remain, and prevent a proper devalopment of mere rhetoric into aesthetic. Because of these limitations it cannot be maintained that they have said the last word on the subject, or said it clearly and consistently ; but they have certainly dealt with some of its fundamental aspects very ably. A right exposition is given indeed of the aesthetic enjoyment resulting from the idealised creation of Poetry, and incidentally of the general nature of poetic idealisation, but the question is still approached from the standpoint of the reader or critic, the Sāmājika or Sahṛdaya, and the problem of poetic intuition from the point of view of the poet's mind is not considered in its entirety. The process is reversed ; the theory speaks of reader's reproduction, and not of poet's production. It speaks of the Sāmājika's relation to the poetic creation, and goes on to determine its character as an aesthetic fact solely from the point of view of its aesthetic enjoyment by the Sāmājika ; but it does not speak of the relation of the poet's mind to his creation by starting from the consideration of the creative imagination and its automatic externalisation as an aesthetic fact.

With this reversal of the process the final goal is hardly reached ; for, in spite of its originality, the new theory could not daringly break loose from its original barriers. The starting pre-occupation, for instance, with word and sense still remains ; and in its attempt to adhere to grammatico-logical analysis, the theory loses

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itself in the verbal labyrinth of the expressed and the, unexpressed. Everyone recognises that expression alone makes the poet, but every one does not realise that the expression is in each case unique, individual, and synthetic. The concrete unity of synthetic poetic expression cannot be split up into an abstract dualism of exteriority and interiority. The distinction between the unexpressed and the expressed, like that between the simple and the ornate, is a logical or grammatical, and not an aesthetic distinction. If a poet chooses to be ornate or simple, expressive or suggestive, in a particular case, he does so because it is the only or proper poetic expression in the particular case ; there is no question of the one or the other being in itself the good or the bad mode ; it is good if he is successful, if not it is bad. For mere rhetoric, the distinction and classification of expressive and suggestive, simple and ornate poetic facts may be helpful, but for aesthetic appreciation they have no significance. The same poetic intuition can express itself in one and one way only, precisely because it is a concrete intuition and not an abstract concept. It is possible, but it is futile, to analyse, distinguish and formulate a universal or invariable series of verbal rules and modes to govern infinite cases of particular and variable poetic expression ; for each creative fact is an individual occurrence which must be judged by itself.

The process of idealisation is also not fully and properly explained , it becomes a kind of abstract enjoyment of. abstract symbols by ignoring the concreteness of poetic intuition and creation. The idealisation is not mere generalisation ; even when he has an intuitive image of it, the poet never leaves the concrete. His Rāma or Sītā, however idealised, is not a mere abstraction, and the poetic sentiment, however serene, is never divested of its warmth, colour and vivid reality. Again, the theory maintains that feelings alone can be raised to the state of aesthetic relish by the idealising capacity of Poetry ; but there is no adequate reason why the poetic intuition of a descriptive matter, or even of a mere ornamental idea, cannot become an aesthetic fact or Rasa. Just as the experience of feeling as feeling is not aesthetic intuition, so is also not the perception of matter or idea as such ; they are only cases of the practical or logical forms of mental activity. But as soon as mere matter or idea, like mere feeling, becomes a part of the poetic intuition, it becomes a form of its spiritual activity, an aesthetic fact, capable of being equally well relished. It is not enough to say that a matter or ornament may be suggested ; it is necessary to recognise that matter or idea can in poetic creation stand on the same footing as the feeling, on which alone stress need not laid. In emphasising sentimental poetry and distinguishing it from the descriptive or the ornamental, the Sanskrit theory falls back upon the old error of confusing the form with the essence. Nevertheless, in spite of its imperfections, the theory of Rasa is a highly important contribution to poetic speculation. It indicates that the Sanskrit theorists were certainly aware of the aesthetic problem, even though they did not tackle it consistently in its entirety, contenting themselves, as they did, by treating it only in some of its aspects.

III

We have now seen that the Vaiśiṣṭya of Śabda and Artha, with which the Sanskrit theorists start, has been predicated of Poetry from various points of view. The Alaṃkāra and Guṇa-Rīti schools explain this Viśeṣa as the Dharma of the outward

form of Poetry, of the expressed word and sense, Vācaka and Vācya. The Dhvani school goes a step further and thinks that this Viśeṣa consists of the Vyañjanā-vṛtti, the function of suggestion in Poetry, which brings into comprehension its inner content in the form of a suggested sense of delectable poetic sentiment (Rasa) in the reader's mind. Whatever may be the merit of these theories, it is clear that they could not entirely divest themselves of the original concept of Sāhitya, which denoted linguistic expression in general and connoted grammatical and logical relation between word and sense. Nor did they, in their consideration of Poetry, take sufficiently into account the creative imagination of the poet, and consider how it transmutes mere linguistic expression into poetic expression, mere word and sense into poetry. With the standardisation of the Dhvani-Rasa scheme of Poetics, however, there was hardly any fresh attempt to re-examine this fundamental problem, for it was thought that there was nothing new to set forth ; and all scholastic subtlety and energy were, therefore, expended upon the elaboration of what had been already outlined, upon explanation, expansion, differentiation or restriction of already established ideas, norms and categories. In the midst of this uninspiring record of verbalism we can, however, still find scattered glimpses of theoretic speculation, mostly in the heretics and minor writers, rather than in the major orthodox personages. One such writer is Kuntaka, who attempted to give a new turn to the whole speculation by taking, however imperfectly, the creative imagination of the poet as his starting point ; but the extent of his heresy was considered so great that his work was neglected and forgotten in later times, until it was partially recovered only very recently.

It was Kuntaka who, for the first time, divested the concept of Sāhitya of its mere grammatical associations of Pada, Vākya and Tātparya, and defined it as a definite poetic quality or relation, brought about by the poetic imagination, the Kavi-pratibhā or Kavi-vyāpāra. The Sāhitya is not, in this sense, present either in the Śāstra or in the ordinary utterances of the world, but is seen in poetry only ; it is not the mere union of the expressor and the expressed, the Vācaka and the Vācya, but the union has a special beauty in poetry ; and the determination of this speciality is the problem of Poetics. Kuntaka, therefore, holds that Śabda and Artha united together or equipoised is poetry (dvau sammilitau kāvyam). It is meaningless to emphasise either Śabda or Artha, (na śabdasyaiva ramaṇīyatā-viśiṣṭasya kevalasya kāvyatvam, nāpyarthasya), to call one Ābhyantara and the other Bāhya (dvayor api prati-tilam iva tailam, tad-vid-āhlāda-kāritvaṃ vartate, na punar ékasmin) ; but what is more important is that a special kind of Sāhitya is meant (kiṃ tu viśiṣṭam evà sāhityam abhipretam), by which mere language blooms into poetry. This Vaiśiṣṭya, in his opinion, is displayed in a composition (Bandha) characterised by Vakra Kavi-vyāpāra and causing Tad-vid-āhlāda. The Vaiśiṣṭya, therefore, consists of an extraordinary deviation from the common mode of speech ; and this extra-ordinariness depends upon an imaginative turn of words and ideas, which he calls Vakratva, Bhaṅgī-bhaṇiti, Vaicitrya, or Vicchitti, which causes a higher and unworldly pleasure (Āhlāda) or pleasing charm (Camatkāra) to those who appreciate poetry (Tad-vid). He further explains that this Vakratva-vaiśiṣṭya or Bhaṇiti-vaiśiṣṭya rests upon the conception (Pratibhā) of the poet, or on his skill (Kauśala) or on an act of imagination on his part, which is termed Kavi-vyāpāra or Kavi-karman. Kuntaka analyses and classifies all poetic expression from this point of view ; but

what is important to note is that he puts a clear emphasis on the imaginative power of the poet, and considers it to be the source of the characteristic charm of poetic expression. He refuses, therefore, to accept the orthodox spiliting up of poetic expression into exterior or interior, considering poetic expression as one and indivisible. Whether the Sāhitya of Śabda and Artha be the Viśeṣa of the outward garb or the inner content, of the Śarīra of Vācya-vācaka or the Ātman of Rasa-dhvani, it is the poet's peculiar way, the work of his imagination, the Kavi-vyāpāra, which makes the particular poetic expression what it is ; that is the Viśeṣa.

In his analysis of poetic expression Kuntaka attempts to develop further the idea of Vakrokti vaguely present in Bhāmaha, and systematises the views of those who laid stress on the so-called Alaṃkāra or poetic figure as the essential feature of poetry ; but in the course of his investigation he appears to have indicated, if not fully developed, certain poetic principles which go beyond the sphere of formal analysis. By Vakrokti, which Kuntaka considers to be essential in poetic expression, he apparently thinks of figurative forms of speech, for which he often uses the phrase as a collective name ; but in reality this is not the entire significance of the term meant by him. Poetry to him is embellished sound and sense, the embellishment being chiefly (but not exclusively) the figurative device known as Alaṃkāra in the narrow sense, and as this is the only ornament possible and essential, he repudiates the views of those who disregard figurative expression as accidental or non-essential. But here he does not stop. He uses the term Alaṃkāra also in the larger sense of poetic beauty, not only as the fundamental principle of figurative expression, but also of all poetic expression generally. To this he gives the name of Vakrokti ; and comprehending under it all forms of poetic expression, he attempts a fresh interpretation of the problem by re-thinking and re-arranging under this conception the accepted ideas of Rīti-Guṇa, Rasa, Dhvani and Alaṃkāra.

All this may still be formal analysis, but in his conception of Vakrokti, Kuntaka shows himself cognisant of the aesthetic problem. He well understood that art could not be the medium of philosophical or scientific concepts, and insisted upon a clear distinction between Śāstra and Kāvya, between intellective and imaginative work, by stating that words and ideas of the Kāvya differ from those of the Śāstra. He also maintains rightly that expression being the most important thing in Poetry, the poetic speech is an extraordinary deviation from the ordinary mode of common speech, thereby distinguishing artistic expression from the merely naturalistic. This extraordinariness depends on a certain imaginative turn to words and ideas, which he calls Bhaṅgī-bhaṇiti, peculiar to poetic expression and abhorrent of matter-of-fact expression, and which in his system goes by the name of Vakratva or Vicchitti. He also explains that this Vakratva, for which another name is Vaicitrya or strikingness, is the charm of expression of the Vidagdha, the literary man of taste, who must be dinstinguished from the Vidvat, the mere scholar ; and it is his pleasure (tad-vid-āhlāda) which is the supreme test of Poetry, as something which is not Laukika. He further lays down that this expression depends, as we have seen, upon the intuition of the poet (Pratibhā), or in his skill (Kauśala), or on an act of imagination on his part, which is termed Kavi-vyāpāra or Kavi-karman, but which, being indefinable, is not defined or explained.

It is obvious that Kuntaka is one of the few theorists who put a clear emphasis

on the imaginative power of the poet, and consider it to be the source of the characteristic charm of poetic expression. He regards embellished speech as poetry, but holds that the source of this embellishment, even if it consists of poetic figures merely, is the poetic imagination. He, therefore, draws a distinction between what may be called a speech-figure, on the one hand, and the so-called poetic figure, on the other. In a formal scheme of Poetry they may correspond ; but in a poetic figure, because it is poetic, Kuntaka discovers a specific differentia, which consists of a peculiar or deviating turn of expression (Vakratva), resulting in a characteristic strikingness (Vaicitrya or Vicchitti) and depending on the imaginative activity of the poet (Kavi-pratibhā-nirvartitatva). The so-called poetic figures of orthodox Poetics are admissible only when they possess this peculiar charm of poetic imagination and expression, the word charm apparently meaning nothing but that which gives it its poetic peculiarity. Kuntaka, therefore, holds that embellishments do not belong to poetry, that is to say, they are not added externally, but that poetry is embellished speech itself, the particular embellishment depending on the poetic imagination.

Kuntaka, thus, supplies a deficiency in the teaching of the Dhvani-theorists, who ignored all embellishments unconnected with the suggested sense as mere Vāg-vikalpa or Ukti-vaicitrya. To them the ornamental expression of poetry was detachable, external and non-essential addition ; but Kuntaka gives a new interpretation of such Ukti-vaicitrya and justifies the poetic ornaments as such. If they are a part of poetic expression, they have a right to be considered, for they form thereby the expression itself. If the poetic imagination justifies them as a source of beauty, the question of their connexion with the suggested sense or of their essentiality or non-essentiality need not arise, they being themselves essential. In Kuntaka's view, therefore, poetry is always embellished expression, as distinguished from plain and matter-of-fact expression of sciences and scriptures, and embellishment in the general sense is always a characteristic of poetic expression. This embellishment comprehends in its specific sense the whole domain of rhetorical figures (which Kuntaka includes in the particular province of Vākya-vakratā); if they are justified by the poetic imagination and become poetic figures thereby. It may also include the qualities (Guṇa-Rīti,) mere matter (Vastu), or the so-called unexpressed (Dhvani), including the suggested sentiment (Rasa), if as form or material they become a part of the poetic imagination and expression. The skill of the poet can and does exhibit various forms of Vakrokti in the arrangement of letters, in the base or termination of words, in the words themselves, in their gender, number and synonym, in their sense, in a sentence, in a particular topic, or in the composition as a whole ; and all these necessarily comprehend what earlier theories elaborated as Guṇa-Rīti, Alaṃkāra, Dhvani and Rasa. Thūs, Kuntaka gives an extended interpretation to Bhāmaha's Vakrokti, by which Kuntaka connotes and denotes the same thing, namely, the extraordinary. form of imaginative expression. He makes Bhāmaha's somewhat inchoate suggestion of heightened speech more definite by referring it to the poetic imagination. It is, therefore, inaccurate to suppose that Kuntaka accepts merely figurative expression as the denotation of Vakrokti, for he brings within its comprehensive scope all known kinds of imaginative poetic expression. The inaccuracy arises from the apparent emphasis which Kuntaka puts on figurative expression, but in reality his Vakrokti means much more than that,

It is a pity that Kuntaka's explanation of poetic expression was never seriously noticed nor fully developed by orthodox writers. Had it not been so, it might have been possible to arrive ultimately at a clear idea of the nature of poetic creation,— an aspect of Sanskrit Poetics which has been ignored by Sanskrit theorists. But later writers, even if they neglect Kuntaka's work into unmerited oblivion, appear to have accepted, directly or implicitly, his idea of a poetic figure and applied his test of poetic imagination to their own analysis of individual rhetorical figures. We have seen that though Kuntaka regards the so-called poetic figures as particular forms of spech (Abhidhā-prakāra-viśeṣa), he would yet find some specific differentia in them which would make them admissible, namely, Vakratva or Vaicitrya, which is a peculiar turn of expression (Bhaṅgī-bhaṇiti), depending on an act of imagination on the part of the poet (Kavi-vyāpāra). The elements, therefore, which go to make up the being of a poetic figure, or rather convert a speech-figure into a poetic figure, are Vaicitrya or Vicchitti-viśeṣa and Kavi-pratibhā-nirvartitatva. In other words, Kuntaka maintains that a form or mode of expression becomes a poetic figure or Alaṃkāra if the fertile imagination of the poet lends a peculiar charm to it. This analysis is accepted by Ruyyaka, and, following him, by most writers of later times. Ruyyaka, for instance, does not elaborate a doctrine but implicitly takes the charm brought about by the productive imagination of the poet (Kavi-pratibhā) to be the criterion of a poetic figure. Thus, he thinks a form of expression involving the logical Anumāna would not *prima facie* constitute the figure Anumāna, it should involve a poetical, and not merely logical, Anumāna. Similarly, the doubt involved in the figure Saṃdeha should not be an ordinary doubt but a poetic doubt. Hence, Mammaṭa lays downs sententiously that the poetic figure is strikingness itself (*vaicitryam alaṃ· kārah*). In these and similar cases, the question is not one of a mere form of speech, in which nothing is given but the bare thought ; it must be the expression of the poetic imagination. Jayaratha who comments on Ruyyaka's work, cites the authority of Kuntaka in this respect, and informs us that it is not possible to define this poetic charm (Vicchitti or Vaicitrya), inasmuch as it is of infinite variety, being identical with the play of individual poetic imagination which is infinite in scope the infinite individuation of the poetic imagination having been already admitted by Ānandavardhana, as well as by Kuntaka. Jagannātha, therefore, defines it generally by saying that this charm is nothing but the poetic imagination with reference to the power of poetic production.

In the same way, Kuntaka acknowledges the concepts of Mārga and Guṇa, but finds fault with the empirical classification and nomenclature of Rītis and Guṇas adopted by the Rīti-theorists. He attempts to reinterpret the theory of Rīti from the point of view of poetic power. He objects to the naming and differentiating of Rītis after different localities ; for one would then be forced to admit infinite number of Rītis as there are infinite number of countries. In his opinion, a particular Rīti cannot be established as a Deśa-dharma ; for it does not depend upon regional characteristics, or upon special customs of a particular place, but upon the poetic power (Śakti), culture (Vyutpatti) and practice (Abhyāsa) of a particular group of poets, which can never conform to mere geographical distribution. He objects also the classification of Rītis into good, bad and middling, on the ground that the proper diction can be only one, namely, the best, no matter of whatever type it is. Kuntaka

believes that if different kinds of Rītis are to be admitted as Kaviprasthāna-bheda, then the character of the poet, the Kavi-svabhāva, alone should furnish the criterion of their distinction. He admits that this Kavi-svabhāva is infinite ; but, generally speaking, he thinks that there can be three main types. In one class of poets their natural poetic power finds an unhampered scope, while in others the art is chiefly decorative and factitious. These may be taken as the two extreme modes of composition which he calls Sukumāra and Vicitra Mārga respectively ; but there may still be a third class of poets who would like to steer a middle course, and favour a mixed style, called Madhyama Mārga. Kuntaka, therefore, admits the Rīti to a distinct place in his system, but adopts a different basis of classification and nomen·clature in accordance with his fundamental idea of Kavi-vyāpāra or Kavi-pratibhā. Here for the first time the Rīti is brought in direct relation with the poetic individuality, and is understood distinctly as its expression ; it is taken as poetic ' style ' in the sense in which it is understood by Western criticism. Kuntaka is fully aware that style is neither definable nor classifiable, being infinite in variety and subtle in difference, according to the particular poetic intuition in a particular case ; but his object in mentioning these three cases is perhaps to indicate certain broad types of poetic temperament. We shall revert to this question presently, but it is clear that by taking the poetic imagination into consideration, Kuntaka was able for the first time to assert, however imperfectly, that the question of personality is of the utmost importance in any theory of Poetry.

It will be seen that these speculations are of the highest value in calling attention to the creative imagination, which has been so far partically neglected by Sanskrit Poetics, but which Kuntaka may be said to have discovered for the first time. If the Dhavni-theorists explained the poetic intuition in the Sāmājika with respect to the aesthetic enjoyment of poetic creations, he left out of consideration the question of poetic intuition with reference to the poet himself. In other words, they considered the reader's power of reproduction but not the poet's power of production, Kuntaka, for the first time, posed the question by maintaining that we should, on the contrary, start with the creative imagination of the poet himself, of which the poetic expression or creation is the actuality. If Kuntaka had resolutely pursued his investigations further on this line, he could have formulated a proper aesthetic study ; but he still shows himself a victim of rhetoric in a different form. The scholastic terdency was almost universal, and proved a difficult barrier to the understanding of the true nature of the problem. This was so in Kuntaka, because while he discovered the importance of the poetic imagination, he could not have the credit of developing its implication for the entire aesthetic question ; he applied it chiefly to the analysis and classification of figurative and cognate expression. He had an inkling of the truth, for instance, when he spoke of poetic speech as a kind of expression other than that represented by scientific or popular speech. In making the distinction, he spoke indeed of the poetic imagination, but he could not clearly see that, inasmuch as the intellective and the intuitive were both aspects of the spiritual activity, the distinction is not absolute ; it depended simply on the nature of the poetic intuition. There is no absolute distinction, again, aesthetically between the simple and the ornate, for both may equally become kinds of poetic expression, or better, the expression itself ; while a scientific work can very well become a work of art, if the

writer has a poetic intuition of scientific facts and converts them into intuitive facts. Kuntaka's discussion, again, on the figure Svabhāvokti (natural description) which he rejects, as well as his main pre-occupation with figurative expression, indicates that he could not get himself entirely out of the conventional groove. The distinction between poetic and other kinds of expression was to him in practice, therefore, an empirical distinction between the ordinary and the extraordinary, the simple and the ornate ; and it naturally led him to put greater emphasis on ornamental expression. Kuntaka started well on his journey of discovery, but stood half-way, enmeshed and uncertain. If he perceived a serious flaw in the conventional edifice, he never ventured to take the giant's step of giving it the final blow.

One of the results of the ignoring of the poetic imagination is seen in the failure to develop the older theory of Pāka and Sayyā, or the new theory of Aucitya or Propriety discussed by Ānandavardhana. One of the later writers who concerns himself directly with the question of Aucitya in Poetry is the Kashmirian Kṣemendra. He is undoubtedly right in elaborating the view that proper expression is the only expression in Poetry ; in fact, it is expression itself ; but his investigations are directed mainly to the consideration of externals. Accepting the prevailing view that the suggestion of poetic sentiment or Rasa is essential in Poetry, he analyses the improprieties which hinder this aesthetic employment. Accordingly, he distinguishes and classifies minutely, with profuse illustrations, cases of application of the principle of propriety to the various points in a poem, such as the word, the sentences, the subject-matter, the speaker, the time and place, the qualities, the poetic figures, the underlying sentiment, the use of case, number and gender, the employment of the verb, preposition, adjectives, particles, and so forth. The cases of application are dogmatically summarised as twenty-seven in number. All this is very useful, but it forgets that the infinite variations of individual poetic expression are incapable of exhaustive formal treatment. One cannot evolve a general and invariable formula for what is particular and variable ; and nothing is gained by tabulating generically certain forms and aspects of the ever-changing activity of the poetic imagination.

The failure to recognise the poetic imagination in poetic creation is one of the most serious drawbacks which hindered the growth of Sanskrit Poetics into a proper Aesthetic ; for it led to an almost entire ignoring of the poetic personality in a work of art, which gives it its particular shape and individual character. Thereby Sanskrit Poetics neglected a most vital part of its task, namely, the study of Poetry as the individualised expression of the poet's mind, which should have been one of its fundamental issues. It is only tardily and imperfectly recognised that the Śabdārtha-sāhitya in Poetry is not a mere grammatical and logical qcestion, but it is not fully realised that the real charm of Śabdārtha-sāhitya is absolutely a poetic quality, which springs from individual poetic imagination in its particular way of expression, from the fusing power of the particular poetic personality which makes a particular poetic work what it is. It is not that the Sanskrit theorists are not aware of this, but they make the mistake of laying down fixed laws and means, models and standards as true for all cases, of elaborating abstract universals as applicable to all necessarily divergent types of individual and concrete poetic productions. It is like prescribing one measurement for all feet, one garment for all bodies. From the insufficiency inherent in such an attitude spring some of the deficiencies of Sanskrit poetic theo-

·ies. Sanskrit Poetics, for instance, cannot satisfactorily explain the simple question as to why the work of one poet differs in character and quality from that of another poet, or why even two works of the same poet are not the same in these respects. To the Sanskrit theorists a composition is a work of art if it fulfils certian prescribed ·equirements of ' qualities ', of ' ornamants ', or of arrangement of words with a view .o suggest a sense which is not directly suggested ; it is immaterial if the work in question is the *Raghu-vamśa* or the *Naiṣadha*. The main differences they will probably see between these two works will consist of the formal employment of this or that mode of diction, this or that poetic figure, or in their respective skill of suggest- ·ng this or that meaning of the words. They never bother themselves about the poetic imagination, which gives each a distinct and unique shape in a fusion of impressions into an organic, and not a mechanic, whole. They fail to understand that this is what distinguishes the *Raghu-vamśa* as a poem from the *Naiṣadha*, as well as from the *Kumāra-sambhava ;* for their appreciation of the particular power of individual poe- tic imagination or personality in each case is merged in the consideration of certain universal and fixed standards of more or less normative requirement.

The question of personality, therefore, is of the utmost importance in aesthetic expression ; in fact, it is the most vital and indispensable problem in any theory of Poetry. It is a matter of ordinary experience, and does not require much research to prove, that what appeals to us in a poem is the poetic personality which reveals itself in the warmth, movement and integrity of imagination and expression. No doubt, the poet may astonish us with his wealth of thought, or with his cleverness in the manipulation of the language, but this is not what we ask of a poet, What we want is the expression of a mind in contact with which our minds may be moved. Some people are indeed interested in profound thought or ethical nobility, and want to find them in a work of art ; but these are extrinsic intellectual or ethical valuations which have little to do with the intrinsic poetic appeal. The personality may be cheerful or melancholy, thoughtful or emotional, serene or perplexed, gorgeous or simple, benignant or malignant ; but if it is really a personality, it is sure to arrest and enliven us, apart from every other consideration of thought or feeling. Such a personality justifies a work of art by itself, and we never call it dull, cold or flat. On the other hand, if this is wanting, all the learning or moralising in the world cannot save a work from being an artistic failure. For what does failure mean in a work of art but want of integrity or unity ? It means that one powerful and homo- genous personality does not emerge, but a series of disjointed and straggling persona- lities, which does not give the synthetic coherence required by successful expression.

Let it be clearly understood that this spontaneous and ideal personality in a poetical work is not identical with the empirical and volitional personality of the poet. The latter does very often invade or obscure the former, and leave traces of crude and factitious effects. A poet, who is unable to attain a proper expression of his true poetic personality is, therefore, often found padding out his work with declamatory or theatrical effects to make up the deficiency. If his practical or intellectual tendencies· prevail, he will try to overwhelm by didactic moralising or richness of thought or fact. Here what really happens is that one kind of persona- lity, namely, the poetic, which has its proper sphere in this case, is opposed, mastered or denied by another, which is entirely alien. Those theorists, therefore, who deny

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the claim of personality and declare that art should be impersonal do not really offer an opposition, because what they say implies that good artists do not leave traces of their personality and bad artists do. Even the strongest advocate of impersonality will admit that the author of a work, which consists merely of an industrious compilation of facts and in which there is no trace of personality, may be a useful and methodical pedagogue but is no poet. The fact which is emphasised by the requirement of personality in a work of art, therefore, is the fact of unity, that is to say, not the haphazard unity of diverse kinds of personality but the intrinsic unity of the work as the synthetic expression of one poetic personality.

It is not surprising, therefore, that we search in vain for a clear discussion of the character and function of the poetic imagination in the whole range of Sanskrit Poetics. Even though Kuntaka recognises it, his Kavi-karman limits itself mainly to a normative analysis of empirical canons, and makes his Poetics ultimately assume a verbal and formal character, in which his fundamental suggestion is lost. His Vakrokti degenerates into a kind of Kavi-prauḍhokti of later writers. No doubt, most writers solemnly affirm the necessity of Pratibhā or poetic imagination ; but Pratibhā in their theories themselves does not assume any important role, nor is its character or function clearly determined. This imperfect understanding is also shown by what the Sanskrit theorists often say about culture (Vyutpatti) and practice (Abhyāsa) in relation to the poetic imagination (Pratibhā). It is true that the fact of poetic representation is preceded by various kinds of knowledge. which, like feelings or physical facts, act as a stimulus or material. As adventitious aids to the externalisation of poetic intuition, they have a relative value, and a cultural background is involved in all good poetry. In so far as this is acknowledged, the Sanskrit theorists justly remark that culture and practice should assist innate poetic power. But, protesting their belief in the poetic imagination, they sometimes go further and speak of " making a poet into a poet ". Rudraṭa, for instance, expresses the opinion that poetic power is not only inborn but also capable of attainment. It is, therefore, prescribed that the poet should be an expert in a long list of arts and sciences and make himself proficient in various kinds of poetical exercises. This demand is in conformity with the learned atmosphere in which Sanskrit Poetry at one time came to flourish, and which made Poetics assume a scholastic character. In actual practice, no doubt, the gifted poets aspired to untrammelled utterance ; but the general tendency in an epoch of relative decadence of culture degenerated towards a slavish adherence to rules, which obscured and dominated the poetic activity, and which naturally resulted in the overloading of a composition with artificial devices. Hence, we have a group of rhetoricians who deal with the theme of Kavi-śikṣā or " education " of the poet, and furnish elaborate instructions to the aspiring poet in the artifices of his craft. The attitude believes in a doctrine of technique, in the teaching of the laws and means of poetic expression ; and it is curious indeed that this practical object developed side by side with theoretic discussion. But we have already seen that a doctrine of technique, however useful, is of no aesthetic value ; and the common remark that any amount of culture or technical skill cannot make a poet contains an element of truth, which exposes the absurdity of such a doctrine.

This imperfect understanding of the character and function of the poetic imagi-

nation is also shown by the whole discussion on the so-called objects of Poetry. Since the expressive activity is a purely intuitive and spiritual necessity, this alone theoretically speaking, can be its only absolute object ; the other objects, such as knowledge, pleasure or virtue are only relative, having certain practical or intellectual application, which is entirely extrinsic. There is, therefore, some truth in the common saying that a poet speaks because he must speak, just as a man possessing a strong will cannot help realising it in action. But in Sanskrit Poetics, we have, on the one hand, an enumeration of the teaching and ennobling functions of Poetry ; on the other, an insistence on its function of pleasing. There was also a tendency to combine the two duties of teaching and pleasing by the supposition that Poetry, as distinguished from science and scripture, is like the teaching of a beloved mistress. Poetry, thus, appears in turn or in combination as a pedagogue, a moralist and a seductive mistress. It must be said, however, that it is fortunate that even though these ideas were always there, they seldom moulded the poetic theories themselves. The Sanskrit theorists evince an undoubted aesthetic acumen by always emphasising that the poetic activity in its essence is independent of intellectuality, utility and morality. Although they do not discuss the question, they tacitly distinguish the poetic activity from the intellectual or the practical, and give evidence of a strong common sense by never confusing a poetic with a scientific or didactic work, the Kāvya with the Śāstra or the Nīti. It is curious indeed that these theorists expend a great deal of abstract and intellectualist erudition on a cold and monotonously inflated rhetoric, and yet they enjoy poetry as poetry, and hardly ever think of the moral end or the intellectual gain. It is clearly indicated that poetry is not a mass of popularised truths, nor a manifestation of empirical pleasure and pain from the ethical point of view, but that it conveys a state of the mind in its intuitive purity, which can be reproduced in an idealised form in the reader's mind. In Sanskrit, therefore, there never developed an intellectualist Poetics which valued Poetry for the knowledge it brought and regarded it as a semi-science ; nor was there a practicist Poetics, which emphasised such practical forms of human activity as have an utilitarian, hedonistic or moralistic end in view.

But the failure to explain and justify poetic expression purely by the poetic imagination is seen in the vacillation and uncertainty of the various attempts to discover a rigid definition of poetry. We have seen that the earlier writers wisely leave the question alone, contenting themselves with the bare mention of Śabda and Artha as the ingredients. Following them, the later writers take the Śabdārtha-sāhitya, in unbroken tradition, as essential requisite of poetry ; but they attempt to qualify it by the enumeration of certain standardised characteristics or Viśeṣas, as Alaṃkāra, Guṇa-Rīti, Dhvani or Rasa. But they could not entirely divest the Śabdārtha-sāhitya of its grammatical and logical associations and erect it into a purely poetic concept. They forget all about the poetic imagination, and concern themselves more or less with a normative analysis and classification of general formulas and categories in order to explain what is an individualised occurrence with each poet. The failure to understand that the poetic intuition differs in different poets in different circumstances led them to make a vain effort to find one universal definition of Poetry, one abstract and invariable formula for what admits of infinite individual and concrete variations ; to determine logically what in its essence is non-

logical, to immobilise the mobile by throwing a bridle on the neck of Pegasus. Both the approach and the method are not correct. The theorists devote themselves, with great zeal, to collect, analyse and classify methodically, after the manner of natural sciences, a series of single facts into general principles. Such an empirical attitude admits indeed of aesthetic occurrences, but nourishes a delusion that, like facts of natural sciences, they can be grouped formally into classes and types. In the course of their investigation the theorists amass, calculate and measure the greatest possible variety of such aesthetic facts, formulate laws, means, modes and models ; but as they progress, they always discover new facts which require fresh adjustment. In this they fail to realise that as each expression is unique and indivisible, artistic facts in their unified concreteness cannot, like physical facts, be mechanically divided and subdivded ; nor can they, like intellectual facts, be logically comprehended by abstract universals. Such an attitude reduces Poetics to the rank of a formal discipline, like Logic ; and most of its piteous perplexities arise from this outlook. The theorists unfortunately forget that a work of art is an intuition, that intuition is individuality, and that individuality never repeats itself, nor conforms to a prescribed mould. They believe, thus, not in unity but in the duality of imagination and expression, thereby splitting up what is organic into mechanic parts. They hardly recognise that word and sense, as symbols, are inseparable from poetic intuition ; and as such, they are not fixed and mechanical, but mobile and elusive. Poetry should be taken as a living discourse among diversely expressive organisms, and not as an embalmed collection of dead abstractions, capable of scientific dissection. Good sense has always refused to accept a normative formulation of poetic expression. No one, except a poor speaker or versifier, speaks or writes by rules, and no one believes that it is possible to lay down such rules of speaking or writing well. For the real poet, as for the real speaker, there is hardly any armoury of ready-made weapons ; he forges his own weapons to fight his own partcular battles.

If these investigations of Sanskrit theorists are meant to explain the principle which lies at the root of Poetry, they can never do so completely and successfully by merely analysing and classifying aesthetic facts and categories without taking into account the poetic imagination, which makes them what they are. Let it not be supposed that we wish to deny or minimise the usefulness of such analysis and classification from the scientific or scholastic point of view ; what we want to stress is that they fail to establish their claim to explain the intuitive activity involved in poetic creation. As logical concepts or natural facts, they are admissible, and are of practical value ; but they hardly have importance for aesthetic explanation. They are like labels to a thing, rather than the thing itself. In the true sense, the elaboration of such series of laws is a negation of art itself. By their universality, they negate its accidentality ; by their abstraction, its empiricity ; by their mechanism, its organic character. Thus, Sanskrit Poetics, attempting to solve the riddle of Poetry did hardly solve it, but delighted itself with the pleasure of abstract thought and formal calculation. Nevertheless, these aberrations and insufficiencies are at the same time attempts to reach the truth ; and in the midst of unlifted shadows one does often perceive a running thread of silver lining. Even if the Sanskrit theorists could not, because of initial handicap, arrive at the final goal, they still had a clear

glimpse of it. Like the mystery of God's creation, the mystery of the poet's creation is unfathomable ; and struck with wonder and admiration, one can only say :

> *kaver abhiprāyam a-śabda-gocaraṃ*
> *sphurantam ārdreṣu padeṣu kevalam |*
> *vadadbhir aṅgaiḥ kṛta-roma-vikriyair*
> *janasya tuṣṇīm-bhavato'yam añjaliḥ ||*

VRTRA

By

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The conflict between evil forces and darkness on one hand, and divine power and light on the other, subsequently right emerging triumphant from the mortal struggle overthrowing the destructing and malignant forces, is the theme of many an ancient myth. These opposing forces are styled in Indian literature as Āsura and Daiva, of which the Bhagvadgītā gives an exposition in the chapter on 'Daivā'sura-sampad-vi-bhāga-yoga'. In the Vedas Vṛtras represent the evil forces and Indra and his companions the divine powers. The traditional antagonism between Devas and Asuras originally developed on this conception which, in a general form is described as a fight between Devas and Asuras in our Epics and Purāṇas.[1]

Vṛtra, Śambara, Vala etc. are the Asuras of the Ṛgveda. But Hillebrandt claims that Vṛtra is never an Asura in RV[2]., whereas Brown calls him the 'chief Asura' of the Ṛgveda, interpreting 'Asura-pitṛ' of X. 124.3 as referring to Vṛtra.[3] Vṛtra is the chief enemy of Indra and other gods, and the enemies of gods are collectively called Asuras (X. 53.4; 157.4). So, though Vṛtra is not expressly called an Asura in RV. unlike some of his companions such as Pupru (X. 138.3. 'pipror asurasya'), Namuci (X. 131.4. 'nâmucār asuré') Svarbhānu (V. 40.5. 'svarbhānus támasā vidhyad āsuráḥ') etc., he undoubtedly belongs to that fold and represents the Āsurī sampatti in the Vedas.[4]

In the Avesta also the world is represented as two-fold, being the work of two hostile beings, Ahura Mazda, the good principle, and Aṅgra Mainyu, the evil principle.[5] The Parsi scripture gives details of the clashes that occurred between these two rival principles when one tried to make the world happy and prosperous and other attempted to render it a veritable hell (Fargad I and II). Ahura represents all light, truth, goodness and knowledge, whereas Aṅgra Mainyu all darkness, falsehood, wickedness and ignorance. Ahura dwells in the infinite light while Aṅgra Mainyu in

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1. Vide W. N. BROWN : "-The creation Myth of the Ṛgveda" (*JAOS.* Vol. 62, p. 91.) wherein he says : The cause of epic quarrel between the Ādityas and the Dānavas (cf. 8.96.6) is never stated, but we may reasonably assume that it lay in the antethesis between their natures. Shall we say that Ṛgvedic man saw in the universe opposing forces of contraction and expansion conservatism and liberalism, bondage and freedom, and developed a myth around them : He personified these forces as the Asuras ....".

KEITH also believes that "the Asuras also are more probably to be taken as the power of darkness than as men, though individual Asuras may be quite well nothing but men." (*RPV.* p. 121).

2. *HVM.* 3.68, W. N. BROWN, *JAOS.* Vol. 39, p. 101.

3. *JAOS.* Vol. 39, p. 102.

4. Vṛtra has been often referred to as Dānava in RV. (II. 11.20; V. 29.4.; 32.1; 4; 7; etc.), a generic term for the demons and in I. 32.9 he is expressly referred to as the son of Dānu, te mother of all demons as Aditi is of gods. This clearly shows that Vṛtra is regarded as none but an Asura though he was not found addressed with that term.

5. DARMESTETER, *SBE*, Vol. IV, Introd. p. 56.

the perpetual darkness.[6]   The Vṛtras, the fiends of the Vedas also live in the dark
nether world, the home of darkness and waters, and the Devas in the heaven, the
abode of light.

The word Vṛtra is derived from the root ' vṛ ' to cover or encompass. He is so
called because he encompasses the waters (apó vṛtrám vavrivāṁsam ' IV. 16.7 ; VI.
20.2, etc.).[7] The ŚB. goes a step further in this matter and etymologies it as " vṛtro
ha vā idam sárvam vṛtvā śiśye yad idám antareṇa dyāvā-pṛthvī sa yad idam
sarvam vṛtvā śiśye tasmā vṛtro nāma." (I. 1,3.4), ' because he lay covering all
this space, between heaven and earth, he is called vṛtra '. Yāska refers to the
opinions of different scholars when he speaks of Vṛtra. He writes : ' tat ko vṛtraḥ ?
megha iti nairuktāḥ. tvaṣṭo'sura ity-aitihāsikāḥ. apām ca jyotiṣaśca miśrībhāva-kar-
maṇo varṣa karma jāyate. tatro'pamā'rthena yuddha-varṇā bhavanti. ahi-vat tu khalu
mantrā-varṇā brāhmaṇa-vādaśca. Vivṛdhyā śārīrasya srotāṁsi nivārayāñcakāra. tasmin
hate prasasyandire āpaḥ." ('who was vṛtra ? ' A cloud ' says the Nairuktas (ety-
mologists) ' an Asura, son of Tvaṣṭṛ ' says the Aitihāsikas (story-tellers). The fall
of rain arises from the mingling of the waters and of light. This is figuratively depicted
as a conflict. The hymns and Brāhmaṇas describe Vṛtra as a serpent.. By the expres-
sion of his body, he blocked up the streams. When he was destroyed the waters flowed
forth.").[8] And then Yāska etymoligises it as : " Vṛtro vṛmoter vā vartater vā vardha-
ter vā. Yad avṛṇot tad vṛtrasya vṛtratvam iti vijñāyate. Yad avartata tad vṛtrasya
vṛtratvam iti vijñāyate. Yad avardhata tad vṛtrasya vṛtratvam iti vijñāyate." (II
16-7). He thus derives the word from the roots ' vṛ ', 'vṛt' and ' vṛdh' meaning
to cover, to prompt, and to grow respectively. Hopkins renders vṛtra as the ' restrainer.'[9]
Whereas Benveniste and Renou believe that the original sense of the word was ' resis-
tance ' which according to them, Avesta has conserved and Iranian Vṛthragna thus
means the god who destroyed resistance.[10]

Vṛtra appears as Orthros in Greek mythology but in Avesta we have only vṛthregna,
a derivative form of vṛtra. Vṛtra's parallel in Avesta is Ahi Dahāka whom Thraetona
Āthwya kills and recovers the light. Indra is called Vṛtrahan in ṚV.—an epithet
which is attributed to him because he killed Vṛtra or Vṛtras, the demon or demons and
released the captive waters and light. In Avesta we find two myths embodying this
idea (1) Thraetona Āthwya destroys Ahi Dahāka, the fiend snake and liberates the
light of hvareno from his possession (Yt. XXI. 47-52); (2) Tistrya knocks down
Apoasha with his club (for he obstructs the rainfall) and causes the waters to stream
freely down the seven Karshvāre (Yt. VIII).[11]

Vṛthregna, the god of victory in Parsi scriptures was according to some scholars,
originally a separate deity, though in ṚV. he has been absorbed in Indra, and the
word exists in the Vedas only as an epithet of the latter. The Indra-Vṛtrahan identi-
fication, Keith observes, was the product of syncretism. ' As the Indo-Iranian ' he
writes, ' we must recognise the existence of a warrior god who triumphs over his enemies

6. SBE. Vol. IV, Introd. p. 71.
7. See VM. p. 159.
8. OST. Vol. II, p. 175.
9. HRI. p. 94.
20. See Vṛtra et Vṛthregna, Etude de Mythologie Indoirananne (Paris 1934); VB,
R. N. DANDEKAR, p. 144, see also KEITH ' Indra-Vṛtra ', IC, Vol. I, p. 461.
11. SBE. Vol. IV, Introd. p. 63.

and affords assurance of the victory to those whom he aids. Such a diety appears
clearly in the Avesta. Vṛtrahan in the Ṛgveda admittedly shares but feebly this aspect,
being primarily an epithet of Indra. We must, howevver, recognise that this is a
secondary state of affairs, and must believe that Vṛtrahan was once an independent
deity." [12] Tilak also believes that Vṛtrahan and Indra were originally separate deities
and that later, in Vedas, the exploits of Vṛtrahan, the killer of Vṛtra, and the releaser
of waters and the Dawn, were by mistake or analogy ascribed to Indra, the rain-god
of Vedic Mythology. [13]

The word Vṛtra in RV. is masculine as well as neuter. When it is masculine it is
generally in singular and when neuter it is invariably in plural. But in Avesta the
word is only neuter where it means ' resistance' and where it is never personified. [14]
True it is that Vṛtra does not exist in Avesta as a demon's name ; but how far it is
reasonable to suppose that the poetic imagination of the Vedic bands created Vṛtra as
a separate demon from an abstract ' resistance' unknown to Iran, [14] we cannot say.
Further it is argued that Vṛtra as a demon is derived from and is not the source of
Vṛtrahan. [15] Whatever may be the position of Vṛtra in Avesta, in RV. he is a great
demon chief ('prathamajām ahīnām '), and 'Orthros' of the Greek mythology proves
his existence in the Indo-European period.

Vṛtra in masculine singular implies the demon or the dragon of the name but in
plural (neuter) it unmistakably denotes a different meaning i.e. enemies or team or
group of enemies collectively. Chattopadhyaya says that the word carries three dis-
tinct significations in RV. (1) a particular demon that keeps away the precious rain
waters from man till Indra kills and releases them, (2) enemy, Aryan, or non-Aryan,
and (3) (probably) battle. Among these three, he assumes that the sense of ' enemy'
is more original as Ṛgvedic statistics strengthen the assumption. [16]

In many Vedic passages these Vedic enemies are referred to as ' bhūrūṇi Vṛtrā'
(IV. 17.19 ; VII. 19.4), 'purūṇi vṛtrā (IV. 29.6 ; X. 80.2) and viśvāni vṛtrā (IX.
109.14) which clearly imply that they are innumerable and we find in one passage
the word 'śambarāṇi' also probably used in the same sense (II. 24.2). In one verse
it is said that they constitute ninety nine (in number) (I. 84.13) whereas in another
ten thousand or countless (I. 53.6). These phrases (bhūrūṇi vṛtrā etc.) are something
like ' viśve-devāḥ ' a collective term to include all enemies of gods. These enemies
of gods are of two kinds (VI. 19.13) Dāsas and Aryas (VI. 22.10 ; VI. 33.3 ; VII.
83.1. ' dāsānyāryāṇi vṛtrā) and vṛtrā (neuter) is a generic term for these two classes
of kindred people, the enemies of gods.

Vṛtra (M) is the chief or strongest of the Vṛtras, the enemies of gods (I. 32.5),
and the first-born among the dragons (I. 32.3-4). He, or they are generally conceived
of as dragons or serpents of the deep ; Vṛtra is expressly called Ahi (I. 51.4 ; VI. 20.2 ;
VI. 72.3 ; X. 113-8); and in many other passages Ahi un-mistakably refers to Vṛtra
(I. 32.2 ; 4 ; 80.13, etc.). He is called ' apād ahasta ' (footless and handless) (I. 32.7 ;
III. 30.8) an epithet definitely applicable only to a serpent and there are references to his

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12. Indra and 'Vṛtra' IC, Vol. I, p. 412.
13. AHV. p. 295-6.
14. See 'Vṛtra et Vṛthragna : Etude de Mythologie indoirananne.'
15. KEITH, ' Indra and Vṛtra' IC, Vol. I, 465.
16. 'Indra'. AIOC, IV. (Allahabad), pp. 14-5.

hissing or snorting (I. 52-10 ; 61.10 ; V. 29.4)," in RV.   His niṇya or hidden abode is
encircled by waters and he is said to be engulfed in long darkness (I. 32.10 ' vŕrásya
niṇyám vícarantyāpo dīrghám táma āśayad índra-śatruḥ '). Another demon of his kind
(Śuṣṇa) is said to be ' tamoga ' moving in darkness (V. 32.4) and Indra placed him
who was anxious to fight, in ' támasi harmyé ', ' in the dark pit ' or in the darkness of pit
(V. 32.5). The next verse says that he is lying in the sunless darkness (V. 32.6 ' śáyā-
nam asūryé támasi).

From these references it becomes clear that the dark nether ocean is the abode of
the vṛtras. Vṛtra, the demon, is said to be ' apó vavrivāṁsam ', encompassing the waters,
(II. 14.2 ; IV. 16.7 ; VI. 20.2 ; cp. VI. 72.3 ; III. 32.6), ' nadī vṛtam ', stayer of the
streams (I. 52.2), ' paridhím nadīnām ' encompasser of currents, (III. 33.6), ' sindhum
āśáyānam ' lying in the flood, (II. 11.9), and ' āśáyānam sirāsu ', lying amid the
streams, (I. 121.11) which indicate his most important trait of obstructing waters, for
which Indra smites him with his thunderbolt.   There is no hymn dealing with Indra's
exploits without a reference to Indra's fight with Vṛtra or Vṛtras.   They are the tra-
ditional enemies of Indra, for they frequently hold back the cosmic waters and light.
They take shelter on a mountain where Indra strikes them with his thunderbolt
(I. 32.2 ; 7 ; etc.).

The hymn I. 32[18] describes the desparate fight of Vṛtra with the mighty Indra,
who mercilessly strikes him and scatters his limbs.   Vṛtra's mother seeing the most
pitiable condition of her son, who lies unconscious amidst the waters, tries to protect
him by covering him with her own body. The waters which were obstructed by Vṛtra
in the nether ocean and which were standing like kine held by a robber, flow on
boldly over his body.

There are many references to Vṛtra obstructing the waters or floods (I. 32.11 ;
II. 11.9 ; 14.2 ; VI. 20.2 ; VI. 72.3 ; VII. 34.16 ; AV. VI. 85.3 ; MS. IV. 5.1 etc.)
and to Indra attacking Vṛtra and releasing the waters (I. 85.9 ; 100.18 ; III. 22.6 ;
V. 30.5 ; VIII. 85.18. etc.), sun, light and dawn (I. 32.4 ; 51.4 ; 100.18 ; II. 11.18 ;
etc.).

Vṛtra is called ' abja ' water-born, and is said to dwell at the bottom of the aerial
floods (VII. 34.16) or waters which are styled as ' Dāsa-patnīḥ ' (I. 32.11 ; V. 30.5 ;
enslaved by Dāsas) whom Indra made ' aryapatnīḥ ' (dames of worthy lords) (X.
43.8) by releasing them from the clutches of the enemies.

The ŚB. (III. 9.4.14 ; 25) refers to Vṛtra's being killed by waters themselves and
the triumphant waters flowing on powerfully refusing to submit to anybody including
Indra whom, however, they are said to have obeyed on the basis of a bargain advan-
tageous to them.   The MS. (IV. 5.1) observed that the waters flow over Vṛtra,
when liberated, are the living ones and are worthy of sacrifice. The ŚB. (I. 1.3.4-5)
mentions that Indra killed Vṛtra who had enveloped the space extending between
heaven and earth and that the latter being slain flowed forth stinking in all directions
towards the waters when some of the waters became disgusted, and, rising higher and
higher flowed over.   From these waters, the ŚB. says, the Kuśa grass sprang up.

The TS. (II. 5.1-2), narrates the story of Vṛtra's birth and his death at the
hands of Indra as follows :

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17. VM. p. 158.
18. Especially the verses 1, 2, 4, 5, 7-11 of the hymn.

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"Viśvarūpa, son of Tvaṣṭṛ, was the domestic priest of the gods and the sister's son of the Asuras. He.had three heads, one which drank Soma, one Surā, and one which ate food. He promised openly the share to the gods, secretly to the Asuras .... Therefore Indra was afraid (thinking), such one is diverting the sovereignty (from me).' He took his bolt, and smote off his heads. (The head) which drank Soma became a hazelock ; (the head) which drank surā a sparrow ; (the head) which ate food a patridge. ..... Tvaṣṭṛ, his son being slain, offered Soma excluding Indra. Indra desired an invitation to the rite, but he did not invite him (saying) 'thou hast slain my son'. He made a disturbance of the sacrifice and forcibly drank the soma. The remains of it Tvaṣṭṛ cast upon the Āhavanīya (fire), (saying), 'Hail ! wax great. Indra's foe'. In that he cast it (avartayat), Vṛtra is Vṛtra ; in that he said 'Hail ! wax great Indra's foe.' Therefore Indra became his foe. He sprang to life and came into union with Agni and Soma. He on all sides an arrow (shot), he enveloped three worlds. Because he enveloped three worlds, therefore he is Vṛtra. Indra feared him. He ran up to Prajāpati (saying), 'A foe has sprung up for me'. He dipped his bolt and gave it to him (saying) 'slay with it.' [19] (cp. ŚB. I. 6.31ff ; V. 5.4.7ff. XII. 7.1.1 ; 8.3.1ff).

It should be noted here that Viśvarūpa is represented as having three heads. Azi Dahāka the fiendish snake of the Avesta, whom Thraetona killed, also had three heads, three mouths, six eyes, and thousand faculties.[20] ṚV. (X. 99.6) mentions a six-eyed and triple headed demon who was overcome by Tritaꞌ and also by Indra ; and this demon, it is expressly stated, was Viśvarūpa the son of Tvaṣṭṛ (A. 8.8-9). Though Vṛtra is not mentioned as three-headed and six-eyed, we must note, that he is the son of Tvaṣṭṛ who created him to avenge the murder of his elder son Viśvarūpa, by Indra, and that Vṛtra has more similarity in character with Azi Dahāka than Viśvarūpa, his elder brother. Therefore, we cannot take Viśvarūpa, though he is described as having three heads and six eyes, as a correlative of Aziꞌ Dahāka of the Avesta. In MBh. (5.22f.), however, the three-headed son of Tvaṣṭṛ and Vṛtra are taken as identical.[21]

In ŚB. (I. 6.3.17 ; 4.18-20) Vṛtra is interpreted as the moon, and Indra who slays him as the Sun.[22] This, however, is a later interpretation, based on the imagination of the authors of Brāhmaṇas which abound in fanciful etymologies and elucidations of words and legends. The TA. (I. 10.7) mentions Vṛtra and lightning-fire as the offsprings of Fire and Sun respectively.[23]

Ahirbudhnya, the serpent of the deep, who is associated with the atmospheric dieties such as Aja-Ekapād, Apām-Napāt etc. and who is invoked in I. 186.5 was originally believed to have been not different from Vṛtra.[24]

There are a number of demons mentioned in ṚV. who are collectively termed as 'Viśvā Vṛtrā', as stated above, and who are in general the enemies of gods. They

19. KEITH, *Veda of Black Yajus School*, HOS. Vol. 18, pp. 188-90 ; OST, Vol. V, pp. 229-33.

20. *SBE*, Vol. IV, Introd. p. 63 ; L. H. GRAY *FIR* p. 187.

21. *VM*. p. 160.

22. *HRI*. p. 197.

23. The Commentator, however, interprets Vaidyuta as ātapa, Sunlight.

24. *VM*. p. 73.

also generally do the same act as Vṛtra i.e. obstructing the flow of waters, and stealing cows (Sun-light). Śambara (II. 24.27, Arbuda (VIII. 32.26), Śuṣṇa, Pipru, Kuyava (I. 103.8) Kunāru (III. 30.8), Namuci (I. 53.6) etc., are some of these and the last one is mentioned in ŚB (XII. 7.3.3-4) as having been beheaded by Indra with the foam of water when the latter was suppressing all his enemies.

In the myths of ancient countries there is generally a dragon legend which has much in common with the same found in respective mythologies. The dragons are everywhere represented as associated with the principles of evils and darkness| Further they are generally connected with the sea and are the embodiment of the dark and dangerous forces of the underworld. The gods who kill the dragons are said to be the gods of light, waters, etc., and the result of their fight are also similar to those depicted in ṚV. (viz. the victory of light over darkness etc.).[23]

The striking affinity of the various myths naturally tempts one to presume a common origin for all these myths. The Babylonian and the Vedic myths are regarded as being pre-eminent among these and as having greatly influenced their kindred myths of the neighbouring lands.[26]

REFERENCES

JAOS.	Journal of American Oriental Society.
HVM.	Hillebrandt : Vedic Mythologie.
ṚV.	Ṛgveda.
SBE.	Sacred Books of the East.
VM.	A. A. Macdonell : Vedic Mythology.
OST.	J. Muir : Original Sanskrit Texts.
HRI.	Hopkins : Religion of India.
VB.	R. N. Dandekar : Vedic Bibliography.
I.C.	Indian Culture.
AHV.	B. G. Tilak : Arctic Home in the Vedas.
AIOC.	All India Oriental Conference.
HOS.	Harward Oriental Series.
FIR.	L. H. Gray : Foundation of Indian Religion.
JBORS.	Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
ERE.	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
RPV.	A. B. Keiths : Religion and Philosophy of Vedas.

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25. Vide R. Ojha's The Indra-Vṛtra War and 'Serpent People'. *JBORS.* Vol. XXVIII, Pt. I, pp. 55-64, for the details and for a comparative study of the various myths see Serpent Worship' *ERE.* Pt. XI, pp. 399ff.

26. Vide *JBORS.* Vol. XXVIII, Pt. I, p. 56.

VĀCASPATI MIŚRA'S INDEBTEDNESS TO LAKṢMĪDHARA BHAṬṬA*

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We have described elsewhere[1] the contents of Vācaspati Miśra's *Tirthacintāmaṇi*[2] and discussed Raghunandana's indebtedness to Vācaspati Miśra by identifying seven quotations from various works of the former in the *Tirthacintāmaṇi* of the latter. We have also remarked elsewhere[3] that Vācaspati Miśra mentions twice[4] in his *Tirthacintāmaṇi* the *Kṛtyakalpataru* as one of his principal authorities and that in this *Tirthacintāmaṇi* the *Kalpataru* (i.e. the *Kṛtyakalpataru*) has been quoted four times and the *Kalpatarukāra* (i.e. the author of the *Kṛtyakalpataru*) twice.

Four *Kāṇḍas*, i.e. sections, of Lakṣmīdhara Bhaṭṭa's *Kṛtyakalpataru*, viz. Dāna, Tirtha, Rājadharma and Gṛhastha have so far been published in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*[5] under the editorship of K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar. The Rajadharmakāṇḍa has been published in 1942 from Lahore also under the editorship of Jagadish Lal Shastri. The text portion and appendices of the *Tirthakāṇḍa* of the work cover 301 pages, while the preliminary matter covers 92 pages, the introduction alone running up to 80 pages. Though the learned editor has referred to and discussed the views of the *Tirthacintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati Miśra several times in his exhaustive introduction, yet he has nowhere attempted a study of Vācaspati Miśra's indebtedness to Lakṣmīdhara Bhaṭṭa, so far as the *Tirthacintāmaṇi* and the *Tirthakāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* are concerned.

In attempting to ascertain the above indebtedness, we must first compare the *sāmānya-vidhi* (i.e. chapter on general remarks about pilgrimage) of the *Tirthacintāmaṇi* with the *tirtha-yātrā-vidhi* (i.e. chapter on the procedure of starting on a pilgrimage) of the *Tirtha-kāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpataru*. The *sāmānyavidhi* chapter of the *Tirthacintāmaṇi* covers the first seventeen pages, while the corresponding chapter of the *Tirthakāṇḍa* covers nine pages only (pp. 3-11). The matter of the first six pages of the *Tirthacintāmaṇi* is an almost exact copy of the same of pp. 3-9 of the *Tirthakāṇḍa*, with the exception of a long extract from the *Mahābhārata* (from the middle of p. 6 to the beginning of p. 8 of the *Tirthakāṇḍa*), though only four lines[6] of this extract have been quoted on p. 15 of the *Tirthacintāmaṇi*. The matter from the middle of p. 10 to the middle of p. 11 and a verse[7], occurring in the end of p. 13 and beginning of p. 14 of the *Tirthacintāmaṇi* are an almost exact copy of the same

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1. Hindu Pilgrimages of the Fifteenth Century, pp. 415-420, Proceedings of the Ninth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum, 1940.
2. Edited by MM. Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitirtha, *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1912.
3. The place of the *Kṛtyakalpataru* in Dharmaśāstra Literature, pp. 59-61, A Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies, presented to Sir E. Denison Ross, Kt., C.I.E., Bombay, 1940.
4. The second introductory verse, p. I and the introductory verse to Gayāvidhi, p. 268.
5. Vols. XCII, XCVIII, C and CI in 1941, 1942, 1943 and 1944.
6. भौमानामपि तीर्थानां .... पुण्यता मृता ॥
7. प्रतिकृतिं कुशमयीं तीर्थवारिणि मज्जयेत् ।
   मज्जयेनु यमुद्दिश्य सोऽष्टभागं फलं लभेत् ॥

K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, the editor of the *Kalpataru*, reads प्रकृतिं or प्रतिकृतिं in the above verse, which reading not only offends against the metre but is also meaningless. That it is not a misprint is proved by its being quoted on p. 298, appendix G, index of *pratikas*, *Tirthakāṇḍa* of the *Kṛtyakalpataru*.

on p. 10 and first half of p. 11 of the *Tirthakāṇḍa*. The matter, quoted below[8], occurring on pp. 13 and 14 of the *Tirthacintāmaṇi*, is found with a slight variation on the last half of the *Tirthakāṇḍa*. The *Tirthacintāmaṇi* on p. 8 quotes seven lines[9] as *matsyapurāṇe mārkaṇḍeyavākyam* and adds[10] that the *Kalpataru* is of opinion that this prohibition of conveyances holds good in the case of Prayāga only, as the above lines of the *Matsyapurāṇa* have been quoted in the topic of Prayāga. The above seven lines of the *Matsyapurāṇa* are found on p. 141 of the *Tirthakāṇḍa* in the chapter of *Prayāga-tirtha-yātrā-vidhi*. But there is an additional line[11] in the *Tirthakāṇḍa* between the second and third lines of the same quotation in the *Tirthacintāmaṇi*, which means 'he who is desirous of starting on a pilgrimage to Prayāga.' Though there is not a single line of prose comment within this *Prayāga-tirtha-yātrā-vidhi*, covering 13 pages (pp. 141-153) and consisting of quotations from the *Matsyapurāṇa* only for 12 pages, yet Lakṣmīdhara says elsewhere[12] that owing to the absence of any prohibition of conveyances in pilgrimage to places other than Prayāga, there is no sin in reaching those places in a conveyance. It will thus be seen that almost the entire portion of the *tirtha-yātrā-vidhi* of the *Tirthakāṇḍa* has been incorporated in the *sāmānyavidhi* of the *Tirthacintāmaṇi*.

The learned editor says[13], "Among writers on tīrtha, Vācaspati Miśra deals more fully with Gayā than others. The *Tirthacintāmaṇi*, like the *Tirthaprakāśa*, has absorbed the entire section from Lakṣmīdhara's work and reproduced it *verbatim* (op. cit. pp. 268-280). The respect that Vācapati and Mitra Miśra[14] held for Lakṣmīdhara's work is evident from his placing the *Kalpataru* with the Vāyu and Garuḍa Purāṇas among his authorities." The chapter on Gayā covers 12 pages (pp. 163-174) only of the Tirthakāṇḍa, while the same covers 71 pages (pp. 268-338) of the *Tirthacintāmaṇi*.

Vācaspati, as stated above, has acknowledged his indebtedness to the *Kalpataru* not only in the second introductory verse of his *Tirthacintāmaṇi* but also in the introductory verse of the chapter on Gayā of the same. He has also added the phrases, viz. ' iti Kalpataru tirthakāṇḍe gayā-māhātmyam' and ' iti Kalpatarau vārāṇasi-māhātmyam" on pp. 280 and 368 respectively of his *Tirthacintāmaṇi*. The learned editor has not attempted to examine that indebtedness in the Vārāṇasī portion of the *Tirthakāṇḍa* which is a big one, covering 104 pages (pp. 12-125) but has done so in the Gayā portion, which is a very brief one, covering 12 pages only (pp. 163-174). But though he has examined that indebtedness by identifying three only of the many long quotations, yet his page-references[15] of the *Tirthacintāmaṇi* of two of them are wrong. Another reference in footnote 1 on p. 166 (*Gayā* Chapter) of the *Tirthakāṇḍa* is also wrong. The learned editor places the number 1 after the word 'bhavān', occurring in the verse, viz. ' etasmāt Kāraṇādraibhya bhavān dhanya mayocyate | sakṛdgayā .'...... prapatanam || ' (ll. 8-9, p. 166) and adds in the corresponding footnote ' this verse is placed after line 2 above in the Tirthacintāmaṇi'. But though the second line of the above verse is quoted on p. 272 of the *Tirthacintāmaṇi*, yet the first

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8   अत एव गयायामेकस्मिन् दिने नानातीर्थप्राप्तौ तन्निमित्तकानि नानाश्राद्धानीवि ।.........तीर्थोपवासो
      विशेषायों न त्वावश्यक:—तीर्थमभिगम्य.........स्वास्तिमोक्ष भवति । इति देवलवचनात् ।

9.   कथयिष्यामि ते वत्स........यानं विवर्जयेत ॥

10.   अयं च याननिषेध: प्रयागमात्रपर: तत्प्रकरण एव मत्स्यपुराणस्य व्रतत्वादिति कल्पतरु: ।

11.   प्रयागतीर्थयात्रार्थी य: प्रयाति नर: कश्चित् ।

12.   अत्र प्रयागव्यतिरिक्ततीर्थगमने याननिषेधप्रमाणदर्शनात्र तीर्थान्तरे यानगमने विरोध:, p. 11 of the
Tirthakāṇḍa. The above sentence, as printed, is meaningless. We should read °प्रमाणादर्शनात्र°
for °प्रमाणदर्शनात्र°.

13.   P. IXXXV, Introduction, Tirthakāṇḍa.

14.   The words ' and Mitra Miśra ', which are obviously wrong from considerations of grammar and sense, should be struck out from here.

15.   (a) In footnote I, p. 163, he says, ' cited in तीर्थचिन्तामणि,p. 269 as from कल्पतरु,'
where p. 269 should be p. 268.   (b) In footnote 1, p. 169, he says, ' तीर्थचिन्तामणि, pp. 273-274,' where pp. 273-274 should be pp. 275-277.

line is nowhere quoted in it. A verse[16], the first line of which is somewhat similar in the beginning with the same of the above verse, is quoted both in the *Tīrthakāṇḍa* (ll. 4-5, p. 166) and in the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* (ll. 5-6, p. 272). The quotation of the same in the latter is just before the verse, viz. '*tīrthaprabhāvād-yatnena brahmaghasyāpi sattama | pituḥ piṇḍapradānena kuryād-uddharaṇam sutaḥ ||* ' This verse, with a slightly different reading (viz. *tīrthaprabhāva eṣo 'tra⁰*), has been quoted as ||. 2-3 on p. 166 of the *Tīrthakāṇḍa*. So the number I should be placed against the verse, viz. '*etasmāt kāraṇāt putra⁰*' and the footnote 1 should be corrected as this verse is placed *before* line 2 above in the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi*.

In the bibliography[17] of treatises on tīrtha, the learned editor has enumerated 47 works on tīrtha and indicated the places and years of publication of eight published works among them, along with an asterisk placed against the names of three published works. But though Raghunandana's *Puruṣottama-tattva* has been published in 1895 from Calcutta by Jīvānanda (*Smṛti-tattva*, Vol. II, pp. 563-73) and has been referred to as such by the learned editor in foot-note 3, p. xli of his introduction, yet he makes no mention of the fact of its publication in his above bibliography. Similarly, though Vidyāpati's *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*[18] has been published from Calcutta in 1940, two years before the publication of the present section of the *Kṛtyakalpataru*, yet the learned editor has classed it among unpublished works.

Though the Vārāṇasī portion of the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* covers 30 pages only (pp. 339-368) and is less than one-fourth in bulk of the same of the *Tīrthakāṇḍa*, covering 124 pages (pp. 12-135), yet the former work has missed nothing important and has, moreover, created order out of the unwieldy mass of quotations in the latter work from several purāṇas, including the *Liṅga Purāṇa*[19]. There is no division of topics in the Vārāṇasī as well as in other portions of the *Tīrthakāṇḍa*, but the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* bristles with such division of topics in every chapter, including that on Vārāṇasī. The enumeration of the topics of the Vārāṇasī chapter of the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* will not be, therefore, out of place here. They are the following :—

Measurement of the area of the holy spot of Vārāṇasī, merit of entering into Vārāṇasī, merit of residing in it, merit of doing so up till death, merit of dying in it, merit of bathing and doing similar other pious acts in it and merit and procedure of worshipping the phallic emblems in it. We append below the identification of the unidentified portions of the Gayā chapter and the entire Vārāṇasī chapter of the two works, viz. the *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* and the *Tīrthakāṇḍa*.

APPENDIX A

Gayā Chapter,

T. C.	T.K.						
1. pp. 272-3	= pp. 166-7	क्रियते ...	...	...	...	...	... गताः ॥
2. p. 274	= pp. 167-8	आनन्त्याय	...	...	...	...	... उद्धरेत् ॥
3. p. 339	= pp. 168-9	गयायां ...	...	...	...	...	... कृत्स्नभः ॥
4. pp. 277-80	= pp. 171-4	पूर्व⁰ प्राचीदिश⁰	...	...	...	...	... पात्रिणः ॥

16. एतस्मात् कारणात् पुत्र अहमेतौ विश्वश्व तु ।
आगतोऽस्मि भवन्तं द्रष्टुं⁰ यास्यामि साम्प्रतम् ॥
17. Appendix F, pp. 293-4.
18. Edited by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri as Vol. IV in Vols. III and IV of his series viz. " The contribution of women to Sanskrit Literature." The editor attributes the authorship of this work to the queen Viśvāsadevi who patronised Vidyāpati. For a discussion of the authorship of Vidyāpati of this and many other works, vide the present writer's paper on 'Vidyāpati, a Maithila writer on Dharmaśāstra', published (in 1946) in the Proceedings of the Twelfth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Benares, pp. 288-297.
19. Fourteen chapters of this Purāṇa, viz. 3rd, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th, have been almost fully quoted.

APPENDIX B
Vārāṇasi Chapter.

T. C.	T.K.				
1. p. 339	= p. 12	वाराणसी	...	...	... सर्वदा (6 lines from M.P.)
2. p. 339	= p. 39	ब्रम्हघ्न	...	...	... लोक: (4 lines from S.P.)
3. pfl. 339	= p. 38	क्षेत्र°	...	...	... पद°स: (2 lines from S.P.)
4. p. 340	= p. 38	क्षेत्रेऽस्मिन्	...	...	मोक्ष°पदम् (4 lines from S.P.)
5. p. 340	= p. 39	द्वियोजन	...	...	... अन्तिके (4 lines from M.P.)
6. p. 340 and p. 343	= p. 30	वरणा	...	...	... विभेषत: (2 lines from B.P.
7. p. 340	= { p. 31 and p. 39	पञ्चक्रोभ°	...	...	... मया तव (1 line from B.P.)
8. p. 340	= p. 40	चतु:क्रोभ°	...	...	... मृतप्रदम् (2 lines from S.P.)
9. p. 341	= pp. 34-5	पिङ्गला	...	...	प्रकीर्तितम् (6 lines from L.P.)
10. p. 342	= p. 13	विमुक्त[20]	...	...	मदत स्मृतम् (3 lines from M.P.)
11. p. 342	= p. 26	नानावणी	...	...	... विदुर्बुधाः (3 lines from M.P.)
12. p. 342	= p. 31	क्षेत्र	...	...	दिवि (8 lines from B.P.)
13. p. 343	= p. 17	ब्रह्महा	...	...	निवर्तेते (2 lines from L.P.)
14. p. 343	= p. 19	अविमुक्त°	...	...	भवन्ति ते (2 lines from L.P.)
15. p. 343	= p. 23	आज्ञानाज्	...	...	... भवेत् (3 lines from L.P.)
16. pp. 344-5	= p. 16	यस्तत्र	...	...	शङ्करस्य तु (8 lines from L.P.)
17. p. 345.	= p. 16	आदेह	...	...	... मखैर्भवेत् (2 lines from L. P.)
18. p. 345	= p. 17	आदेह	...	...	निवर्तेते (2 lines from L.P.)
19. p. 345	= p. 18	विघ्ने	...	...	णशाश्वतम् (2 lines from M.P.)
20. p. 346	= pp. 14-15	विषया	...	...	... पुनर्विशेत् (2 lines from B.P.)
21. p. 346	= p. 15	जन्मान्तर	...	...	... गच्छति (2 lines from B.P.)
22. p. 346	= p. 15	ब्राह्मण:	...	...	... मानवा: (6 lines from B.P.)
23. p. 346	= p. 16	अकामो	...	...	महीपते (2 lines from B.P.)
24. p. 347	= p. 13	मन्मना	...	...	कन्चित् (2 lines from B.P.)
25. p. 347	= p. 21	अग्नि	...	...	शतैरपि (4 lines from B.P.)
26. p. 347	= p. 17	आविमुक्त	...	...	... प्रयच्छति (2 lines from B.P.)
27. p. 347	= p. 17	अन्तकाले	...	...	जायते (2 lines from L.P.)
28. p. 348	= p. 22	ज्ञान°विज्ञान[21]		तृणा° स्वर्णिले तु मृतस्य सा (2 lines from L.P.)
29. p. 349	= p. 21	दशानाम्	...	...	निश्चितम् (6 lines from M.P.)
30. p. 349	= pp. 31-2	तत्र दीप°[22]	...	...	... स°शय: (5 lines from B.P.)
31. p. 350	= p. 32	किमत्र	...	...	... लभेत् (2 lines from B.P.)
32. p. 350	= pp. 21-2	अर्चयेदथ	...	...	गीतवादिते (7 lines from B.P.)
33. p. 351	= p. 29	अविमुक्ते	...	...	... भवसन्निधौ (5 lines without the name of a Purāṇa[23] in T. C.
34. pp. 354-5	= pp. 82-4	दर्शनादेव	...	...	मासक°पदम् (35 lines from L.P.)
35. p. 356	= p. 91	दण्डरवावे	...	...	... भवेत् (4 lines from L.P.)

20. Misprinted as नियुक्त° p. 299, Appendix G, *Tirthakāṇḍa.*
21. T. K. reads ज्ञाने विहित ... ... सन्धि: साविमुक्ते मृतस्य तु ॥
22. T. C. reads यथाङ्किहता for यथाङ्किचा, read by T. K. (p. 32) with a querry is the fourth line of the above quotation.
23. *Matsyapurāṇa,* according to T. K.

T.C.	T. K.				
36. pp. 356-7	= pp. 95 96 ये च त्वा॰	...	...	...	दुर्लभम् (20 lines from L.P.
37. pp. 358-9	= pp. 108-110अन्यद्	...	...	...	भवेत् (31 lines from L.P.)
38. pp. 359-60	= pp. 111-112आविमुक्तस्य		...	...	मोचनम् (7 lines from L.P.)
39. pp. 361-65	= pp. 124-129अतःपर॰	...	...	... स्थितः सदा (87 lines from L.P.)
40. pp. 365-68	= pp. 131-135ततोऽहम्	...	...	... दुःखसागरे (63 lines from S.P.`

ABBREVIATIONS

B.P. = *Brahmapurāṇa.*

L.P. = *Liṅgapurāṇa.*

M.P. = *Matsyapurāṇa.*

S.P. = *Skandapurāṇa.*

T.C. = *Tīrthacintāmaṇi,* ed by MM. Kamalakṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha, Bibliotheca Indica, 1912.

T. K. = *Tīrthakāṇḍa* of *Kṛtyakalpataru,* ed. by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Gaekwad's Oriental Series,* No. xcviii, 1942.

FURTHER CONTRIBUTIONS[1] TO THE HISTORY OF JAIN COSMOGRAPHY AND MYTHOLOGY.

By

L. ALSDORF

Abbreviated designations of texts : Div. = dīvasāgarapaṇṇatti. GU = Guṇabhadra's Uttarapurāṇa. HTr. = Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-puruṣacaritra. JA = Jinasena's Ādipurāṇa. Jamb. = Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti. JHp. = Jinasena's Harivaṃśapurāṇa. Lv = Lalitavistara. MP = Puṣpa-danta's Mahāpurāṇa Tisaṭṭhimahāpurisaguṇālaṃkāra. Mv. = Mahāvastu. Rāy. = Rāyapaseṇaijja. Ṭhān. = Ṭhāṇaṅga. Vh. = vasudevahiṇḍi.

"KIRFEL" and "SCHUBRING" refer to the former's "Kosmographie der Inder" and the latter's "Lehre der Jainas" (Grundriss der indo-ar. Philologie u. Altertumskunde III, 7).

The third part of KIRFEL's "Kosmographie der Inder" dealing with the cosmography of the Jains opens with these words : "In the case of the Jains, we are not compelled to collect in the canonical books occasional references to cosmographical things in order to combine from them a picture of the universe that may perhaps correspond to the one prevailing at the time when the canon was laid down in writing ; but that canon contains extensive treatises systematically describing in every detail the universe with all its objects and inhabitants."

A certain satisfaction, unmistakable in the passage just quoted, that the Jain theologians have saved us for the most part the laborious task of collecting and piecing together our materials may be quite justifiable, and a comprehensive survey based exclusively on the systematic treatises certainly is useful and indispensible to begin with—yet it is obvious that in the long run we cannot rest content with it. Restriction to the systematic treatises would mean the exclusion of all those sources and statements that are most important for and likely to yield the best results to a historical and critical investigation of Jain cosmography and mythology. Such an investigation is faced with three categories of cosmographic and mythological texts and passages :

1. Scattered "occasional references" constitute those results of an organic growth that, so to speak, are alone entitled to be called genuine and p r i m a r y .

2. Of these references, systematizing theologians, by combining more or less happily and astutely, aided by right or debatable logic and an imagination which is often exuberant but sometimes also rather arid and monotonous,[2] have woven that

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1. Cf. my article on the same subject in ZDMG 92, pp 164 ff

2. This is particularly true in the case of names of minor gods and goddesses, mountain peaks, ponds, groves, etc. In order to procure these many hundreds of names, any series of names were used again and again without any regard to their original significance. Almost every page of the index of KIRFEL's book will show that one and the same series of names is used, at the most diverse places of the universe, for the consorts of some indra or lokapāla, in masculine form for a series of gods or mountain summits, and again as feminines for some lakes or lotus ponds ; good examples will be found below. To sort out of this confused and mostly quite worthless and meaningless mass what is really genuine and original is only possible with the help of the casual references of the first category—except; of course, when non-jinistic parallels come to our aid.

ingenuous and sometimes too artificial system which we have before us in the systematic treatises.

2. If, therefore, these treatises are s e c o n d a r y as compared with the "occasional references", we must call t e r t i a r y all those numerous texts and passages that are based on the systematic treatises, quoting them and considering them as authoritative.

It is clear that the neat distinction between 1. and 3.—in some cases probably impossible of attainment—constitutes the real problem, but that, on the other hand. the materials of the first category offer the best chances of discovering the junctures and weak points of the system and throwing light on the history of its origin and development.

I may be permitted to illustrate this by the example of a canonical text whose analysis will, it is hoped, not only contribute to its own higher criticism but also throw light on some figures of Jain mythology and on the connexions between the legendary biographies of Tīrthankaras and Buddhas.

The 5th chapter of Jamb. is a self-contained, independent text giving an extensive description of the birth-consecration performed by the gods for every new-born Tīrthankara, the so-called *janmakalyāṇa*.[3] Though containing many cosmographic and mythological data—moreover partly in memorial stanzas whose antiquity is proved by their metre, the śloka,—it has not been used by KIRFEL. It is composed of two very distinct parts, of which the present investigation will mainly deal with the first. Its contents are briefly as follows.

Alarmed by the shaking of their thrones, several groups of *disākumārīs* betake themselves in succession to the birth-house. The first to appear are the eight disākumārīs living in the underworld (*aheloga-vatthavvāo disākumārī-mahattariyāo*), the names being enumerated in a śloka ; each of them is accompanied by that numerous retinue of dignitaries, officials, troups, etc. which the systematic mythology only ascribes to the indras of the different classes of gods or celestial regions. After reverently greeting the Tīrthankara and his mother and praising the latter by a hymn, they clear, with the help of a "world-destruction-storm" (*saṃvaṭṭa-vāya*) which they effect by magic, the ground around the birth-house to a distance of one yojana of grass-blades, leaves, fragments of wood, and dirt of any kind and then range themselves singing by the side of mother and child. As the second group, there appear the eight disākumārīs living in the upper world (*uḍḍha-loga-vatthavvāo*), enumerated in a second śloka. They greet mother and child exactly like the first eight ; by a rain of scented water falling from clouds created by their magic, they precipitate the dust ; they cause a rain of flowers to fall from flower-clouds likewise created by them, and range themselves singing. Next, there arrive successively, enumerated in four ślokas, the four groups of eight disākumārīs each residing on the eastern, southern, western, and northern Rucaka (*puratthima-Ruyaga-vatthavvāo* etc.); after greeting mother and child like their predecessors, they are content merely to range themselves singing, holding in their hands mirrors, vases, fans, and chowries respectively. They are followed by the f o u r disākumārīs of the intermediate points of Rucaka (*vidisi-Ruyaga-vatthavvāo*, enumerated in a defective śloka line), who likewise merely range themselves, carrying lamps in their hands. So much the busier is the last group, the f o u r

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3. Cf. Schubring, p. 23.

disākumārīs of Central Rucaka or the centre of Rucaka (*majjhima-Ruyaga-vatthav-vāo* or *Ruyaga-majjha-vatthavvāo*), enumerated in a very defective half-śloka : they cut off the umbilical cord and bury it ; they create by magic one plantain arbour each to the east, south, and north, of the birth-house, in each arbour a hall (*cáussāḷa*), in whose centre there is a magnificent lion-throne ; they carry mother and child first to the southern arbour, seat them on the lion-throne and anoint and massage them with precious oils and fragrant essences. This is followed, on the lion-throne in the eastern arbour, by a threefold bath with *gandhodaya, pupphodaya* and *suddhodaya* and the putting on of every kind of ornaments. Then the two are carried to the throne in the northern arbour. Ābhioga gods are called and ordered to fetch *gosīsa—* sandalwood from the Cullahimavanta. With this wood the disākumārīs, after twirl-ing fire with two sticks, kindle a blazing flame and perform an agnihoma as bhūtikar-man. Of the ashes of this fire[4] they make an amulet and hang it round the child's neck ; they beat together at his ear two balls of stone wishing him that his life may last as long as the rocks ("*bhavau bhayavaṃ pavvayāue* !"). Finally they carry mother and child back to the birth-house and put them down on their couch, by the side of which they, too, range temselves singing.

Certainly nobody would miss anything if this were the end of the celebration and the disākumārīs now returned to their abodes. Actually, however, the greater part of the narrative is still before us. With a prolixity hardly to be surpassed, the text now proceeds to relate how the throne of Sakka, the indra of Saudharma, shakes, how Sakka, recognizing the reason, descends from the throne, kneels down and recites a stotra in praise of the new-born Jina, how he then calls Hariṇegamesi and orders him to convoke the other gods of his heaven, how this order is carried out, how by Sakka's command the ābhioga god Pālaka builds a phantastic "travelling vimāna"[5] (*jāṇavimāna*) described in great detail with a profusion of varṇakas,—and how Sakka with the many tens of thousands of his retinue mounts the vimāna and flies to the birth-house. There he greets mother and child with the words used previously by the disākumārīs, who are expressly referred to on this occasion but not mentioned again in the whole rest of the story. He puts the mother to sleep, creates a double of the child, and puts it at her side ; he then creates five Sakkas (i.e., quintuplicates him-self), of whom one carries the Tīrthaṅkara, one holds an umbrella over him, one each go at his two sides carrying chowries, and one precedes him with a vajra : the description of this procession is repeated in a memorial gāhā. Now the whole host of gods betake themselves to the Paṇḍaga grove on the summit of Mt. Meru where Sakka sits down facing east on the *abhiseya-sīhāsaṇa* placed on the *abhiseya-silā*.[6]

The text goes on to relate the arrival of the rest of the gods, or to be more exact of the indras (63 in all) of all the celestial regions and classes of gods with their

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4. Thus the passage is understood by Hemacandra (*HTr* I 2, 315).

5. According to KIRFEL, p. 302, 313, Pālaka is the name only of the yānavimāna, not of its maker. Our text, here as well as further below, expressly calls all the names of the list given by KIRFEL on p. 302 as the names of the vimānas "*jāṇavimāna-kāri*".—KIRFEL omits to mention that the convocation-bell called Sughoṣā in the southern kalpas is called Mahā-ghoṣā in the northern kalpas.

6. The systematic texts enumerate to the east, south, west, and north of the Paṇḍaga grove the four rocks Pāṇḍu(kambalā), (Ati)pāṇḍukambalā, Rakta(kambalā) and (Ati)rakta-kambalā ; the term *abhiṣekaśilā* is wanting in KIRFEL (p. 232f.).

retinues : first the indras of the rest of the vaimānika gods, the last one being Accuya, then the indras of the ten classes of bhavanavāsins (including the disākumāras, who are expressly mentioned), then those of the vyantaras and finally those of the jyotiṣkas, the last to appear being the sun and the moon. For every Indra the interminable account given of Sakka is to be repeated, the text naturally as a rule contenting itself with a remark to that effect, but enumerating in every case, in a kind of tabular form, the variations of the numbers of the different categories of followers, the names of the yānavimānas, etc. When at last all the gods are assembled, Accuya orders the ābhioga gods to collect the materials for a great Tīrthankarâbhiṣeka. The ābhiogas thereupon create by magic 1008 jars each of nine different materials, 1008 each of bhiṅgāras, mirrors, boxes, thrones, chowries, umbrellas, etc., and they fetch : water and all kinds of lotuses from Kṣīroda, and Puṣkaroda, water and soil from the three tīrthas (Magadha, Varadāma, Prabhāsa) of Bharata and Airāvata, water and soil from the banks of Gangā and Sindhu, flowers, garlands, herbs, and fragrant soil from the Cullahimavanta, water, lotuses, soil etc. from the lakes, rivers, mountain ranges, and tīrthas of every continent, and lastly also from each grove of Mt. Meru. With these materials, Accuya now performs the great abhiṣeka, to the accompaniment of rejoicings of the gods the interminable description of which again fills several printed pages. The whole narrative, from the order given to the ābhiogas to the rejoicings of the gods, is now to be repeated verbatim for each of the other vaimānika indras down to Īsāna (i.e. excluding only Sakka) as well as for the indras of the other three classes of gods. Then Īsāna creates five doubles of himself who take care of the child in exactly the same way as the five Sakkas have done so far, and now last of all Sakka, too, gets busy : he creates to the E, S, W, and N of the Tīrthankara four white bulls from whose horns eight jets of water rise to the sky, unite and fall down on the Tīrthankara. Then the text directs us to repeat once more for Sakka the description of the great abhiṣeka performed by the other Indras. Lastly Sakka again creates five Sakkas who carry back the Tīrthankara to the birth-house just as they had brought him ; they lay him down by his mother's side, exchanging him for the double created by Sakka, and waken the mother from her sleep. Sakka then bids Kubera perform a shower of treasures, an order the latter has executed by the jambhaga gods. Finally Sakka issues, through the ābhiogas, a proclamation to the effect that if anybody "asubhaṃ maṇaṃ pahārei" towards the Tīrthankara or his mother, his head will split into a hundred pieces.

The narrative thus briefly summarized pretends, as has been stated above, to be a kind of pattern that is to be used for every description of a Tīrthankara's birth, a form, as it were, that is to be filled in with the name of any Tīrthankara whose birth is to be filled in with the name of any Tīrthankara whose birth is to be narrated. It is, however, remarkable that the classical canonical biography of Tīrthankaras, the Jiṇacariya, has not made use of this pattern ; the descriptions it gives of the births of Mahāvīra and the rest of the Jinas contain nothing whatever of what is related in Jamb. V.[7] On the other hand, Malayagiri is probably right in assuming that Āv. Nijjutti I 184 :

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7. That this text in its present form is younger than the " Kalpasūtra " is shown by the fact that for laying the scenes of events or introducing persons (e.g. Sakka) it has, like so many aṅgas and uvaṅgas, recourse to the " classical " descriptions of the Jinacairya.

Cetta-bahul'aṭṭhamie jāo Usaho Āsāḍha-nakkhatte
jammaṇa-maho ya savvo neyavvo jāva ghosaṇayaṃ

refers to our " form " which, consequently, " filled in " with the name or designation of the first Tīrthaṅkara, he insertss in full into his commentary.[8]   In post-canonical literature, the Ṛṣabha-carita remains the locus classicus for the reproduction in full of the model presented by Jamb. V. Thus e.g. Hemacandra relates (HTr I 2,27-626) the birth of Ṛṣabha with the greatest copiousness, closely following the canonical narrative; while in the caritas of the later Jinas in most cases he merely recapitulates the main points, disposing e.g. of Nemi's birth in 15 ślokas (VIII 5,180-195) and dealing with others even more briefly.   The same plan is adopted in the *Mahāpurisa-cariya* of Śīlāṅka,[9] who, however, even for Ṛṣabha gives only a short summary as compared with Hemacandra's detailed narrative.   An epitome only of *Jamb.* V is also presented by the Vh, in its *Ṛṣabhacarita* (p. 150,29-161,17).   Of the Digambar version of the janma-kalyāṇa which, as we shall see, is particularly helpful for eluci-dating the history of our text, a detailed examination will have to be made presently.

The starting-point of every analysis of *Jamb.* V must be the fact that by far the greatest part of that text --computed by the space covered, not by the events related--recurs verbatim (or *mutatis mutandis*) in the *Rāyapaseṇaijja*.   To the retinue of the disākumārīs in *Jamb.* corresponds exactly that of the god Sūriyābha in Rāy. ; the ac-tivities of the *ahe-* and *uddha-loga-valthavāo disākumārī-mahattariyāo* are performed in Rāy. by ābhioga gods sent by Sūriyābha in order to put into proper state the place of his intended visit to Mahāvīra.   Sakka's departure from his heaven with the pre-ceding convocation of the gods by his general and the detailed description of the gorgeous yānavimāna built expressly for this occasion is told in *Rāy.* in the same words of Sūriyābha.   Accuya's order for the materials for the abhiṣeka to be fetched, the collection of these multifarious materials, the abhiṣeka itself with the accompany-ing activities of the gods, the Tīrthaṅkara's being decorated with ornaments and clothed with two garments--all this recurs *mutatis mutandis* in *Rāy.* when the gods perform the great abhiṣeka of Sūriyābha which Mahāvīra describes to Goyama.

The question which of the two texts copies the other, or whether both of them draw from a common source,[10] is not yet decided by text and commentary of *Jamb.* V expressly referring to *Rāy.* ; for to a Jain it is a matter of course that *Rāy.* as the 2nd uvaṅga takes precedence of *Jamb.*, the 6th, and that accordingly reference is to be made from *Jamb.* to *Rāy.* and not vice versa.   Fortunately, however, the texts furnish some other clues which enable us to establish beyond doubt their true realtion.

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8.   " *tasya ca bhagavata ādi-tirthakarasya janma-mahaḥ sarvo 'pi tāvat netavyaḥ, śiṣya-buddhiṃ prāpaṇiyo, yāvad ghosaṇakam iti; janma-mahaś ca yathā Jambudvipapra-jñapty-ādiṣu sākṣāt sūtrato ' bhihitas tathā vineya-janānugrahāyehāpi darśyate.*"—ghosaṇayaṃ of course refers to the proclamation of the ābhiogas actually coming at the end of *Jamb.* V.

9.   Of this unpublished work, I possess a photo of the Patan MS. kindly lent to me by the late lamented Munimaharaj JAYANTAVIJAYAJI.

10.   The description of Sūriyābha's residence, of his abhiṣeka and his worshipping the statues of the Jinas is transferred in the Dīvasāgarapaṇṇatti (Jīvājīvābhigama III) to the god Vijaya of the gate Vijaya of Jambudvipa ; *Jamb.* IV again refers for these descriptions to *Div.* (*Jīvājīv.* III).   The relation between *Rāy.* and *Div.* cannot be discussed here ; but that *Jamb.* V does not draw from *Div.* is proved by those lengthy passages (as e.g. the pre-paration of the locality where the celebration is held, the description of the yānavimāna, etc.) that are common to *Jamb.* and *Rāy.* but wanting in *Div.*

The second place in the list of Sūriyābha's retinue is occupied by his four *agga-mahisīo*. At the corresponding place in the retinue of the disākumāris, we find four *mahattariyāo*. Now as this title is regularly given also to the disākumāris themselves, this is obviously unoriginal, the *mahattariyāo* having been changed from the *agga-mahisīo* of *Rāy.* because the latter were of course impossible in the retinue of females. That *Jamb.* actually draws from *Rāy.* becomes still clearer in the passage describing the rejoicing of the gods during the abhiṣeka. *Rāy.* repeatedly says : " *app' egaiyā devā Sūriyābhaṃ vimāṇaṃ ....* karenti", the dots standing for a varying adjectival compound in the accusative. The redactor of *Jamb.* V has retouched this passage somewhat carelessly : by merely striking off *Sūriyābham vimāṇaṃ* he has left the adjectival compound without any substantive to agree with. Further, after struggling with the tiresome, almost unparalleled prolixity of the descriptions of the yānavimāna and of Sakka's journey to the birth-house, it is surprising to find the ensuing events, of much greater importance for the real subject matter of *Jamb.* V, viz. the creation of the Jina's double and Sakka's journey to Mt. Meru, dealt with quite concisely in a few lines. The same discrepancy of style and disproportion of extent exist between the interminable description of the abhiṣeka common to *Jamb.* and *Rāy.*, and the whole rest of *Jamb.* V.

Now obviously a description like that of the yānavimāna or the abhiṣeka is quite appropriate in a text like *Rāy.* which—except, of course, the wonderful old dialogue forming its last part—would seem to owe its existence mainly to the desire of a theologian to give vent to his imagination in the detailed and circumstantial descriptions of celestial things and conditions—descriptions which by their unmeasured exuberance and their tumid style[11] clearly betray their comparatively late origin. In a text like *Rāy.*, these descriptions are given for their own sake and form integral parts of the whole, while in Jamb. V they are mere annoying digressions threatening to burst the frame of the story.[12]

If any doubt were left, it would be removed by the Digambar version of the janmakalyāṇa. Unfortunately, its most authoritative rendering in Jinasena's *Ādi-purāṇa* is not at present accessible to me.[13] I shall have to rely instead on Puṣpadanta's *Apabhraṃśa* rendering in his *MP*[14] and on the descriptions of the janma-kalyāṇas of Tīrthaṅkaras 2-24 in *GU* ; the latter are all very short (many of them

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11. WEBER's harsh judgment (*Indische Studien* 16, 386), breathing even stronger indignation than his well-known censure of Bāṇa's *Kādambari*, may be quoted : " This might rather be said to be no style at all ; it far exceeds the usual measure, rather excessive itself, of these sacred texts. One is directly reminded of the *Kādambari*, though, of course, Bāṇa's work, by the poetical strain of its ideas and images, is considerably superior to this confused and tasteless medley. "—According to the classification attempted above, the cosmography of *Rāy.* would belong to the third category, if it is not rather to be regarded as an offshoot of the texts of the second category, the systematic treatises. For us, the text has a certain interest mainly because, as SCHUBRING, p. 37 remarks, the detailed descriptions of a Jina temple, of stūpas. etc., particularly also of the worship of images and relics, " certainly follow terrestrian models."

12. The same is true of the god Vijaya's residence and abhiṣeka in *Div.*

13. I venture to suggest that a new critical edition of this very important text is an urgent desideratum.

14. Ṛṣabha : *MP* 3, cf. VAIDYA'S edition ; Nemi : *MP* 87, 13-17, cf. my edition and translation in my " Harivaṃśapurāṇa."

consisting of a single śloka), but their very restriction to a few constantly recurring main points renders these points the more certain. Finally, we have four pretty extensive descriptions of janmakalyāṇas in *JHp*[15], which, however, must be used with caution since, as I have shown in my "*Harivaṃśapurāṇa*", only *JA*, *GU* and *MP* give the true and unadulterated Digambar version while *JHp* largely draws from Śvetāmbar tradition as well. But one of those main points on which a l l Digambar sources just named agree is that Śakra does not fly to the birth-house in a vimāna but on his elephant Airāvata—it would be needless to dilate upon the originality of this version ! The same originality is, however, evident in several other features of the Digambar version, and with its help it is not too difficult to elucidate the gradual development of the second part of *Jamb*. V.

By comparing all the renderings enumerated above we get the following standard form of the Digambar janma-kalyāṇa :

After the Jina's birth has shaken the thrones of the indras, the gods of the four classes hasten to the birth-house, the vaimānikas being alarmed by bells, the jyotiṣkas by lions' roars, the vyantaras by drums, and the bhavanavāsins by conch-shells. The gods use not only vimānas, carriages, palanquins, etc., but also every conceivable kind of riding animals such as buffaloes, bucks, horses, tigers, panthers, rhinoceroses, ma- karas, antelopes, haṃsas, peacocks, parrots, ducks, and serpents. Śakra, as stated above, rides on his elephant Airāvata, together with his consort Śacī. It is the latter who, entering the birth-house, exchanges the child for the double created by Śakra and puts the mother to sleep. She hands the child to her husband who, as the texts usually put it, places it "on the shoulder" of his elephant, and then they travel through the air to the rock Pāṇḍuka on Mt. Meru, Īśāna holding an umbrella over the child ; *MP* 3, 11, 11 alone adds that besides the Indras of Sanatkumāra and Māhen- dra fan it with chowries. Assisted by the rest of the gods, Śakra performs the abhi- ṣeka with jars filled with water from the milk-ocean ; the Jina is adorned, anointed, and clothed, he is given his name and brought back to his parents.

Probably the most remarkable feature of this version is the rôle played by Śakra. The hierarchy of the system, with its four classes of gods and their indras, is indeed known and presupposed ; but nevertheless, without any regard to the rulers of higher celestial spheres made his superiors by divines and cosmographers, Śakra actually is —exactly as e.g. in the story of the transfer of the embryo in the *Jinacariya*—still simply the old King of gods. The gods are called "*Saudharmendra-purassarāḥ*" (*GU* 71,39) or "*Saudharma-pramukhāḥ*", and in reality it is Śakra alone who performs the whole abhiṣeka—the other gods are mere spectators, there is no question of an abhiṣeka performed by Acyuta and the rest of the indras.

Let us now consider once more the second part of the narrative of *Jamb*. V ! The abhiṣeka is there performed successively and in due order by all the indras of the four classes of gods, beginning with Accuya as the highest of them. Sakka alone is left out of the normal order and kept waiting till the very end, and of him alone something is told which is different from the abhiṣeka borrowed from *Rāy*., viz. the creation of the four white bulls from whose horns eight jets of water rise, unite and fall down on the Jina. Quite obviously, t h i s i s t h e o n l y o r i g i n a l a b'h i ṣ e k a. The reviser who inserted into the text the passages from *Rāy*. did not dare to sup-

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15. Mahāvīra : 2. 26-44 ; Ṛṣabha : 8, 105-237 : Munisuvrata : 16, 24-18 ; Nemi :38, 14-55.

press this original version ; on the other hand, he was not content simply to add the description of *Rāy.* for Sakka alone. He evidently did not think it proper that the abhiṣeka should be performed by Sakka alone and not at least a l s o by those indras who according to the system are his superiors. It was only a little step further to the idea to have performed the abhiṣeka by a l l the indras, neatly arranged in descending order. As, however, Sakka's special activity would have formed an awkward interruption of the series, he was placed at the end. At this point, the speculating pedantry of our revisor reveals itself in a particularly characteristic detail : during the abhiṣeka performed by the 63 indras, the Tīrthaṅkara must be thought of as resting in the lap of one Sakka seated on the throne while the other four Sakkas are standing around him with parasol, chowries, and vajra. If now Sakka is to perform the abhiṣeka, somebody else—so our revisor reasons—must necessarily hold the child while he is doing so ! This, and this alone, must be the meaning of the creation of five doubles of himself by Īsāna as well.[16] On the way back to the birth-house, these five Īsānas are again replaced by the original five Sakkas.

As to this curious self-quintuplication of Sakka, which, though not unreasonable, yet looks rather unoriginal, the more so since it is unknown to the Digambar version, it is difficult to explain it convincingly, but a conjecture may be ventured. We have seen that in the Digambar version Īśāna holds an umbrella over the Jina seated on Śakra's elephant, and that Puṣpadanta once adds that the indras of Sanatkumāra and Māhendra fan him with chowries. It is not inconceivable that a revisor of Jamb. V had before him a text in which four higher indras acted as parasol-, chowrie-, and vajra-bearers, and that he thought improper that gods superior in rank to Sakka should act as his assistants or servants ; on the other hand, replacing them by lower gods inferior in rank to Sakka would have detracted from the Tīrthaṅkara's dignity, and thus he hit upon the expedient, worthy of his theological acumen, to split up the one Sakka into five doubles. Whether this conjecture is right or not—we must not omit to note that during the Jina's transport by the five Sakkas to Meru and back the big yānavimāna is never mentioned : it is completely lost sight of after Sakka's arrival at the birth-house—one more proof (though hardly needed any longer) that it is a later addition from *Rāy.*

To sum up. The story of Sakka's janmābhiṣeka forming the base of Jamb. V is old. Its agreement with a Digambar version in the most characteristic points—exchange of the child for a double created by Śakra while the mother is put to sleep, performing of the abhiṣeka on Mt. Meru—proves that it goes back at least to the time before the separation of the two Jain churches. A further proof of considerable antiquity is the rôle played by Śakra, incompatible with the finished cosmographic-mythological system and thus pointing back to a time before the latter was fully developped. But while the Digambars even after the fixation of the later system left the story on the whole unchanged, taking no offence at the discrepancies thus resulting, a Śvetāmbar theologian hit upon the idea to embellish the comparatively plain and concise narrative by inserting lengthy passages from Rāy.[17], taking this opportunity

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16. According to SCHUBRING, p. 22, these Īsānas wash the Tīrthaṅkara. I am unable to trace a statement to this effect in the text.

17. He may have been influenced by the fact that the abhiṣeka in Rāy. is performed on the occasion of Sūriyābha's manifestation (*utpatti*), which corresponds to the birth of a human.

to retouch it thoroughly with a view to bringing it into perfect agreement with the cosmographic system. Being incorporated into the canon, the result of his labours became an obligatory model for all later Śvetāmbar authors. We have here a particularly instructive illustration of the fact that being contained in the canon does not in itself warrant greater antiquity— or high antiquity at all—of a version or passage, and that the Digambars' suspicion of the Śvetāmbar canon is, for certain portions of it, not quite unfounded.

When, after this analysis of its second part, we take a general view of the w h o l e of Jamb. V, it need hardly be pointed out that the two parts of which this whole is composed, viz. the celebration held by the disākumārīs at the birth-house and the abhiṣeka performed by the gods on Mt. Meru, must have been originally independent, being knit together very loosely even in the present text. What is performed by the disākumārīs is an elaborate ceremony as complete as might be desired, and it is hardly possible to dismiss it, as SCHUBRING p. 22 does, as the ", performing of the preparations " —the less so since in the following narrative of the abhiṣeka on Mt. Meru these " preparations " are nowhere referred to. On the contrary, it is evident that two entirely different nativity legends, which had nothing to do with, and according to normal logic even excluded, each other, have been strung together without even an attempt being made to bring about a real connexion.

The decisive proof is again furnished by the Digambar version. In its genuine form represented by GU and MP, the disākumārīs and their celebration are missing altogether. Instead, there appear if not dikkumārīs then at least goddesses very similar to them at a slightly earlier stage of the Jina's biography, where against the Śvetāmbar version does not know them : they are sent by Śakra six months before the Tīrthankara enters his mother's womb in order to purify the mother and serve her as attendants and guardians. This piece of Digambar tradition—which, as we shall see below, is given support by Buddhist legends—can only be discussed towards the end of our investigation. But we may note even now that JHp—a particularly clear instance of its drawing from Śvetāmbar as well as Digambar tradition—relates both the consecration of the mother for the impending conception a n d , though in a much abbreviated form, the celebration of the birth by the dikkumārīs.

With regard to these disākumārīs of Jamb. V, it must be stated first of all that independent queens or princesses with retinues like those of the indras are quite unknown to the recognized hierarchy of gods, in which goddesses appear almost exclusively as consorts of indras or other gods. As to the bhavanavāsins in particular, the canon mentions only male asura-, nāga-, dik- etc. -kumāras, the sole exceptions being the disākumārīs of Jamb. V[18] and the treatise on the logapālas, Viyāhapaṇṇatti 3,7-4,4, where a learned divine, expounding the subordination of different classes of gods, attributes to every lokapāla, along with other gods, certain classes of bhavanavāsins as subordinates and in so doing consistently speaks of " *asurakumārā asurakumārīo, nāgakumārā nāgakumārīo* " etc. Quite apart from the impression of being rather late which the whole passage creates, it is remarkable that here, too, the godesses are only mentioned as the wives of their husbands. Besides, it seems possible, if not probable

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18. Enumerated in the same memorial stanzas (probably quoted from Jamb. V) also in Thāṇ.

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that the express mention of the *kumārīo* is caused by the *disā-kumārīo* of Jamb. V, the feminine being extended to all the ten classes of bhavanavāsins..

Be this as it may, the fact remains that the cosmographic mythological system, with its richly developped and minutely gradated hierarchy of deities, from the indras and lokapālas and their different dignitaries and officers down to the servants (*ābhiyogya*) and untouchables (*kilbiṣika*), does not know any independent *mahattariyāo* such as we find them in Jamb. V. As, moreover, these *mahattariyāo* are enumerated in memorial stanzas proved to be old by their metre, the śloka, we may feel justified in assuming that these female deities are, as it were, a foreign body dating from " presystem " days which, either from negligence or on account of some difficulty or other, was not satisfactorily adapted to the·system. This assumption is borne out by the fact that the disākumārīs as such, and nearly half of them with the same or almost the same names, occur in Buddhist literature as well.

In the *Mahāvastu* (SÉNART's edition, Vol. III, p. 305-310, 6) and in the *Lalitavistara* (LEFMANN's edition, p. 387-391), the Buddha (in largely identical wording) teaches a protective charm for journeys to the four quarters. In this charm, as tutelary deities of each of the four chief points of the compass are enumerated seven nakṣatras, one of the well-known four lokapālas or mahārājas, and eight " devakumāriyo ". Mv in each case gives first the list of the nakṣatras, then enumerates the *devakumāriyo* and lastly, with the formula " *tāsām adhipatī rājā*", names the lokapāla, while in Lv the nakṣatras are followed first by the verse " *teṣām cādhipati rājā* . . . . " and then only by the list of the *devakumāriyo* ; that is to say, the lokapālās are the lords, according to Mv of the *devakūmāriyo*, but according to LV of the nakṣatras, while Lv does not expressly say that the *devakumāriyo* are subordinate to anybody. As Mv, too, reads once (with no variants) *teṣām adhipatī* instead of *tāsām*, the former is likely to be the more correct reading.

I shall now first give the four lists of Mv and Lv in a text eclectically constituted with the help of the critical apparatuses of the two printed editions,[19] adding below each list the corresponding śloka of Jamb. V.—with the more remarkable variants from Ṭhāṇ., Vh, the Hyderabad (Sthānakvāsī) edition of Jamb. (" H "), and Malayagiri's reproduction of Jamb. V in his Āvaśyaka commentary (" M ")—and Hemacandra's Sanskrit rendering of the four stanzas (HTr I, 2, 288, 291, 294, 297).

1. East.

Mv/Lv :   *purastime diśobhāge aṣṭau devakumāriyo*
          Nandottarā Nandiṣeṇā Nandinī Nandivardhanī
          Jayantī Vijayantī ca Siddhārthā Aparājitā

Jamb. V : *Nanduttarā ya Nandā ya Ānandā Nandivaddhaṇā*
          Vijayā ya Vejayantī bayantī Aparājiyā

HTr :   *tāś ca Nandottarā-Nande Ānandā-Nandivardhane*
          Vijayā Vaijayantī ca Jayantī cAparajitā

(Mv *Nandirakṣitā, °varddhitā* ; Lv *Nandavardhanī* ; in Lv 1st and 2nd lines exchanged.)

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19. Various readings are distinguished merely by Mv and Lv ; if information about the single MSS is desired, it can be easily found in SÉNART's and LEFMANN's editions.

2. South.

Mv/Lv :   *dakṣiṇasmiṃ disobhāge aṣṭau devakumāriyo*
           Lakṣmīmatī Yasamatī Yaśaprāptā Yaśodharā
           Suutthitā Suprabhātā Suprabuddhā Sukhāvahā

Jamb. V : *Samāhārā Suppadiṇṇā Suppabuddhā Jasoharā*
           Lacchīmaī Sesavaī Cittaguttā Vasundharā

HTr :   *Samāhārā Supradattā Suprabuddhā Yaśodharā*
           Lakṣmīmatī Śeṣavatī Citraguptā Vasundharā

(Mv *Lakṣmāmatī Sirīmatī Yaśomatī Yaśodharā* ; *Yaśamatī* ; *Śubheṣṭhitā, Sudra-sthitā, Śubheṣṭhitā, Suviśuddhā Suvyākṛtū*; Lv *Sriyāmatī Yaśa° Yaśaḥprā°* ; *Suutthitā Suprathamā* ; *Sukhāvalāḥ.*—Vb *Suppasiddhā Jaso°* ; M *Lacchīmatī Cittoguttā Vasundharā Sesavatī.*)

3. West

Mv/Lv :   *paścimasmiṃ disobhāge aṣṭau devakumāriyo*
           Alambusā Miśrakesī Puṇḍarīkā tathĀruṇā
           Ekānaṃśā Navamıkā Sītā Kṛṣṇā ca Draupadī

Jamb. V : *Ilādevī Surādevī Puhavī Paumāvaī*
           Egaṇāsā Navamiyā Bhaddā Sīyā ya aṭṭhamī

HTr :   *Ilādevī Surādevī Pṛthivī Padmāvaty api*
           Ekanāsā Navamikā Bhadrā Siteti nāmataḥ

(Mv *°keśī Ariṣṭā Supprabhāyakā, °bhāsvaraḥ* ; *Ekānaṃvā Tavamikā Kṛṣṇā Śukrā ca, Śuklamadopatī, Śukramaopati.* Lv *Ekāhaṃśā, Ekādaśā, Ekāndaśā, °sā.*—H *Paumāvaī tahā.* M *Navamiyā.*)

4. North

Mv/Lv :   *uttarasmiṃ disobhāge aṣṭau devakumāriyo*
           Ilādevī Surādevī Pṛthivī Padumāvatī
           upasthitā mahārāja Āsā Sraddhā Hirī Sirī

Jamb. V : *Alambusā Mīsakesī ya Puṇḍarīyā ya Vāruṇī*
           Hāsā Saccappabhā ceva Sirī Hirī ceva uttarao

HTr :   *Alambusā Miśrakesī Puṇḍarīkā ca Vāruṇī*
           Hāsā Sarvaprabhā caiva Śrī Hrīr ity abhidhānataḥ

(Lv *Pṛthvī Padmāvatī ṭathā* ; *mahāvālā.* Mv *Padumāvatī | Āsā Sraddhā Hirī ca Srī .... samāgatā*; *Āsā Śārddhā Ahirīva Sītāmapi samāgato. Hirī Sirī tā pi°.* M *Missakesī,* H *Misa°.* Thāṃ. *Mittakesī Puṇḍarīgī.* H Vh *Savvappabhā* ; Thāṃ. *Āsā ya Savvagā ceva.* H *Siri.*)

It will be seen that both the Buddhist and the Jain traditions are corrupt—so much so that in some cases the correct forms cannot be restituted though original identity cannot be doubted. Even thus, of 32 names 20 are still completely identical, and some more have at least closely corresponding forms in the two versions. More-over, several lines or pādas are completely or largely identical, so that there can be no doubt that the Buddhist and the Jain lists of the 32 deities go back to the same

set of memorial stanzas. The most striking discrepancy is easily removed : a Vāruṇī by her very name is referred to the west, and the Jains are certainly wrong in placing her in the north. The line in which she appears, therefore, belongs to where it is found in almost identical form in Mv/Lv and has been exchanged by mistake for the line *Ilādevī Surādevī* .... Further, as to Siddhārthā named in the east by Mv/Lv instead of the Jain Vijayā, the name Siddhārthā has also a Jain counterpart within the series Vijayā Vaijayantī etc. This series has been used for naming the Anuttara heavens, and here we find in the midst of the four outer heavens Vijaya, Vaijayanta, Jayanta, and Aparājita the central heaven Sarvārthasiddha.

We are led yet a little step further by some remarkable variants in JHp. In that text, our goddesses are enumerated thrice : 5, 705-717 ; 8, 106-113 ; 38, 31-35. The first eight names are exactly the same as in Jamb. V. The second eight are as follows : *Susthitā Suprabuddhā Yaśodharā Lakṣmīmatī Vasundharā Citrā Praṇidhi Kīrtimatī*. The last of these but one is found in JHp alone. Of the rest, five recur in Jamb. V, while *Susthitā* clearly corresponds to the (obviously corrupt) "*Suutthitā*" of Lv, for which Jamb. V has *Suppadiṇṇā* (or *Samāhārā*?). Lastly *Kīrtimatī* according to Digambar usage (cf. my Harivaṃśapurāṇa, p. 175f., § 67) is equivalent to *Yaśomatī*, which confirms the *Yaśamatī* of the Buddhists, while *Sesavaī* of Jamb. V may be conjectured to be a corruption of *Jasavaī*.—In the third group, six names are identical in all three versions (Mv/Lv, Jamb. V, JHp). Instead of the Buddhist (*Kṛṣṇā*) *Draupadī*, Jamb. V has *Bhaddā*, JHp *Bhadrikā*. *Kāñcanā*, found solely in JHp, seems to be a corruption, probably due to the fact that *Ekānaṃśā* was likely to be misunderstood : this name is not only in Jamb. V corrupted into a meaningless *Egaṇāsā* (which Hemacandra faithfully renders by *Ekanāsā*!), but it is not preserved in its correct form in any MS of either Mv or Lv, and it has been recognized neither by LEFMANN (who prints *Ekādaśā*) nor by SÉNART (who prefers to leave a lacuna).—In the last group, the variant *Puṇḍarīkiṇī* offered by JHp recurs in some MSS of Vh ; *Āśā* (instead of the curious *Hāsā* of Jamb. V) agrees with Ṭhāṇ.[20] and the Buddhists ; while for *Śraddhā* of Mv/Lv, *Saccappabhā* of Jamb. V, *Savvagā* of Ṭhāṇ.—pointing at least to some common prototype—JHp has the totally different *Dhṛti* : where this name comes from will be shown below.

The remarkable result thus obtained is that in three cases JHp agrees with the Buddhist tradition as opposed to Jamb. V. This means that Jinasena here follows a tradition which, though—as shown above—no doubt a Śvetāmbar tradition, yet is independent of and anterior to the canonical tradition of Jamb. V and the post-canonical Śvetāmbar literature based on Jamb. V. We shall find more proofs of this in the course of our investigation.

The eight godesses each of the four quarters, enumerated in identical stanzas at such disparate places as a Buddhist charm for travellers and a Jain nativity legend, must undoubtedly be of considerable antiquity. Perhaps we might even say that what we have before us is only a last vestige of them ; for apart from the places just mentioned, I cannot trace them anywhere else. Popular as the " Four Mahārājas "

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20. If here Ṭhāṇ. has preserved a correct form corrupted in Jamb. it has, on the other hand, the corrupt *Mittakesī* for *Misakesī* and *Puṇḍarīgiṇī* for *Puṇḍarīyā* of Jamb., *Puṇḍarīgā* of H.—KIRFEL, who (p. 258) knows the goddesses only from Ṭhāṇ., does not give the names *Misakesī*, *Puṇḍarīkā*, and *Hāsā*.

are in Buddhist literature, the 32 devakumāriyo are nowhere else met as part of their retinue ; they do not even occur in the Buddhist nativity legends, where beside the lokāpālas themselves a great many different kinds of male and female gods and demi-gods appear before or during the great event. As to the Jains, they could not help including the disākumārīs of Jamb. in their systematic treatises on cosmography, and it was a matter of course that the memorial ślokas were quoted in Ṭhāṇ. But as far as I can see the only occasion on which these godesses fulfil any function or display any activity is the janma-kalyāṇa of the Śvetāmbaras. An examination of their names does not lead much further. Some of them, it is true, form distinct groups of four, but the list as a whole seems to be a motley collection of disparate names with no underlying common principle and without any recognizable relation to the nature of the godesses or to the four quarters. Some of them are names of tithis : *Nandā* is the name of the 1st, 6th, and 11th tithi, *Nandivardhana* is the end of the paksa, i.e. the day of new or full moon, *Ekānaṃśā* is the day of new moon, and *Navamikā* imme-diately following it in the list probably stands for *Navamī*. *Nandā, Ekānaṃśā, Vijayā,* and *Aparājitā* are surnames of Durgā ; *Alambuṣā*, of course is a well-known nymph. Other single names might be added that occur elsewhere in some other connexion, but it is more interesting to note that in two cases a complete group of four names filling a śloka pāda recurs elsewhere. Mv II, p. 56ff. we find *Śrī, Śraddhā, Āśā,* and *Hrī* as four daughters of Indra, incarnating the conceptions expressed by their names, but there is nothing to tell us whether they are in any way related to their disākumārī namesakes or not.

A more interesting, but also even more problematic case is that of the group *Vijayā Vaijayantī Jayantī Aparājitā.* While the rest of the 32 names have been used comparatively little in the way described above[21] this group has been made to supply the names for a great many different, and partly rather important, things, viz. ' as m a s c., (1) for the four gates of Jambudvīpa described at such great length in Jamb. and for the gods who guard them, and further for the gates of all other continents and oceans ; (2) for the four outer vimānas of the highest celestial region ; (3) for a series of peaks on Rucakadvīpa ; as f e m., (1) for four lakes on Nandīśvaradvīpa ; (2) for four ponds in the Nandanavana on Mt. Meru (Digam-bars differ, cf. KIRFEL, p. 231) ; (3) for the four consorts each of all the planet gods ; (4) for four provincial capitals in the northern part of Aparavideha. As to the Bud-dhists, there occur in the fragments of a dhāraṇī published by H. HOFFMANN as an appendix to his edition of the Āṭāṭikasūtra,[22] (in the retinue of the Four Mahārājas the yakṣas *Jayanta, Vijayanta,* and *Aparājita* ; a fourth name coming before Aparājita is lost in a lacuna. Further, *Jayā, Vijayā* (variant : *Vijayantī*), *Jayantī,* and *Aparājitā* are the names of the first four statues in the Siṃhāsanadvātriṃśikā (cf. WEBER, *Indische Studien,* Vol. 15, p. 444). And

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21. Apart from single names, there occur : *Suprabuddhā Yaśodharā* among the names of the Jambū tree after which Jambudvīpa is named ; *Citraguptā Vasundharā* among the consorts of Camara's lokapāla ; and the group *Nandottarā Nandā Ānandā Nandivardhanā* as the names of four lakes on Nandīśvaradvīpa and of four ponds in the Nandanavana on Mt. Meru, the latter, however, having quite different names with the Digambars, cf. KIRFEL, p. 231.

22. " *Bruchstücke des Āṭānāṭika-Sūtra aus dem zentralasiatischen Sanskrit-Kanon der Buddhisten* ", p. 102.

lastly, the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* prescribes in the passage dealing with the planning of a fort (II, 4 ; ed. GAṆAPATI ŚĀSTRI I, 129): "In the centre of the fort, he shall have erected the sanctuaries of Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta, and Vijayanta as well as the temples of Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, the Aśvins, Śrī, and Madirā." (*Aparājit-Āpratihata-Jayanta-Vaijayanta-koṣṭakān Śiva-Vaiśravaṇ-Aśvi-Śrī Madirā-gṛhaṃ ca pura-madhye kārayet.*) This passage is dealt with at length by O. STEIN, "*Megasthenes and Kau·ṭilya*", p. 195f., who, without arriving at a definite result, discusses in particular SHAMASASTRI's and SORABJI's assertion that the four deities are "Jaina deities". Even a slight acquaintance with Jain doctrines and literature ought to have made impossible this assertion or at least have rendered superfluous its discussion. SHAMA-SASTRI, SORABJI and STEIN evidently know the four names in Jainism only as those of "Anuttara deities." Now as we have seen above, these names are primarily those of the four outer vimānas of the highest celestial region, and it is only by the general rule that in the uppermost regions the gods have the same name as the heavens they live in that Aparājita etc. become names of gods as well. But these products of cosmographic systematization have nothing to do with real gods, i.e. divine personalities belonging to a pantheon. whose worship or pictorial representation might be imagined. The idea that such "deities" might have been borrowed by the Brahmans from the Jains is almost grotesque. Who are the borrowers here is shown very clearly by the multifarious use of the four names in Jain literature unknown to SHAMASASTRI, SORABJI, and STEIN and by their occurring in Buddhist literature as well.

This may be said to settle the "question of Jainism in Kauṭilya" (STEIN 1. c·), but not the problem of the origin and true nature of our four godesses. According to STEIN l. c. and the smaller St. Petersburg Dictionary of the names occurring in the passage of the Arthaśāstra *Apratihata* is unknown to Brahmanical literature as the name of a god ; *Jayanta* occurs as the name of a son of Indra and Śacī, a surname of Śiva and Skanda, the name of a Rudra, a Gandharva, and a son of Dharma : *Vaijayanta* is a surname of Skanda, and *Aparājita* a surname of Viṣṇu and Śiva and the name of a Rudra. GAṆAPATI ŚĀSTRI in his commentary explains : *Aparājitā Durgā, Apratihato Viṣṇuḥ, Jayantaḥ Subrahmaṇyaḥ, Vaijayanta Indraḥ, teṣām ālayān.* J. J. MEYER, in his translation of the Arthaśāstra, ("Nachträge", 75, 40) remarks on the four names : "But actually all of them are only different names or forms of Kumāra, Skanda or Kārttikeya." In my opinion, the material collected above rather tends to show that we have to do with a group of tutelary deities that played a considerable part in p o p u l a r belief but hardly entered the domain of literature ; when the latter occasionally did happen, they were identified with gods like Skanda etc. or interpreted as special forms of them. If this conjecture is right, what follows for the list of the diśākumarīs is once more nothing but that it is composed of a motley of heterogeneous figures.

In JHp, the four kumārīs *Vijayā Vaijayantī Jayantī Aparajitā* are doubled in a curious way. In all three passages in question, they head the list, but the four names occur once more after the last group of four enumerated in Jamb. V, their bearers being described in 38,376 as *diśāṃ ca Vijayādayo yuvatayaś catasro varāḥ.* while in 5,717 and 8,115 they are as unequivocally called *etā vidyutkumārīṇāṃ syur mahattarikāḥ and imā vidyutkumārīṇāṃ catasraḥ pramukhāḥ* respectively. All three passages further expressly state that these four together with the four enumerated last

in Jamb. V (and called *dikkumārīṇāṃ mahattarikā varāḥ* in JHp 5,724) perform the jātakarmāṇi of the Jina. That the four disākumārīs heading the list and the four *vidyutkumārīṇāṃ mahattarikāḥ* or *vidyutkumārīṇāṃ pramukhāḥ* are really meant to be different is proved beyond doubt by the mountains assigned to them as residences in JHp 5 being different too.

Whatever may be the origin of this duplication (probably it is due to some error or misunderstanding), it is hardly a mere fancy that in JHp just these four goddesses are invested with a kind of leadership. On the other hand it must be admitted that neither in Jamb. V nor in Mv or Lv do we find any traces of such leadership ; moreover we should rather expect to find four leaders of the 32 dikrumārīs distributed to the four quarters, i.e. one each in the east, south, west, and north, instead of all of them in the east (and even there enumerated as second group a f t e r Nandottarā etc.). For the present, it is unfortunately not possible to give satisfactory answers to the questions raised by these four deities in particular and the 32 dikkumārīs in general.

In addition to the 32 dikkumārīs common to Jains and Buddhists which we have dealt with so far, Jamb. V enumerates 24 more whose names and distribution to the points of the compass we shall now have to consider.

The same memorial ślokas for the eight disākumārīs each of ahe- and uḍḍha-loga run as follows :

> (a) *Bhogaṃkarā Bhogavaī Subhogā Bhogamāliṇī*
>   *Toyadhārā Vicittā ya Pupphamālā Aṇindiyā*
> (b) *Mehaṃkarā Mehavaī Sumehā Mehamāliṇī* `
>   *Suvacchā Vacchamittā ya Vāriseṇā Balāhagā*

The same order of names is presented by Jamb. IV, by the Jambudvīpasamāsa and Jambudvīpasaṃgrahaṇī and by part of the MSS of HTr (I 2, 274 and 282) ; in Ṭhāṇ., the second lines of (a) and (b) are exchanged, and this order is attested (for (b) only, cf. KIRFEL p. 231) by the Trailokyadīpikā as well. On the other hand, Śīlāṅka in his Mahāpurisacariya and some MSS of HTr (among them the excellent Cambay palm-leaf MS) render the two ślokas in a form which exchanges the third pādas as compared with Jamb. Vh, the fourth Pādas as compared with Ṭhāṇ., viz.

> (a) *Bhogaṃkarā Bhogavatī Subhogā Bhogamālinī*
>   *Suvatsā Vatsamitrā ca Puṣpamālā Aninditā*
> (b) *Meghaṃkarā Meghavatī Sumeghā Meghamālinī*
>   *Toyadhārā Vicitrā ca Vāriseṇā Balāhakā*

Whether this version is founded on ancient tradition or a secondary correction—it cannot be doubted for a moment that it alone is the correct one ; for it goes without saying that Toyadhārā and Vicitrā as well as Vāriseṇā and Balāhakā belong to the unequivocal cloud-names of the first half of (b) and not to the equally unequivocal serpent- or nāga-names of the first half of (a).

In JHp, the 16 names of these two ślokas are completely missing in the descriptions of the janmakalyāṇa in the 8th and 38th sargas ; but they appear, in the order adopted in Jamb. V, in the 5th chapter describing the upper world (5, 227 and 332f.).

Of the four kumārīs of vidisi-Ruyaga, the first is everywhere called *Cittā* (*Citrā*), the second *Citrakanakā* (JHp : *Kanakacitrā*). The third is called *Saterā* by Jamb. V HTr, *Seyaṃsā* by Ṭhāṇ., *Triśiras* by JHp ; what may be the common prototype of

these strange forms (to which the Lokaprakāśa adds the Skt. *Śaterikā*) I am unable
to say. The fourth kumārī's name is *Soyāmaṇī* (H : *Sudāmiṇī*), which HTr renders
by *Sautrāmaṇī* and JHp by *Sutrāmaṇī*. In Kirfel, this group is entirely wanting, a
Citrā occurring (p. 305) only as the consort of a vaimānika lokapāla, and *Saterā* and
Soyāmaṇī (p. 265) among the six consorts of Dharaṇendra, i.e. a nāgakumāra.

The four kumārīs of majjhima-Ruyaga are called in

Jamb. V :	*Ruyaṅgā Ruyaṃsā ya Surūvā Rūyagāvatī*
Vh :	*Ruyaṅgā Ruyaṃsā ya Surūvā Rūyagāvatī*
Ṭhāṇ. :	*Rūva Rūvaṃsā Surūvā Rūvāvaī*
HTr :	*Rūpā Rūpaśikā câpi Surūpā Rūpakāvatī*
JHp :	*Rucakā Rucakojjvalā Rucakābhā Rucakaprabhā*

In KIRFEL, this group, too, is wanting ; but on p. 265 the six consorts of Bhūtānanda,
an indra of the nāgakumāras, are enumerated as follows : *Rūvā/Rūpā, Rūvaṃsā/*
Rūpāṃśā, Surūvā/°pā, Rūvavaī/Rūpa(kā)vatī, Rūvakantā/Rūpakāntā, Rūvappa-
bhā Rūpaprabhā·

. From a consideration of this variety of forms, it seems clear that in later times
the four names—as was only too natural for the names of goddesses—were taken to
be derivatives of *rūpa* " beauty ", but equally clear that originally they were derived
from *Ruyaga*, the residence of the goddesses. This view is supported not only by JHp,
by *Ruyaṅgā* (or rather the more correct *Ruyagā* offered by on MS) of Vh and *Ruya-*
gāvatī of Jamb. V but also by the short *u* of the first syllable occurring in three more
cases in Vh and Jamb. V : *Ruyā* probably is contracted from *Ruyayā*, *Ruyaṃsā* from
Ruyayaṃsā, and *Suruyā* from *Suruyayā·*

Taking now a general·view of the whole body of 56 disākumārīs as it appears in
Jamb. V, we are struck by several peculiarities. To begin with, the local distribution
of the goddesses is rather strange. To the four chief points are allotted eight kumārīs
e a c h , but to the four intermediate points only four t o g e t h e r ; the kumārīs of all
the ten diśes are followed by four more who, in a way still to be explained, are assigned
to a " centre ". Moreover, though it is clearly intended to enumerate the ten diśes,
their customary order is not preserved : zenith and nadir in t h i s order !) ought to
come last, not first.[23] Even if we did not know from the Buddhist parallels that the
32 kumārīs of the cardinal points must be somehow different from the rest, that they
probably form a kind of oldest nucleus, we should be driven to the conclusion that the
list of Jamb. V is the product of a long and possibly complicated historical develop-
ment.

Further indications of this are not lacking. That, as stated above, the first 16
kumārīs are missing in JHp 8 and 38 strongly points to their having been added last :
the ślokas enumerating them, with their exactly parallel structure and their perspicu-
ous and uniform names, are markedly different from the four old ślokas of the god-
desses of the cardinal points. But why are the goddesses of a the- and uḍḍha-loga
placed before instead of after those of the other points, and moreover in the order ahe-
uḍḍha instead of the reverse, as invariably elsewhere ?

We have seen above that in Jamb. V these goddesses have been charged with the

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23. Cf. e.g. the passage quoted below from Ṭhāṇ. 10, or in the Buddhist legends the
order of the directions in which the new-born Bodhisattva makes his steps.

preparatory activities for the cleaning of the locality taken from Rāy.   Now while there exists no special relation between the names of the first eight and the *saṃvaṭṭavāya* effected by them, there could hardly be found more suitable names for those who perform the showers of scented water and flowers than the cloud-names of the second śloka.   The revisor who inserted the passages from Rāy. simply could not help assigning the rain of flowers to these cloud-goddesses.   Thus the two allied ślokas (quoted a f t e r the four ślokas enumerating the kumārīs of ESWN in Ṭhāṇ. !) had to be placed at the very beginning ; their order among themselves, too, was fixed by the order of events in Rāy. ; and it goes without saying that when it came to assigning to the goddesses the diśes " above " and " below " (which, as we shall see, were the only ones still available), the nāga-names of the first śloka could only be assigned to " below ", and the cloud-names of the second to " above."

These names themselves testify as clearly as possible to their bearers having originally been no d i k kumārīs at all but n ā g a kumārīs.[21]   This is rendered the more certain by the fact that the four deities of the intermediate points, *Cittā Cittakuṇagā Saterā Soyāmaṇī*, though styled dikkumārīs in Jamb. V and by Hemacandra (who as always slavishly follows his canonical model), are called unanimously v i d y u t - kumārīs in Ṭhāṇ., Vh, Śīlāṅka's Mahāpurisacariya, and JHp—a statement which again is strikingly confirmed especially by the last of the names.   There can, then, be no doubt that the list of 56 disākumārīs is the result of a subsequent unification, while originally only those 32 were deities of the quarters who are known as such to the Buddhists as well.   When subsequently the new groups of goddesses were changed into dikkumārīs, it became of course necessary to assign certain points of the compass to these new groups as well, so that finally we find in Jamb. V the 56 kumārīs distributed to all the ten points.   In order to follow the single stages of this process, we shall now have to consider the residences allotted to the kumārīs.

Jamb. V describes the first two groups merely as *ahe-* and *uḍḍha-loga-vatthavvāo* without distinctly describing their residences, and Ṭhāṇ. does the same.   According to Jamb. IV, the 5th and 6th peaks of each of the four Vakkhāra ranges issuing from Mt. Meru are inhabited by the goddesses Bhogaṃkarā and Bhogavatī (fol. 313a), Subhogā and Bhogamālinī (fol. 337b), Suvacchā and Vacchamittā (353b), Vārisenā and Balāhagā (356a), while eight peaks of the Nandana forest are inhabited by the goddesses Mahaṃkarā, Mehavaī, Sumehā, Mehamālinī, Toyadhārā, Vicittā, Pupphamālā, and Aṇindiyā (367a).   The commentator of Jamb., Śānticandra, and the authors of Jambudvīpasamāsa and -saṃgrahaṇī recognize in these goddesses the disākumārīs familiar to them from Jamb. V ; so they do not hesitate to designate them expressly as dikkumārīs,[25] though the text of Jamb. IV nowhere does so, consistently

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24.   Cf. SCHUBRING p. 137 : " The nāgakumāras are water-gods   also of the rain-clouds."

25.   That JHp does the same in the fifth sarga while in sargas 8 and 38 these 16 goddesses are missing altogether points to Jinasena having used different sources for these sargas.   This is another instances of his eclectic method, which does not always succeed in harmonizing his conflicting sources.— It may be noted here that the 5th chapter of JHp is called in the colophon " *Dvīpasāgaravarṇana* " ; but in the last stanza but one (724 a) the text says : *p a r i ñ a p t i h .   Sreṇika, jñātā dvīpa-sāgara-gocarā.*—KIRFEL (p. 334, 231) and SCHUBRING (p. 137 with note 11) have adopted the identification of the goddesses of the mountain peaks with their disākumārī name-sakes for the first group of eight, but curiously not for the second.

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speaking of them only as *devī* or *devayā*   As a matter of fact, there can be no doubt
that we have to do here with nothing but one more instance of the mechanical use
of any string of names, described above. That for naming the goddesses
dwelling on these peaks (as others dwell on all other peaks) our two ślokas
happened to be chosen has no other significance than the use of the names Nandottarā
etc., which are undoubtedly names of genuine dikkumārīs, for naming four lakes on
Nandīśvaradvīpa and four ponds in the Nandanavana of Mt. Meru (cf. above), or
the use of the series Ruyā etc. for the consorts of Bhūtānanda. But while in the latter
case nobody would have thought of mistaking the consorts of Bhūtānanda for dik-
kumārīs, in the case of the series Bhogaṃkarā etc. and Mehaṃkarā etc. it was only too
tempting to combine the indications of Jamb. IV and Jamb. V. If, however, the
goddesses of Jamb. IV were really the same as the disākumārīs of Jamb. V, it would
be quite incomprehensible why they should be called *ahe-* and *uḍḍha-loga-vatthavvāo*
respectively. For the Nandanavana surrounds Mt. Meru in an altitude of 500 yoja-
nas, while the Vakkhāra ranges rise from an elevation of 400 yoj.s at their outer
extremity to 500 yoj.s where the join the Meru, so that the two groups would live in
practically the same altitude. In reality, then, the designations *ahe-* and *uḍḍha-loga-
vatthavvāo* merely assign in a vague manner disākumārīs who originally were no such
at all to the diśes nadir and zenith without any definite localization being intended.
SCHUBRING's attempted explanation (p. 134, note 11) may thus be dispensed with.

It is different with the 32 "genuine" dikkumārīs of the four quarters   Thāṇ.
10, 76-79 we read : *Jambū-Mandara-puratthimenaṃ (dāhiṇenaṃ, paccatthimenaṃ,
uttareṇaṃ* respectively) *Ruyagavare pavvae attha kūḍā paṇṇattā, taṃ jahā :* the
strings of names (for which cf. KIRFEL p. 258) form, for E and S one gāhā each, for the
W a (defective) gāhā line plus half a śloka, for the N a śloka. Then comes in each
case the sentence *tattha ṇaṃ aṭṭha disākumārī-mahattariyāo mahiddhiyāo jāva paho-
vama-ṭṭhiiyāo parivasanti,* followed by the memorial ślokas from Jamb. V. This
localization, explaining and amplifying the summary indications of Jamb. V, is un-
objectionable ; the Ruyaga range is a circular range dividing the ring-shaped continent
of the same name into an outer and an inner ring, just as the Mānuśottara range di-
vides Puṣkara-, and the Kuṇḍala range Kuṇḍala-dvīpa.

If, however, the two concluding groups of four kumārīs each are located in Jamb.
V in *vidisi-Rūyaga* and *majjhima-Rūyaga* (besides which *Rūyaga-majjha* also occurs),
the former, though not very convincing, is at least just possible, but it is obviously
nonsense to speak of a "centre" or "central part" of a circular mountain range on
one of the outer ring-shaped continents (except, of course, if the expression were to be
used of Mt. Meru, the common centre of all the outer continents, which is clearly
not intended here). And actually these localizations of Jamb. V are not borne out by
Thāṇ. which (4, 1, 29) merely states : *cattāri disākumārī-mahattariyāo paṇṇattāo, taṃ
jahā : Rūvā ....* ; *cattāri vijjukumārī-mahattariyāo paṇṇattāo, taṃ jahā : Cittā ....*
Curiously enough, Dīv. tells us nothing whatever about the Rucaka range, and the
later cosmographers are equally silent of the two groups of kumārīs in question, so
that as stated above, they are wanting in KIRFEL's book. On the other hand, JHp
also tries to find accommodation on Rucaka for these two groups as well, though in a
manner different from that of Jamb. V. JHp 5, 704ff. first locates—just like Thāṇ.—
the 32 kumārīs of the chief points on 32 peaks of Rucaka, but most of the names of

the peaks (some of which appear twice in the list) are different from those of Ṭhāṇ., and even those peaks whose names are the same are inhabited by different kumārīs. JHp next places, in a vague and rather obscure way, four " other " peaks in the chief points of the compass (718 : *dikṣu catvāri kūṭāni punar anyāni .... syuḥ pūrvâdiṣu)* and on them locates the group Citrā Kanakacitrā etc. (dwelling according to Jamb. V at the intermediate points !). Finally, JHp locates on four kūṭas of the intermediate points the goddesses Rucakā Rucakojjvalā etc. (assigned to Ruyagamajjha in Jamb V *) and on four " other " peaks at the intermediate points the " *vidyutkumārīṇāṃ mahat-tarikāḥ* " *Vijayā* etc.

The results so far obtained with regard to the disākumārīs of Jamb. V may be thus summed up : The oldest nucleus consists of the 32 goddesses of the four quarters known to the Buddhists as well, who were located on as many peaks of the Rucaka range. To these were added two new groups of four each, one consisting of vidyut-kumārīs while the true nature of the second group remains to be found out. When these two groups, by way of assimilation to the original ones, were made into dik-kumārīs, it became necessary to assign to them points of the compass and locate them. The divergence of Jamb. V and JHp, the silence of Ṭhāṇ. and the later cosmographers illustrate the resulting difficulties. The last addition were the twice eight original nāgakumārīs making the beginning in Jamb. V. When they, too, were to be made into dikkumārīs, the only discs remaining for them were the zenith and nadir. Their exact localization was not at first attempted ; it resulted only later on from an erro-neous combination of the indications of Jamb V (and Ṭhāṇ.) with those of Jamb IV.

But what can the author of that makeshift localization " *Ruyagamajjha* " oder " *majjhima-Ruyaga* " have meant by it ? Perhaps nothing at all ; perhaps—and more probably—he was influenced by the fact which we could not have passed by in any case—that Rucaka is the name not only of the above-mentioned continent and the circular mountain-range on it but also of the World-Pole thought of as the centre of the world and the starting-point of the ten discs.[26] This connexion between Rucaka and diś easily explains why the disākumārīs were located on the Rucaka range.[27] It may even be asked whether not, on the contrary, the Rucaka continent and its moun-tain range owe their names to the dikkumārīs being located there.

In Brahmanical cosmography, we find with regard to the residences of the four lokapālas—whose character as guardians of the four quarters is closely akin to that of the dikkumārīs—two conceptions side by side : their cities are placed either in the c e n t r e of the world on the summit of Mt. Meru, whence each of them can overlook his quadrant, or on the c i r c u m f e r e n c e of the world they are to protect, on the circular mountain range Mānasottara on the outermost continent Puṣkaradvīpa ; it

26. Cf LEUMANN, *Übersicht über die Āvaśyaka-Literatur,* p. 42 b-43 b. Ṭhāṇ., Book of Tens, No. 28, says : *Jambuddīve dīve Mandarapavvayassa bahu-majjhadese imīse Rayaṇap-pabhāe puḍhavie uvarima-heṭṭhillesu khuddaga-payaresu. ettha ṇaṃ aṭṭha-paesie Ruyage paṇ ṇatte, jao imāo dasa disāo pavahanti, taṃ jahā : puratthimā, puratthima-dāhiṇā, dāhiṇā, d.-paccatthimā, pacc., pacc.-uttarā, utt., utt.-puratthimā, uḍḍhā, aho.*

27. At the same time it shows how absurd it would have been to distribute the 16 kumārīs of uḍḍha and ahe quite unsystematically to four Vakkhāra ranges and eight peaks of the Nandana forest instead of locating them on Rucaka with all the others—another weighty proof of the assertion that the designation of the goddesses of those Vakkhāra and Nandana peaks as dikkumārīs is due to a misunderstanding.

will be seen that both conceptions are equally sensible.   Now as KIRFEL points out
in his introduction, p. 22, in an older phase of cosmography that knew only three
continents, the Mānasottara range formed the end of the world. When the conception of
the world was enlarged by introducing the number seven, the Brahmanical system
intercalated the new continents so that Puṣkaradvīpa remained the outermost conti-
nent and its mountain range mānasottara still formed the end of the world. The Jains,
on the contrary, added their new continents as so many outer rings, leaving the Māna-
sottara range at its old place, where it is no longer the absolute end of the world,
but still, as its Jain name Mānuṣottara insinuates, the boundary of the world of men
(and animals). What KIRFEL does not discuss in his introduction is the fact that the
Jains assume similar mountain ranges on two, and only two, more of the (theoreti-
cally innumerable) outer continents, viz. on Kuṇḍala- and on Rucakadvīpa. This can
only mean (what would be natural to assume in any case) that the conception of the
world was enlarged by successive stages, the range that originally had formed the end
of the world always remaining at the same place, but the outermost continent of the
world was first assumed on Kuṇḍala-, then on Rucakadvīpa, and finally it was pushed
far beyond even that to the Svayaṃbhūramaṇa continent, which at least the Digam-
bars (KIRFEL p. 261) again provide with a circular mountain range.[28]

If, then, for the localization of goddesses of the quarters the world-closing range
is the most suitable place, nothing can be more natural than to give this range the
name of the World-Pole thought of as the starting point of the ten diśes—a name
recurring in Brahman cosmography as that of one of the mountain ranges surround-
ing Mt. Meru. It is equally conceivable that to a newly invented world-closing range
was assigned the Brahmanical mountain-name Rucaka, that the dikkumārīs were sub-
sequently located there, and that then only the World-Pole and starting-point of the
diśes was given the name of the dikkumārīs' mountain range. That, however, Rucaka
p r i m a r i l y designates the World-Pole is certain if LEUMANN'S explanation
(L. C. P. 43b) is right : " Rucaka, in the above system thought of as the proper name
of the cube forming the centre of the world, denotes in Sanskrit literature not only
cube-shaped objects (e.g. salts crystallizing in cubes) but also objects looking like a
square column (as quadrangular teeth etc.)."

Be that as it may, it seems certain that the names of the group Ruyā etc. are
derived from Ruyaga, and so it is at least possible that the initiator of the localiza-
tion " Ruyaga-majjha " or " majjhima-Ruyaga " meant to locate this group, for which

28. That there were several progressive stages in the development of the conception of
the world is borne out by the fact that the lists of the continents given by Śvetāmbars and
Digambars diverge b e y o n d R u c a k a (the list quoted by KIRFEL from the Trailokya-
dīpikā is also found JHp 5, 619ff.). That the Kuṇḍala range at one time was the end of the
world, as it were a double of the Mānuṣottara range, is underlined by the fact that on its
inner side there are four mountains each in the N and the S bearing the names of the four
lokapālas plus °prabha (Somaprabha etc.).

29. O n l y this group (and the concluding group Vijayā etc., cf. above p.   ) are
called respectively dikkumārīṇāṃ and vidyutkumārīṇāṃ mahattarikāḥ in JHp while Śīlāṅka
similarly designates o n l y the four kumārīs of " majjha-Ruyaga" as disākumārippahāṇā.
May we regard this a preserved original trait and assume that the designation mahattarikā
was extended to all the dikkumārīs only by a secondary generalization ? For the 56 kumārīs
of Jamb. V, originally at least, are certainly not, as SCHUBRING, p. 137, puts it, " dignitaries
among the dikkumārīs, " but the only dikkumārīs in existence.

no chief or intermediate point of the compass was left and to which a leading position was ascribed by the rôle it played at the janma-kalyāṇa,[29] at the World-Pole.

The derivation of the four names from Rucaka may further be regarded as an indication of this group having been *invented* and added subsequently, and it is tempting to conjecture (nothing more than a conjecture being possible here) that it was the inventor of this group who also added the elaborate jātakarman performed by it alone. This would mean that originally only the 32 " genuine " dikkumārīs merely paid a general visit to the mother of the new-born Tīrthankara in order to see the child and serve her[30]—just as in the narratives of the Buddha's birth divine maidens of every kind come to see Māyā.[31]

As stated above, in the "genuine" Digambar version of the janmakalyāṇa represented by GU and MP, the dikkumārīs are completely wanting, but instead of them we find in the narrative of the first, the svargāvataraṇa-kalyāṇa, other goddesses appearing, by Śakra's command, six months before the conception in order to purify the mother and wait on her as attendants. GU mentions this only five times very briefly, giving only three names. 65, 20, Ara's mother is styled *saṃvāhyamānā devībhiḥ* ; 71, 31 describes Nemi's mother as *devatopāsyamānāṃhri* ; 63, 385 Śanti's mother is said to be *Śrī-Hrī-Dhṛty-ādi-saṃsevyā* ; 69, 25 Nami's mother is called *Śrī-Hrī-Dhṛty-ādibhiḥ sevyā* ; and lastly, 54, 169 runs : (sc. *mātuḥ*) *kāntiṃ lajjāṃ dhṛtiṃ kīrtiṃ buddhiṃ saubhāgya-sampadam/Śrī-Hrī-Dhṛty-ādi-devīṣu vardhayantīṣu saṃtatam*, from which, in connexion with the passages to be quoted presently from MP, we may deduce, in addition to *Śrī, Hrī, and Dhṛti*, mentioned also in 69, 25, the names *Kīrti-Buddhi*, and *Lakṣmī*.

MP 3, 1 Sakka bids the six goddesses

> *Siri Hiri Dihi devi laḥya-kara*
> *vara Kanti Kitti Lacchi ya vara*
> *cha vi eyau* . . . . . .

betake themselves to Nābhi's house and purify the womb of his consort chosen as an abode for the Jina's embryo. As the following three kaḍavakas show, these six are only the leaders of a greater host of goddesses (*amara-vilāsiṇi-satthu*) ; 2, 10 express-ly speaks of *eyau aṇṇāu sura-kaṇṇāu*, "these and other divine maidens", and 4 assigns 13 different activities each to a " *ka vi* " : the goddesses perform the services of toilet servants, mount guard with sword and doorkeeper's staff and provide amuse-ment and entertainment. MP 87, 13, 1f. gives the eight names *Hrī, Śrī Kānti, Śānti, Buddhi, Kīrti*, and *Lakṣmī*, but here, too, " and others " is added.

JHp mentions these goddesses four times. 2, 24 Mahāvīra's mother is styled *dik-kumārī-kṛtâbhikhyā* ; 37, 4, describing Nemi's conception, Jinasena says : *diśāṃ mu-*

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30. It must, however, be admitted that the reason for the insertion of the four vidyut-kumārīs Citrā etc. and the origin of the latter remain wholly obscure.

31. The closest parallel to the visit of the dikkumārīs probably is the passage of Lv (p. 96) where there come to Māyā, in order to enquire after her well-being and the course of the delivery, 5,000 apsarases each with *divyānulepana, divyagandhodakaparipūrṇaghaṭa's, divyādārakacivara's divyadārakābharaṇa's, divyatūryasaṃgītasamprabhaṇita*. This directly reminds of the disākumārīs ranging themselves round the couch of the Jina's mother, the four groups of eight (and one of four) holding in their hands mirrors, vases, fans, chowries, (and lamps) respectively.

khebhyaḥ samitās tad-āśritaḥ | diśāṃ kumāryaḥ paricaryayā Śivām ; 16, 4 Munisu-
vrata's mother is said to be

> *sopāsitā navanavaty upamā-vyatīta-*
> *divya-prabhāva-dig-abhikhya-kumārikābhiḥ.*

It is only in the 8th sarga in the description of Ṛṣabha's svargâvataraṇa, that JHp
gives any names (8, 39) :

> *Śrī-Lakṣmī-Dhṛti-Kīrty-ādyā navatir nava câyayuḥ*
> *prāg vidyud-dik-kumāryo 'pi ....*

As 8, 40 states, they are coming *Pākaśāsana-śāsanāt* : 41-51 describe in closest agree-
ment with MP 3, 4 their activities : they offer their services, praise Marudevā's beauty
and other good qualities, make music, sing, and dance : they massage, anoint, bathe,
dress, and adorn the Queen, prepare her food, make her bed and perform other menial
services, work her chowries, mirror, parasol, and fan, and serve as armed guards
against demons of all kinds.

That JHp alone designates these goddesses as dikkumārīs is easily explained by
the fact that Jinasena has adopted from the Śvetāmbars the dikkumārīs of the janma-
kalyāṇa and thus takes the very similar goddesses of the svargâvataraṇa-kalyāṇa to
be dikkumārīs, too—the more so as the names Śrī and Hrī actually recur in the list of
the Śvetāmbar dikkumārīs.[32] But considering the fact that GU and MP nowhere call
the goddesses dikkumārīs, the identity of these two names cannot by itself suffice to
convince us that Jinasena is right on this point.

That, however, the Digambar version of the svargâvataraṇa-kalyāṇa with these
divine female attendants and guardians has preserved an old trait is proved by two
Buddhist parallels, one of which moreover contains some features of the janmâbhiṣeka
common to both Jain churches.

The first of these parallels is found in Mv. In that text, the descent of the Bodhi-
sattva from heaven and his entering the mother's womb is told twice, in verbal agree-
ment with only minor variants.[33] The metrical narrative relates how Queen Māyā,
after taking pious vows spends the night far from her consort on the top of the palace
Dhṛtarāṣṭra When she has fallen asleep, the Tuṣita gods descend to the roof of the
palace and worship her.

> *atha kautūhala-paraṃ saṃjaniyā bahu-devakanyā śuci-mālya-dharāḥ*
> *jina-mātur upagatā draṣṭu-manā prāsāda-mūrdhni pratiṣṭhihiṃsu.*

The devakanyās go up to the Queen's couch, gaze at her with rapture, strew her with
celestial flowers, extol her beauty and call her happy as the future mother of the
Buddha. Then rākṣasas, nāgas, yakṣas, and gandharvas are ordered to mount guard
and protect the Queen against all enemies. The narrative goes on to tell that the
Four Mahārājas, too, with their retinue gather in the air to witness the great event
and concludes with Māyā's dream in which she sees a white elephant with six tusks
entering her womb.

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32. We can now understand where Jinasena's Dhṛti instead of thhe Saccappabhā of
Jamb. V. comes from.

33. I 200, 3-207, 6;; II 3, 21-10, 17. A third, incomplete version with more consider-
able variants is found I 145, 6-147, 5.

The visit of the *bahu-devakanyāh* (along with other deities) would by itself hardly be a sufficient reason to find here a parallel to the episode of the Digambar svargāvataraṇa-kalyāṇa. But the mention of the armed guards immediately after the arrival of the *devakanyāh,* even before the lokapālas and their retinue are mentioned, reminds rather strongly of the Digambar narrative in which the goddesses arriving in order to prepare the svargāvataraṇa themselves act as armed guards.

The main difference between the Buddhist and the Digambar story of course is that in the former there is no question of the goddesses purifying the mother in order to make ready her womb for the entering of the Bodhisattva.[34] The parallel to this is furnished by the exactly corresponding passage of the Nidānakathā. Here, too, in the night of the conception Queen Māyā, after taking pious vows, goes to sleep alone on her couch. But instead of being visited by the gods and *devakanyāh,* she has at once the well-known dream, the second part of which (entering of the Bodhisattva into her womb in the shape of a white elephant) corresponds to the dream told (though much more briefly) in the last part of the narrative of Mv.[35] The first part of the dream is as follows (Jātaka ed. Fausböll, Vol. I, p 50): " The Four Mahā rājas lifted her up with her couch, took her to the Himālaya, put her down on the Manosilātala measuring 60 yojanas under a big sāl tree measuring seven yojanas, and stepped aside. Thereupon their consorts came, took the Queen to the Anotatta lake, bathed her in order to remove the human impurity, dressed her in a celestial garment, anointed her with perfumes, and strew her with celestial flowers. Close by is the Silver Mountain, in it there is a golden palace ; there they made for her a celestial couch and laid her down on it."

The Digambar story of the divine female attendants and guardians consecrating the mother of the Tīrthaṅkara for the impending conception looks like a combination of the two Buddhist versions of the supernatural conception found in Mv and Nidānakathā. At the same time, it is impossible to separate the consecration of Queen Māyā on the Himālaya from the janmābhiṣeka of the Jina on Mt. Meru. As KIRFEL, p. 15* and 182, has shown, certain passages in Buddhist literature prove that originally the Himālaya was the mythical central mountain of the world situated in the far north, and that it was only subsequently replaced by Mt. Meru. In our case, the identity of the Buddhist Himālaya with the Jain Meru is confirmed by the fact that in the Buddhist as well as in the Jain legend the consecration (or, in the Buddhist legend, at least its beginning) takes place on a *śilā*—the Buddhist *Manosilātala,* the Jain *Pāṇḍuka-* or *abhiṣeka-śilā.* The consecration performed by the deities on the mythical central mountain of the world is another piece of the common Buddhist-Jain saviour-legends, though within these legends it comes at a slightly different stage : with the Jains in connexion with the birth, with the Buddhists in connexion with the conception of the *Jina*--to use an epithet common to both religions.

Which of the two is the more original version, and what is the exact relation between the Buddhist and the Jain legends ? It is impossible to answer these questions

34. Still, when the *devaganāh* invite the Bodhisattva to enter his mother's womb, they say : *sajjā tāva bhavati te janani. anukampa dāni duḥkhitāṃ janatām* !

35. This vision of the white elephant is probably the best-known parallel in the legendary biographies of Tīrthaṅkaras and Buddhas, but its treatment is beyond the scope of the present paper.

with any degree of certainty, but I venture to suggest the following as a p o s s i b l e
course of development :

There was a legend relating how the sleeping mother of the future Jina is taken
by the gods to the mythical central mountain of the world and consecrated by god-
desses for the impending conception.   The Buddhists merely changed the actual con-
secration of the sleeping Queen on the mythical mountain into a vision she sees in
her dream—exactly as they did with the entering of the Bodhisattva into her womb
in the shape of a white elephant. With the Jains, the actual consecration on the mythi-
cal mountain was retained but transferred to the more important event of the Jina's
birth : the Jina himself is now consecrated instead of his mother.   The Digambars
have retained the old version beside the new, but reserved the mother's sleep and her
removal to the mythical mountain to the new version, so that tedious repetitions are
avoided.   With the Śvetāmbars, the remnant of the old version was replaced by the
story of the dikkumārīs unknown to the Digambars. As the object of the consecration
on Mt. Meru was now the Jina, not his mother, it was possible and even more conve-
nient to leave the latter behind, and some over-conscientious redactor sought to justify
this by telling us that her mind was set at rest by a magical double of her child,
apparently overlooking the fact that this was quite unnecessary since Śakra had put
her to sleep.

SANSKRIT DEVOTIONAL POETRY AND HYMNOLOGY*

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I

The earliest literary antecedent of Sanskrit devotional poetry and hymnology is to be found in the *Ṛgveda,* which consists almost entirely of hymns of praise and prayer centering round some specific god or gods. The hymns are inspired by what is perhaps an abiding sentiment of the human heart, but while the devotional spirit of the god-seeker (*devayu*) and god lover (*devakāma*) in that far-off age is nearly the same as that found in later times, the respective theme and mode of expression are necessarily divergent. The Vedic poet possessed the secret of making his religion poetry and his poetry religion ; but his descendant lost the art and evolved a new type of Stotra literature in which he conveyed his highest religious aspiration. In the meantime, the old gods had changed their character and new gods had come into being. As a race they were no longer conceived as superior, sinless and ethically apart. They were sufficiently individualised to inspire a sense of affectionate intimacy and familiarity associated with personal devotion ; and the attitude of the worshipper passed far beyond an acknowledgment of benefits already received or a petition for further acts of expected generosity. The elaborate and somewhat mechanical Vedic ritual of Homa, with its pouring of libations, chanting and repetition of formulas, was replaced by the more personal and sensuous mode of Pūjā, with its offering of flower, food, incense, song and dance. The spirit of devotion found expression not so much in the manifold elaborateness of ritual worship but in the psychological mood with which that worship was offered. The gods were not only feared but also loved ; and the gods, in their turn are said to love their worshippers. The new mythology had vividness, warmth and colour, and brought the gods nearer to human life and emotion. Unlike the later Greek poets to whom the Homeric inspiration was lost, the Sanskrit poets never regarded their gods as playthings of fancy. Their theme was a living reality to them as well as their audience, and its emotional possibilities appealed to their imagination.

But in the meantime life had grown more complicated and many-sided, and its problems more varied. The literature was no longer predominantly religious, but being abundantly developed on the secular side, it was essentially profane. The spirit of Vedic literature, at least in its earlier phases, was optimistic and care-free ; but Sanskrit literature, with the development of the inexorable doctrine of Karman and re-birth, became pervaded with a deeply pessimistic spirit. The classical systems of philosophy, which greater leisure had brought into existence, started with the presumption of human misery and occupied themselves with theories of its eradication ; and in this procedure the heterodox religious systems of Buddhism and Jainism agreed. The Vedic people heartily believed in enjoying the good things of this life, while heartily believing in the extension of this enjoyment in the next ; but in later times other-world-

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liness became a matter of greater concern than this-worldliness, and the unlimited pesimism with regard to this world was balanced by unlimited optimism with regard to the next. The new theology of the popular cults developed a theory of divine incarnation, which supplied a resting place for the sentiment of human surrender and divine grace. The attitude fostered at once a spirit of stoical resignation, on the one hand, and of mystic faith and hope, on the other, which brought about a new outlook on life and supplied a speculative background to its fervent devotional poems.

The Stotra literature revived the old devotional spirit under these new conditions, and its wealth and universality became really amazing. The Epics, as well as the Purāṇas and Tantras of uncertain date abound in liturgical hymns in which the gods of the new Hindu mythology receive worship and adoration ; while the Jainas and Buddhists do not lag behind in addressing similar hymns to the deities and teachers of their pantheon and hagiology. From the impassioned contemplation of a somewhat personalised Brahman in the younger group of Upaniṣads, such as the *Kaṭha* and the *Śvetāśvatara*, we come to such sublime hymns in the Great Epic as that addressed by Arjuna to the theophanic appearance of the Bhagavat. Among the Purāṇas, the *Viṣṇu, Brahmāṇḍa, Mārkaṇḍeya, Padma, Skanda, Bhāgavata, Brahma-vaivarta* and *Devī-bhāgavata* may be cited as store-houses of remarkable Stotras ; while Tantras like *Prapañca-sāra, Rudra-yāmala, Viśva-sāra, Śāradā-tilka, Mahānirvāṇa* and *Tantra-sāra,* and later apocryphal sectarian Upaniṣads like *Nārāyaṇa, Kaivalya* and *Gopāla-tāpanī* contain some good specimens of classical Stotras. Some of these compositions are meant solely for the purpose of sects and cults ; some are mere theological collections of sacred epithets of strings of a hundred or thousand sacred names ; there are eulogies of some of the localised deities (such as Annapūrṇā, Tripurā, Maṇikarṇikā, or Kāla-bhairava), and even of sacred rivers like the Gaṅgā, Yamunā or Godāvarī, consistently with the older Vedic tradition. Most of these religious poems have a stereotyped form and little individuality ; but some, at least, can be singled out for their nobility of sentiment and charm of expression, and they certainly form an important link in the chain of religious evolution.

But very soon the higher poetry and philosophy invaded the field, and the Stotra became an important, if a somewhat neglected, wing of the Kāvya poetry itself. Aśvaghoṣa's early eulogy of the Buddha in his *Buddha-carita* (xxvii) is unfortunately lost in Sanskrit, but the spurious *Gaṇḍīstotra gāthā,* often ascribed to him, has been restored and edited. This Sanskrit text is a small poem in twenty-nine stanzas, composed mostly in the sonorous Sragdharā metre. It is a hymn in praise of Gaṇḍī, the Buddhist monastery gong, consisting of a long symmetrical piece of wood ; the theme of the poem is the religious message which its sound is supposed to carry when beaten with a short wooded club. The composition is marked by some metrical, but not much poetical, skill ; and one of its stanzas (st. 20) shows that it was composed at a much later time in Kashmir. Of Aśvaghoṣa's successors, Mātṛceṭa has ascribed to his credit some twelve works in Tibetan and one in Chinese. Most of these are in the nature of Stotras, and some belong distinctly to Mahāyāna ; but only fragments of *Śata-pañcāśataka-stotra* and *Catuḥ-śataka-stotra,* panegyric of one hundred and fifty and four hundred stanzas respectively, have been recovered in Sanskrit. Both these works are simple devotional poems in Ślokas. They are praised by Yi-tsing, to whom Mātṛceṭa is already a famous poet ; but they do not appear to possess much literary merit.

Evidently they impressed the faithful more by their pious thought than by their literary form.

Of greater interest and literary worth are two fine Stotras to Viṣṇu and Brahmā, both in the Śloka metre, uttered by the gods in Kālidāsa's *Raghu°* (x. 16-32) and *Kumāra°* (ii. 4-15) respectively, although it is somewhat strange that there is no direct Stotra to the poet's beloved deity Śiva. In this connexion a reference may be made to a similar insertion of Stotras in the Mahākāvyas, such as the Stava of Mahā-deva by Arjuna in the closing canto of Bhāravi's poem, that of Kṛṣṇa by Bhīma in Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha* xiv, and that of Caṇḍī by the gods in Ratnākara's *Hara-vijaya* xlvii (167 stanzas). These are Stotras of distinctly learned type. They are indicative of an early tradition of literary (and not liturgical) Stotras, in which verses like :

> tvām āmananti prakṛtiṁ puruṣārtha-pravartinīm '
> tad-darśinam udāsīnaṁ tvām eva puruṣaṁ viduḥ   (Kālidāsa).
>
> or
>
> udāsitāraṁ nigṛhīta-mānasair   ⬩
> gṛhītam adhyātma-dṛśā kathaṁcana '
> bahir-vikāraṁ prakṛteḥ pṛthag viduḥ
> purātanaṁ tvāṁ puruṣaṁ purāvidaḥ '   (Māgha)

forcibly draw attention to their philosophical background, even though doctrine or dogma does not spoil their elegance of expression.

To this learned literary tradition belong the early efforts of Mayūra and Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa. They are not very impressive for their purely poetic merit or for impassioned thought, and there is no question of a philosophical background ; but they illustrate the early application of the elegant, but distinctly laboured, manner of the Kāvya and its rhetorical contrivances to this kind of literature. Mayūra is associated, chiefly by late Jaina legends and indications of commentators and anthologists, with Bāṇabhaṭṭa as a literary rival in the court of Harṣavardhana and as related by marriage either as brother-in-law or father-in-law. The legend also speaks of Mayūra's affliction with leprosy by the angry curse of Bāṇa's wife, Mayūra's alleged sister or daughter, whose intimate personal beauty he is said to have described in an indiscreet poem. This latter work is supposed to be identical with the highly erotic, but rather conventional, poem of eight fragmentary stanzas, which goes by the name of *Mayūrāṣṭaka* and which describes a fair lady returning from a secret visit to her lover. Three of its stanzas are in Sragdharā, which is the metre of Mayūra's *Sūrya-śataka*, and the rest in Śārdūla-vikrīḍita. It refers, with more wit than taste, to the " tiger-sport " of the lady with " the demon of a lover " (*kenaiṣā rati-rākṣasena ramitā śārdūla-vikrīḍitā*) and to the beauty of her limbs which makes even an old man amorously inclined (*dṛṣṭvā rūpam idaṁ priyāṅga-subhagaṁ vṛddho'pi kāmāyate*). If the poem is genuine, it is possible that such descriptions in the poem itself started the fulsome legend ; but the legend also adds that a miraculous recovery from the unhappy disease was effected, through the grace of the Sun-god, by Mayūra's composing his well known poem, the *Sūrya-śataka*, in praise of the deity. It must be said, however, that the Śataka gives the impression of being actuated not so much by piety as by the spirit of literary display. The theme of the work, which retains in its present form exactly one hundred stanzas, consists of an extravagant description and praise, in the laboured Kāvya-style, of the

Sun-god and his appurtenances, the horses that draw his chariot, his charioteer Aruṇa, the chariot itself and the solar disc. The sixth stanza of the poem refers to the sun's power of healing diseases, which apparently set the legend rolling ; but the belief that the sun can inflict and cure leprosy is old, being preserved in the Iranian story of Sām, the prototype of the Purāṇic legend of Sāmba ; it may not have anything to do with the presumption that the cult of the sun was popular in the days of Harṣa, even if Harṣa's father is described in the *Harṣa-carita* as a devotee of the sun.

Inspite of its stilted manner, it must be said in favour of Mayūra's poem that it does not lack dignity, vigour and elegance of expression. The poet is not so very prone to habitual punning as Bāṇabhaṭṭa is ; but he can sometimes use alliteration and Yamaka with good effect, and we have some clever, even if very elaborate, similes and metaphors, e.g., of the thirsty traveller (st. 14), of antidote against poison (st. 31), of the day-tree (st. 34) and of the dramatic technique (st. 50). One must also admit the flowing gorgeousness of the metre ; in fact, the majesty which the long-drawn-out and compactly loaded Sragdharā can put on has seldom been better displayed. Take, for instance, the following stanza :

śirṇa-ghrāṇāṅghri-pāṇīn vraṇibhir apaghanair ghargharatvyakta-ghoṣān
dīrghāghrātān aghoghaiḥ punar api ghaṭayaty eka ullāghayan yaḥ |
gharmāṃśos tasya vo'ntar dviguṇa-ghana-ghṛṇā-nighna-nirvighna-vṛtter
dattārghā siddha-saṅghair vidadhatu ghṛṇayaḥ śīghram aṃhovighātam ‖

For sheer volume of resonant sound such verses stand unsurpassed. But here the praise must end. It must be admitted that the poem is written in a deliberately elaborate metre ; and its poetic diction, with its obvious partiality for compound words, difficult construction, constant alliteration and jingling of syllables and other rhetorical devices, is equally elaborate. Harsh-sounding series of syllables often occur (st. 6, 98 etc.), while one stanza (st. 71) is cited by Mammaṭa as an instance of a composition where facts are distorted to effect an alliteration. The Akṣara-ḍambara, which Bāṇa finds in the diction of the Gauḍas, is quite abundant here, as also in his own *Caṇḍī-śataka* ; and it is no wonder that one of the commentators, Madhusūdana (about 1654 A.D.), gives to both Mayūra and Bāṇa the designation of eastern poets (Paurastya)! There can be no doubt that the highly stylised and recondite tendencies of Mayūra's solitary Stotra have little touch of spontaneous inspiration ; and whatever power there is of visual presentation, it is often neutralised by the deliberate selection and practice of laboured tricks of rhetoric. The work is naturally favoured, not as a Stotra but as a Kāvya, by the rhetoricians, grammarians and lexicographers, and frequently commented upon (the number of commentaries listed by Aufrecht being twenty), but to class it with the best specimens of the Stotra or of the Kāvya would show the lack of ability to distinguish between poetry and its make-believe.

The *Caṇḍī-śataka* of Bāṇa is of no higher poetical or devotional merit ; it is cited even less by rhetoricians and anthologists, and commentaries on it are much fewer. It consists of 102 stanzas composed in the same sonorous Sragdharā metre and written in the same elaborate rhetorical diction. As such, the poem shows noteworthy similarity to Mayūra's Śataka, and lends plausibility to the tradition that it was composed in admiring rivalry. The myth of Caṇḍī's slaying of the buffalo-demon is old, being mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* ix. 44-46 and amplified in the Purāṇas ; but Bāṇa makes use of it, not for embellishing the story but for a high-flown panegyric

of Caṇḍī, including a glorification of the 'power of Caṇḍī's left foot which killed the demon by its marvellous kick ! Bāṇa does not adopt Mayūra's method of systematic description of the various objects connected with Caṇḍī, 'but seeks diversion by introducing, in as many as forty-eight stanzas, speeches in the first person (without dialogue) by Caṇḍī's handmaids Jayā and Vijayā, Śiva, Kārttikeya, the gods and demons —and even by the foot and toe-nails of Caṇḍī ! Thus Caṇḍī in ten stanzas taunts the gods, rebukes Mahiṣa, soliloquises or speaks to Śiva ; Mahiṣa in nineteen stanzas derides the gods or reviles Caṇḍī, although in every instance his words are cut short by the inevitable *coup de grace* from Caṇḍī's foot ; Jayā and Vijayā in eight stanzas mock the gods or praise Caṇḍī ; while Śiva in five stanzas addresses or propitiates Caṇḍī. Bāṇa has none of Mayūra's elaborate similes, but puns are of frequent occurrence and are carried to the extent of involving interpretation of entire individual stanzas in two ways. There is an equally marked tendency towards involved and recondite constructions, but the stylistic devices and conceits are perhaps more numerous and prominent. The work has indeed all the reprehensible features of the verbal bombast with which Bāṇa himself characterises the diction of the Gauḍas. Even the splendour and never-sluggish melody of its voluminous metre does not fully redeem its artificialities of idea and expression, while the magnificent picturesqueness, which characterises Bāṇa's exuberant prose, is not much in evidence here. To a greater extent than Mayūra's Śataka, Bāṇa's Śataka is a poetical curiosity rather than a real poem, much less a real Stotra. It is a literary *tour de force* which gives interesting indication of the decline of poetic taste and growing artificiality of poetic form, which now begins to mark the Kāvya and necessarily affect the Stotra.

One of Rājaśekhara's eulogistic stanzas quoted in the *Sūkti-muktāvali* (iv. 70) connects Bāṇa and Mayūra with Mātaṅga (*v.l.* Caṇḍāla) Divākara as their literary rival in the court of king Harṣavardhana. Nothing remains of this poet's work except four stanzas quoted in the *Subhāṣitāvali*, of which one (no. 2546) describing the sea-girdled earth successively as the grandmother, mother, spouse and daughter-in-law, apparently of king Harṣa, has been censured for inelegance by Abhinavagupta. It has been suggested that the poet Mātaṅga should be identified with Mānatuṅga, the well known Jaina Ācārya and author of two Stotras, namely the *Bhaktāmara* in Sanskrit and the *Bhattahara* in Prakrit, on the ground that some Jaina tales of miracle connect him with Bāṇa and Mayūra. But the evidence is undoubtedly weak. The form Mātaṅga of the name itself is found to be a sporadic variant of the form Caṇḍāla in the text in which it occurs. The legend of the Jina's delivering Māntuṅga from his self-imposed fetters, on the parallel of Caṇḍī's healing the self-amputated limbs of Bāṇa, is probaby suggested by the general reference in the poem itself to the Jina's power, apparently in a metaphorical sense, of releasing the devotee from fetters. The presumption, again, that the three Stotras of Bāṇa, Mayūra and this poet were meant respectively to celebrate Sun-worship, Śaktism and Jainism is more schematic than convincing ; while the date of Mānatuṅga, who is claimed by both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras, is uncertain, the Jaina monastic records placing him as early as the 3rd century A.D. and other traditions bringing him down to periods between the 5th and the 9th century A.D. ! There is also little basis of comparison between Mānatuṅga's Stotra and the Śatakas of Bāṇa and Mayūra. The *Bhaktāmara*, the title of which is formed by opening words of its first verse, is a fine religious hymn of forty-four stanzas, in the lighter and shorter Vasantatilaka metre, in praise of the

Jina Ṛṣabha as the incomparable and almost deified saint ; but it is not set forth in the Āśir form of Bāṇa and Mayūra's Śatakas ; like a proper hymn, it is addressed directly to the saint himself. It is composed in the Kāvya manner, but it is certainly much less elaborate, and the rhetorical devices, especially punning and alliteration, are not prominent. Its devotional feeling is unmistakable. Confessing the insufficiency of his words but the urgency of his devotional impulse, the poet cries out :

> alpa-śrutaṁ śrutavatāṁ parihāsa-dhāma
> tvad-bhaktir eva mukharīkurute balān mām |
> yat kokilaḥ kila madhau madhuraṁ virauti
> tac cāru-cūta-kalikā-nikaraika-hetuḥ ||

But he is certainly no mean poet ; and even if such eulogistic hymn does not often contain much that is distinctive in form and content, the genuineness of its feeling and expression makes it rise much above the conventional level.

The superior merit of Mānatuṅga's Stotra becomes obvious when it is contrasted with Siddhasena Divākara's *Kalyāṇamandira* Stotra Pārśvanātha, which is apparently a deliberate and much more laboured imitation of the *Bhaktāmara* in the same metre and same number (44) of stanzas. Like its prototype, it enjoys a great reputation with both the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras who claim it as their own ; a fact which indicates that it probably belongs to a comparatively early period. But the reputation of the poem, apart from its devotional value, is hardly commensurate with its inherent poetic, as opposed to merely literary, quality. Siddhasena Divākara is undoubtedly a master of the ornate Kāvya style, but his poem is more artificially constructed than that of Mānatuṅga, and we miss in it the emotional directness which might have redeemed its conventionalities of idea and expression. But whatever their merit is, these two early Jaina hymns become the starting point of a large number of Jaina Stotras of later times, which we shall deal with briefly in their proper place.

To the king-poet Harṣavardhana himself are ascribed some Buddhist Stotras of doubtful poetic value, if not of doubtful authorship. Of these, the *Suprabhāta Stotra*, recovered in Sanskrit, is a morning hymn of twenty-four stanzas, addressed to the Buddha and composed chiefly in the Mālinī metre. It has some fine stanzas :

> punaḥ prabhātaṁ punar utthito raviḥ
> punaḥ śaśāṅkaḥ punar eva śarvarī |
> mṛtyur jarā janma tathaiva he mune
> gatāgatiṁ mūḍha-jano na budhyati |

But the hymn consists really of a string of eulogistic epithets with the refrain :

> daśabala tava nityaṁ suprabhātaṁ prabhātam ;

and its literary excellence need not be unduly exaggerated.

It will be seen from what is said that praise and panegyric very early became the theme of individual poems ; they were no longer mere insertions in the Epics, Purāṇas, Tantras or even Kāvyas. By the 7th century A.D. the Stotra established itself as a distinct form of literature, although it still considered itself as a form of Kāvya poetry and affected its method and manner. With the rise of mediaeval sects and cults the number of Stotras naturally multiplied, and became the basis of the living

faiths of the people.　The larger printed collections of Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina Stotra contain more than five hundred separate poems and hymns, but the number of unpublished Stotras noticed in the manuscript collections is indeed very large.　An idea of the vastness of the literature may be formed if we take, for instance, the notice of Stotra manuscripts in one only of these collections, namely, that in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras, which covers three big volumes. Most of the Stotras are late and of little literary worth, but they illustrate the enormous quantity as well as diversity of their theme, content and form.　Of their devotional feeling there cannot be much doubt ; and they are not often merely doctrinal, or abstract, or mannered in the elaborate style of the decadent Kāvya.　As expressions of popular and plebiean religious tendencies, they do not involve nor do they demand any elaborate metaphysical or literary preparation.　From the point of view of those who believe in an infinitely merciful god, it is absurd to suppose that the god would wait until mankind had reached a particular metaphysical evolution and learned to clothe its praise and prayer in a grammatically and philosophically correct form before he would respond to his fervent appeal for help and guidance.　From this standpoint the hymns have often a charming quality, which, however, cannot be appreciated until we realise the entire mentality of the devotee-poets, the earnestness of their creed and credulity, the exaltation of their pious enthusiasm.　But from the literary point of view the Stotras possess a different value.　Since their objective is not always poetry, they seldom attain its true accent ; for many have attempted but few have succeeded in the exceedingly difficult task of sacred verse.　When these devout utterances represent a professional effort, and not a born gift, a systematic exposition of religious emotions and ideas, and not their automatic fusion in an instinctively poetical and devotional personality, they seldom reach the true character of a great religious poem. It is for this reason, and not altogether unjustly, that the Stotra literature as such never received much recognition from the literary critics, having been almost ignored by Sanskrit Poeticians and Anthologists, who do not give any prominence to the Stotra works nor consider them worthy of a separate treatment.　But there can be no doubt that, as a whole, they represent an important phase of Indian literature and deserve detailed and adequate study and appreciation.

Before we close, it would perhaps be convenient to notice here briefly some of the Stotras found in the Purāṇa and Tantra works ; for, inspite of the fact that they are as a rule anonymous and of uncertain date, their stylistic and metrical peculiarities affiliate them with the Kāvya, and most of them are probably compositions of classical times.　As a typical insertion, the well known *Durgā-stava* in Śloka metre in the Virāṭa-parvan of the *Mahābhārata* may be mentioned.　That it is spurious is clear from the fact that it is found only in the Devanāgarī manuscripts ; and besides the Vulgate version, which runs up to more than fifty lines, it exists in as many as six different versions in Devanāgarī manuscripts themselves !　The subject of Purāṇic hymnology has not yet been adequately studied, but it should be clearly understood that although innummerable Stotras, Śata-nāmas and Kavacas occur in the various Purāṇas, Upa-Purāṇas and Tantras, celebrating the particular deities of their respective sects, it would not be possible to enumerate them in detail ; and since they are mostly of a liturgical character, having a greater religious than literary interest, they do not call for such enumeration here.　The Purāṇic mythology believed in numberless deities, great or small.　But of the greater gods, the earliest direct mention of the

Trimūrti (Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva) is to be found in the Hariharātmaka-Stava in Adhy. 184 of the *Harivaṁśa*. Here Hari and Hara are not only identical with each other but also with Brahmā. But Brahmā having in later times gone out of sectarian worship (as one of Bhṛgu legends in the *Padma-purāṇa* itself implies), the scheme of Trinity had become more or less formal. On the other hand, the Purāṇic Pañca-devatās, namely, Āditya, Gaṇanātha, Devī, Rudra and Viṣṇu, receive the greatest homage and appropriate the largest number of hymns. With them come some of their adjuncts, such as the Navagrahas, Kārttikeya, Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Hanūmat, Tulasī, the Avatāras of Viṣṇu, the various forms of Devī, the sacred rivers (Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Narmadā) and sacred places of pilgrimage (Kāśī, Prayāga, Puṣkara), and even new deities of popular cults, such as Ṣaṣṭhī, Śitalā and Manasā. The Purāṇic Āditya is, no doubt, the much modified Sūrya or Savitṛ of Vedic tradition, but with him come not only the minor planets, but also his son, the evil Śani ; for belief in the worship of cosmic forces require an appeasement of both the father and the son ! Apart from sectarian importance, most of the Purāṇic solar hymns, as compared with the Vedic, are insignificant ; but the fairly lengthy *Āditya-hṛdaya*, found in the *Bhaviṣyottara*, may be mentioned as a curious hymn in which the ritual setting does not altogether obscure the literary and religious appeal. We have a large number of hymns addressed to Gaṇapati, especially in the *Gaṇeśa-Purāṇa* ; but, like the solar hymns, they are hardly impressive, with the exception perhaps of a fine Gaṇapati-Stotra in the *Śāradā-tilaka* Tantra (Paṭala xiii) and Gaṇeśa-stava-rāja in *Rudra-yāmala*. Similar hymns to Viṣṇu occur in the Purāṇas like the *Viṣṇu* (Śata-nāma etc.), Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu-pañjara-stotra), *Padma* (Saṅkaṭa-vināśana-stotra ; Vāmana-stotra), and *Kalki* (Viṣṇu-stavarāja); but the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* contains some remarkable hymns addressed severally to the individual Avatāras of Viṣṇu, namely, to Matsya (in śloka), Kūrma (in Upajāti), Varāha (in Vaṁśasthavila), Vāmana (in Vasantatilaka) and Nṛsiṁha (in various metres), while the Kṛṣṇa hymns of this Vaiṣṇavite Purāṇa are well known and deservedly popular, especially the very fine Gopī-gīta in the tenth Skandha. In the same way, we have in the *Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa* several hymns addressed to Rāma, respectively by Ahalyā, Indra, Brahmā and Jaṭāyu. The finer Śaivite hymns are to be found mostly outside the sectarian Purāṇas and Tantras, but there is a Pañcākṣara Śiva-stotra in the *Brahma-yāmala*, a Pradoṣa-stotrāṣṭaka in the *Skanda* and hymns addressed to Śiva by Asita and Himālaya in the *Brahmavaivarta*. As a rule the tantrik hymns to Śakti, such as Stotras to Vagalāmukhī or Dakṣiṇa-kālikā, are, apart from Tāntric theory and practice, hardly entertaining ; but the Tripurā-stava in *Prapañca-sāra*, the Durgā-stava-rāja in *Viśva-sāra*, some of the hymns of the *Devī-bhāgavata* and the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Caṇḍī* are indeed rare exceptions. Most of these Purāṇic hymns have a philosophical or ritualistic background, but what is most interesting in them is the intensity of devout feeling, the elevated mood of prayer and worship, which very often rises to the level of charming poetic utterance. We can do no better than close this necessarily imperfect sketch with quoting two Bhujaṅgaprayāta stanzas from the short Brahma-stotra (five stanzas), found in the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*, in which the spirit of prayer in an exalted Vedāntic mood finds beautiful expression :

> Namas te sate sarva-lokāśrayāya
> namas te cite viśva-rūpātmakāya |

namo'dvaita-tattvāya mukti-pradāya
namo brahmaṇe vyāpine nirguṇāya ||

tad ekaṁ smarāmas tad ekaṁ bhajāmas
tad ekaṁ jagat-sākṣi-rūpaṁ namāmaḥ |
tad ekaṁ nidhānaṁ nirālambam īśaṁ
bhavāmbhodhi-potaṁ śaraṇyaṁ vrajāmaḥ ||

As a contrast to this would stand the erotic emotionalism of the passionate song of the Gopīs in the *Śrimad-bhāgavata*, from which, in conclusion, we quote here a few stanzas :

jayati te'dhikaṁ janmanā vrajaḥ śrayata indirā śaśvad atra hi |
dayita dṛśyatāṁ dikṣu tāvakās tvayi dhṛtāsavas tvāṁ vicinvate ||
śarad-udāśya sādhu-jāta-sat-sarasijodara-śrī-muṣā dṛśā |
surata-nātha te'śulka-dāsikā varada nighnato neha kiṁ vadhah ||
praṇanta-dehināṁ pāpa-karṣaṇaṁ tṛṇa-carānugaṁ śrī-niketanam |
phaṇi-phaṇārpitaṁ te padāmbujaṁ kṛṇu kuceśu nah kṛndhi hṛcchayam |
surata-vardhanaṁ śoka-nāśanaṁ svarita-veṇunā suṣṭhu cumbitam ʼ
itara-rāga-vismāraṇaṁ nṛṇāṁ vitara vīra nas te dharāmṛtam ||
rahasi saṁvidaṁ hṛcchayodayaṁ prahasitānanaṁ prema-vīkṣaṇam |
bṛhad-uraḥ śriyo vīkṣya dhāma te muhur ati sphṛhā muhyate manaḥ ||

We shall see that these two different trends of thought and emotion persist and become prominent in the later history of Stotra literature in two distinctly divergent streams.

II

The later history of Stotra literature presents two lines of development, which sometimes blend but which stand in no constant relation. On the one hand, we have a continuation of the earlier tradition of the literary Stotra of a descriptive-eulogistic character, sometimes taking the form of Pañcaka, Aṣṭaka, Daśaka or even Śataka, and constituting an unobtrusive wing of the Kāvya itself. This form was utilised by the exponents and teachers of Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina faiths of later times. as well as by scholars and poets who did not identify themselves explicitly with any particular sect or cult. Fostered in the cloisters or in literary circles, this type of Stotra became in course of time more and more imbued with scholastic learning or speculative thought. The Purāṇic Stotra, no doubt, stood apart and had a different origin, while its appeal was more distinctly popular ; but we have seen that these compositions of uncertain date and authorship came in course of time to bear the literary or scholastic stamp, and became, when they were not merely liturgical, almost undistinguishable from the purely literary Stotras. But we have also, on the other hand, the steady development of a highly emotional type of Stotras, which evolved a new literary form for direct popular appeal by allying itself, more or less, with song, dance and music, and very often passed through the whole gamut of sensuous and erotic motif, imagery and expression. The personal note is present in both the tendencies ; but while in the one it is expressed in the guise of sedate religious thought, in the other it is shaped and coloured by fervent religious emotion. The intellectual satisfaction and moral earnestness, which characterise the earlier theistic devotionalism.

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inspire the high-toned traditional Stotras ; but with the rise of mediaeval sects and propagation of emotional Bhakti movements, the basic inspiration of devotional writings is supplied, more or less, by a mood of erotic mysticism, which seeks to express intense religious longings in the intimate language and imagery of earthly passion. This brings us to a new development in Sanskrit religious poetry, which relates it very closely to erotic literature, so much so that poems like the *Gita-govinda* would appear, from different aspects, both as a religious and an erotic work. The mighty sex-impulse becomes transfigured into a deeply religious emotion ; and however mystic and dangerously sensuous the new devotional attitude may appear, the literary gain was immense and beyond question. While the older and more orthodox tradition begets a fresh series of grave, elevated and speculative hymns, the emotional and poetic possibilities of the newer quasi-amorous attitude become great and diverse, and express themselves in mystically passionate hymns, poems and songs. In the hands of the erotico-religious emotionalists, we have a fresh accession and interpretation of the romantic legends of the gods ; and the wistfulness, amazement and ecstasy of the new devotional sentiment lift its hymnology and poetry from the dry dogmatism of scholastic thought into a picturesque and luscious spiritualisation of sensuous words and ideas.

These effusions of the devout heart, whether speculative or emotional, are in a sense beyond criticism ; but strictly speaking, they do not always attain a high level of poetic excellence. They spring, no doubt, from the depth of religious conviction ; but composed generally that they are for the purpose of a particular cult or sect, they are often weighted down with its theological or philosophical ideas. When they are not of this didactic type, or when they do not merely give a string of laudatory names and epithets of deities, or when they are not merely liturgical verses, they possess the moving quality of attractive religious poems. The more the devotional sentiment becomes personal in ardour and concrete in expression, the more the pedantry of its theology and psychological rhetoric recedes to the background, and it is lifted to the idealism and romantic richness of intensely passionate expression. These hymns and poems alone come within the sphere of literary, and not merely religious, appreciation. We have seen that the number of Stotras preserved is indeed vast, and only a small percentage of them is yet in print ; but even those which have been published are mostly of unknown or late date, and whatever be their religious interest, their individual poetic traits are not always conspicuous. They are very often burdened with didactic or doctrinal matter, or with a dry recital of commonplace words and ideas ; only a few of them rise to the level of mediocre poems. No adequate study of the nature and extent of Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina hymnology has yet been made, but it is clear that no other department of Sanskrit verse has been so prolific and divers, and that it would be unjust to ignore the Stotras as mere curiosities, even if Sanskrit rhetorical and anthological literature displays no special enthusiasm for them. A good case may indeed be made that, apart from religious significance, the Stotra literature deserves a deeper investigation for its purely literary worth. But at the same time it is not necessary that religious bias should unduly exaggerate its literary importance. Some of the hymns are undoubtedly popular and have been uttered by thousands of devout minds from generation to generation, but mere popularity or liturgical employment is no index to literary quality. They are popular, not because they are great religious poems of beauty, but because they give expression to cherished religious

ideas. They are concerned more with religion than religious emotion, and have, therefore, different values for the Bhakta and the Sahṛdaya, the devotee and the literary critic.

But religious hymnology was a wide, congenial and fruitful field in which the Indian mind at no period ceased to exercise itself. Not only the active impetus of speculative thought or scholastic learning but also the different religious tendencies of the mediaeval age imparted a variety of theme and content, as well as form and expression to the bulk of its Sanskrit hymns. We have, for instance, the large number of Vedāntic Stotras some of which are ascribed to the great Śaṁkara himself, the Kasmirian Śaivite poems, the Jaina and Buddhist Mahāyāna hymns, the South Indian Vaiṣṇava and Śaivite panegyric of deities, or the Bengal Tāntric and Vaiṣṇava eulogiums. It thus becomes a vast, varied and difficult subject, of which only a cursory survey can be given here.

The later Buddhist Stotras are true to the manner and diction of Hindu Stotras, the only difference lying in the mode and object of adoration. Some of them chose the ornate diction and elaborate metres of the Kāvya, while others are litanies of the type common in the Purāṇa. The *Lokeśvara-śataka* of Vajradatta, who lived under Devapāla in the 9th century, is composed in the elaborate Sragdharā metre, describing the physical features and mental excellence/of Avalokiteśvara, obviously on the model of the Śatakas of Mayūra and Bāṇa and tradition has also invented a similar legend of the poet's being cured of leprosy by this eulogy of the deity ! We have a mention not only of the glory and mercy of the deity but also of his fifty names ; and he is described in great detail from his fingers to his toes in accordance with the well established tradition of Stotra-writers. In the same Sragdharā metre and polished diction is composed a large number of Stotras to Tārā, who is the female counterpart to Avalokiteśvara but who is absorbed into later Hindu pantheon as an aspect of Śakti. As many as ninety-six Buddhist texts relating to Tārā are mentioned, but of these the *Ārya-tārā-sragdharā stotra*, in thirty-seven verses, of the Kashmirian Sarvajñamitra who lived in the first half of the 8th century, is perhaps the most remarkable. The *Bhakti-śataka* of Rāmacandra Kavi-bhāratī of Bengal, who came to Ceylon, became a Buddhist and lived under king Parākramabāhu at about 1245 A.D., is of some interest as an example of the application of Hindu ideas of Bhakti to an extravagant eulogy of the Buddha, composed in the approved Kāvya style and diction. It is not necessary to deal with later Mahāyāna Stotras, which are numerous but which show little poetic merit, nor with the Dhāraṇīs or protective spells in which Mahāyāna literature abounds and which form a counterpart of the Mantras of Hindu origin.

The Jaina Stotras, commencing with the *Bhaktāmara* of Mānatuṅga and *Kalyāṇa-mandira* of his imitator Siddhasena Divākara, are large in number, but they also exhibit the same form, style and characteristics, and therefore need not detain us long. Among several other imitations of *Bhaktāmara* Stotra, the more remarkable is the *Nemi-bhaktāmara* of Bhāvaprabha Sūri, which alludes to-the legend of Nemīnātha and Rājīmatī. There are several *Atta-śānti-stava*, both in Sanskrit and Prakrit, e.g., by Nandiseṇa (earlier than the 9th century), Jinavallabha (12th century) Jayaśekhara and Śānticandra Gaṇi (16th century), which celebrate Ajita, the second, and Śānti, the sixteenth Tīrthaṁkara. Vidyānandin wrote the elaborate *Pātrakeśari-stotra*, in fifty stanzas, in praise of Jina Mahāvīra, who is eulogised also by several other writers.

Besides eulogies of particular saints or Jinas, there is quite a number of Stotras, gene-
rally known as *Caturviṁśati-jinastuji* or *Caturviṁśikā*, in which all the twenty-four
Jinas are extolled. Such Stotras are composed by well known devotees and teachers,
such as Samantabhadra (c. first half of the 8th century) Bappabhaṭṭi (c. 743-838),
Śobhana (Second half of the 10th century), Jinaprabha Sūri (beginning of the 14th
century) and others. As glorification of Jinas and saints does not admit of much
variation of sub-matter, some poems are sometimes artificially constructed to show
various tricks of language in the use of Yamaka and other rhetorical figures in the
regular method of the Kāvya ; while others contain religious reflections and instructions,
which conduce little towards literature proper. In his *Siddhipriya-stotra*, for instance,
Devanandin, who is probably not identical with the old Pūjyapāda, employs Antya-
yamaka in the same order of syllables over nearly half the foot in two consecutive
Vasantatilaka feet of each stanza. The following stanza quoted from the poem will
serve as a specimen of its style and diction :

> Yasmin vibhāti kala-haṁsa-ravair aśokas
> chindyāt sa bhinna-bhava-matsara-vaira-śokaḥ ।
> devo'bhinandana-jino guru me'gha-jālaṁ
> śampeva parvata-taṭaṁ guru-megha-jālam ॥

In the same way, Śobhana in his *Caturviṁśati-jina-stuti* (also called *Śobhana-stuti*
with an obvious pun) not only employs a large number of metres in ninety-six stanzas,
but also constructs his verse in such a way that the entire second and fourth feet of
each verse have the same order of syllables. Sometimes the poems are what is called
Ṣaḍ-bhāṣā-nirmita, each stanza being written in a different language, the six lang-
usages being Sanskrit, Māhārāṣṭri, Māgadhī Śaurseni, Paiści, and Apabhraṁśa. Such
Stotras, for instance, are the *Pārśva-jina-stavana* by Dharmavardhana and the *Śānti-
nātha-stavana* by Jinapadma (first half of the 14th century). Some of the Stotras,
again, have a distinctly instructive or philosophical colouring, such as the *Ekibhāva-
stotra* and the *Jñāna-locana-stotra* of *Vādirāja* (about 1025 A.D.). The famous
Vītarāga-stotra of the great Ācārya Hemacandra, written at the request of king
Kumārapāla, is ostensibly a poem in praise of Mahāvīra, the Passionless One, but it
is also a poetical manual of Jaina doctrine, divided into twenty Prakāśas or sections
of generally eight to ten Ślokas, written in the direct and forcible language of know-
ledge and adoration.

Of the Hindu Stotras it is difficult to say if all the two hundred Vedāntic Stotras,
which pass current under the name of the great Vedāntic philosopher Śaṁkarācārya,
are rightly ascribed ; but there is no reason to suppose that not one of them came from
him. The obvious sectarian bias of some of them does not rule out his authorship,
for devotion to a particular deity is not inconsistent with the profession of severe
monistic idealism ; while some, again, are commented upon by more than one reliable
and fairly old scholiast. It is possible that the majority of these Stotras were com-
posed by later Śaṁkaras of the Saṁpradāya or even passed off under his name ; but
since there is no criterion, except that of style and treatment, at best unsafe guides,
one can never be positive on the question. Some of these Stotras, however, are un-
doubtedly inspired by religious enthusiasm and attain a charming quality of tender
expression, inspite of occasional philosophical or didactic background. Such for ins-

tance, are the *Śivāparādha-kṣamāpana* in Sragdharā ; the *Dvādaśapañjarikā* (commonly known as the *Moha-mudgara*) and the very similar *Carpaṭa-pañjarikā* (*Bhaja-Govindam*) Stotra, both in rhymed moric metre : the several short Stotras in Bhujaṅgaprayāta, namely, the *Daśa-ślokī* (or *Nirvāṇa-daśaka*), *Ātma-ṣaṭka* (or *Nirvāṇa-ṣaṭka*), *Vedasaraśiva-stuti* ; and the shorter *Ānanda-laharī* in twenty Śikhariṇī stanzas. As most of these Stotras are well known, it is not necessary to give quotations here. Not only ease and elegance of expression, but also the smooth flow of metre and use of rhyme make these deservedly popular Stotras occupy a high rank in Sanskrit Stotra literature. The *Ṣaṭ-padi* or *Viṣṇu-ṣaṭ-padī* in six Āryā stanzas, in which occur the well known lines :

saty api bhedāpagame nātha tavāhaṁ na māmakīnas tvam ǀ
sāmudro hi taraṅgaḥ kvacana samudro na taraṅgaḥ ǀǀ

or the much longer *Harim-īḍe Stotra* in forty-three Mattamayūra stanzas are composed in less musical and more difficult metres and are more distinctly doctrinal, the former naturally claiming more than half a dozen commentaries, and the latter being honoured with scholia written by Vidyāraṇya, Svayaṁprakāśa, Ānandagiri and even Śaṁkara himself !

But there is also a large number of other Stotras ascribed to Śaṁkara. Their form and content, however, are of somewhat stereotyped nature ; and not being vouched for by any old author or commentary, their authenticity is extremely doubtful. We have, for instance, some fifteen Stotras in Bhujaṅgaprayāta, addressed to a variety of deities like Gaṇeśa, Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Devi, Bhavānī Nṛsiṁha, Rāma, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sāmba, Subrahmaṇya, Datta, Hanūmat, Gaṇḍakī and so forth. The Aṣṭakas, written in a larger variety of metres and addressed to a larger variety of gods, are counted as more than thirty-five, such as those relating to Acyuta, Annapūrṇā, Ambā, Ardhanārīśvara, Kāla-Bhairava, Kṛṣṇa, Gaṅgā, Gaṇeśa, Govinda, Cidānanda, Jagannātha, Tripurāsundarī, Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Narmadā, Pāṇḍuraṅga, Bāla-kṛṣṇa, Bindu-mādhava, Bhavānī, Bhairava, Maṇikarṇikā, Yamunā, Rāghava, Rāma, Liṅga, Bhramarāmbā, Śāradāmbā, Śiva, Śrīcakra, Sahaja, Hara-gaurī and Hālāsya. We have also longer Śakti hymns to Annapūrṇā, Kālī, Śyāmā, Pārvatī, Mātaṅgī, Jvālā-mukhī, Kāmākṣī, Mīnākṣī, Lalitā and Rājarājeśvarī ; Vaiṣṇava hymns to Hari, Mukunda, Nārāyaṇa, Nṛsiṁha and Cakrapāṇi ; Śaiva hymns to Mṛtyuñjaya, Maheśvara, and Pañca-vaktra ; besides hymns to holy places and sacred rivers. In addition to the Aparādha-kṣamāpana Stotra to Śiva, there are two other Kṣamāpana hymns addressed respectively to Devī and Kālī. There are at least three hymns in which the traditional head-to-foot description of deities occurs ; four hymns concerning Ṣoḍaśopacāra or Catuḥ-saṣṭy-upacāra Pūjā ; over twelve hymns on Mānasa-pūjā addressed chiefly to the unembodied Ātman. Thus, almost all important sects and schools of opinion are practically represented in the fairly comprehensive number of more than two hundred Stotras attributed to the great Ācārya, but it is difficult to believe that all or most of them belong really to him. An exception however, has been made in favour of two of these, namely, the Dakṣiṇāmūrti Aṣṭaka and Gopāla Aṣṭaka. Although the former consists of ten (or even fifteen) stanzas in Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre, it is often styled an Aṣṭaka ; and not only Śaṁkara himself but also Sureśvara, Vidyāraṇya, Svayaṁprakāśa, Pūrṇānanda and Nārāyaṇatīrtha are credited with commentaries on this well-known hymn ; while the *Gopālāṣṭaka*, not so well reputed, is honoured at least by a

commentary attributed to Ānandatīrtha.   Whether spurious or genuine, there can be
no doubt that some of these Śaṃkarite Stotras form a special class of Vedānta lite-
rature and enjoy, not only on this account but also on account of their devotional
feeling and expression, wide and unparalleled popularity.

Other earlier Hindu Stotras are, in the same way, of uncertain date and origin ;
but some of them are fine devotional hymns of deserved popularity.   The peculiarly
titled *Śiva-mahimnaḥ Stotram* of Puṣpadanta, however, is cited by Rājaśekhara in his
Kāvya-mīmāṃsā and the Kashmirian Jayanta-bhaṭṭa in his *Nyāya-mañjarī*, and
therefore, it must be earlier than the 10th century A.D.   It is a fine but erudite poem,
which, if we leave aside the eleven concluding Phala-śruti stanzas in different metres,
consists of about thirty Śikhariṇī verses   Although the author himself disclaims what
is called Ku-tarka :

> kim-īhaḥ kiṁ-kāyaḥ sa khalu kim-upāyas tribhuvanaṁ
> kim-ādhāro dhātā sṛjati kim-upādāna iti ca |
> atarkyaiśvarye tvay anavasara-duḥstho hata-dhiyaḥ
> kutarko'yaṁ kāṁścin mukharayati mohāya jagataḥ

and in the diversity of conflicting views he surrenders himself unreservedly to the grace
of his deity :

> trayī sāṁkhyaṁ yogaḥ paśupati-mataṁ vaiṣṇavam it
> prabhinne prasthāne param idam adaḥ pathyam iti ca |
> rucīnāṁ vaicitryād ṛju-kuṭila-nānā-patha-juṣām
> nṛnām eko gamyaḥ tvam asi payasām arṇava iva || ;

yet, as the numerous learned commentaries on the hymn attest, it is no less recondite
and philosophical both in thought and expression.   Although the hymn is interpreted
so as to apply to Viṣṇu as well, it became, through its popularity, the precursor of other
Mahimnaḥ Stotras in praise of other deities.   Thus, we have a *Gaṇapati-mahimnaḥ
Stotra*, also composed in Śikhariṇī metre (30 stanzas) and sometimes ascribed to
Puṣpadanta himself, a longer *Tripurā-mahimnaḥ Stotra*, in a variety of metres (56
stanzas) attributed to Durvāsas, and a *Viṣṇu-mahimnaḥ Stotra* in the Śikhariṇī metre
(32 stanzas), written by Brahmānanda Svāmin.   We have a similar series of short
morning hymns (*Prātaḥ-smaraṇa Stotras*), all of which begin with the words *prātaḥ
smarāmi*, and consist of three to six Vasantatilaka stanzas.   Three of them addressed
respectively to Gaṇeśa, Śiva and Caṇḍī are given in *Saddharma-cintāmaṇi* ; three
addressed similarly to Sūrya, Rāma and Parabrahma are anonymous, while one ad-
dressed to Viṣṇu is quoted in the *Ācāra-mayūkha* and ascribed to Vyāsa.   As a speci-
men we might quote from the last hymn (three stanzas), which is perhaps the least
known but which in its contemplation of Brahman rises to the height of Vedāntic
thought :

> Prātaḥ smarāmi hṛdi saṁsphurad ātma-tattvaṁ
> sat-cit-sukhaṁ parama-haṁsa-gatiṁ turīyam |
> yat svapna-jāgara-suṣuptam avaimi nityaṁ
> tad brahma niṣkalam ahaṁ na ca bhūta-saṁghaḥ ||
>
> pratar bhajāmi manaso vacasām agamyaṁ
> vāco vibhānti nikhilā yad-anugraheṇa |

yan neti neti vacanair nigamā avocaṁs
taṁ deva-devam ajam acyutam āhur agryam ‖

prātar namāmi tamasaḥ param arka-varṇaṁ |
pūrṇaṁ sanātana-padaṁ puruṣottamākhyam |
yasminn idaṁ jagad aśeṣam aśeṣa-mūrtau
rajjvāṁ bhujaṅgama iva pratibhāsitaṁ vai ‖

We have a similar series of *Mānasa-pūjā Stotras* dedicated to various deities, and another series of minute head-to-foot description of the physical features (pādādi-keśānta-paryanta-varṇana) of the adored gods, to which may be added the series of Śata-nāma or Sahasra-nāma Stotras, which are nothing more than litanies of a hundred or thousand sacred names stringed together for daily repetition

Many of the apparently late Stotras are dateless and apocryphal, but they are ascribed indiscriminately to Yājñavalkya, Vyāsa, Vālmīki, Vasiṣṭha, Rāvaṇa, Upamanyu, Durvāsas and even Kālidāsa. Even if their intrinsic merit may not justify such attribution, some of them are undoubtedly fine hymns. Such for instance, is the short literary piece, the *Sūryārya-stotra* or *Ravi-gāthā* in nine Āryā stanzas, attributed to Yājñavalkya. As its first verse :

śuka-tuṇḍa-cchaviḥ savitus caṇḍa-ruceḥ puṇḍarīka-vana-bandhoḥ ‖
maṇḍalam uditam vande kuṇḍalam ākhaṇḍalāśāyāḥ ‖

is quoted anonymously in the *Kavīndra-vacana-samuccaya*, it should be dated earlier than the 10th century ; but the verse is ascribed to Vidyā in *Sadūkti-karṇāmṛta* and to Nāgāmmā in *Śāṅgadhara-paddhati* ! The *Nava-graha-stotra*, also ascribed to *Vyāsa*, is rather a conventional litany which systematically devotes nine anuṣṭubh stanzas respectively to the nine planets, but it begins with the well known Sūrya-namaskriyā :

japā-kusuma-saṁkāśaṁ kaśyapeyaṁ mahādyutiṁ ‖
dvāntāriṁ sarva-pāpa-gnaṁ praṇato'smi divākaram ‖

Similarly, the *Rāmāṣṭakam*, also ascribed to Vyāsa, gives in eight Pramāṇikā stanzas, a string of pious epithets in eulogy of Rāma, with the refrain : bhaje ha rāmam advayam. Vasiṣṭha has to his credit a similar *Dāridrya-dahana-Śivastotra* composed in eight Vasantatilaka stanzas with the refrain ·

dāridrya-duḥkha-dahanāya namaḥ śivāya

But a greater claim to literary, as well as devotional, value can be made by the fine *Śiva-stotra* ascribed to Upamanyu. It is a short piece in twenty Sundarī or Viyoginī stanzas—a metre rarely used in Stotra literature ; but not only the musical metre but also its simple and forcible expression makes it an attractive religious hymn. As the hymn is perhaps not so well known, we quote from it to illustrate our point :

tvad-anusmṛtir eva pāvanī stuti-yuktā na hi vaktum īśa sā ‖
madhuraṁ hi payaḥ svabhāvato nanu kīdṛk sitaśarkarānvitam ‖

sa-viṣo'pyamṛtāyate bhavān chava-muṇḍābharaṇo'pi pāvanaḥ |
bhava eva bhavāntakaḥ satāṁ sama-dṛṣṭir viṣamekṣaṇo'pi san ‖

kva dṛśaṁ vidadhāmi kiṁ karomy anutiṣṭhāmi kathaṁ bhayākulaḥ |
kva nu tiṣṭhasi rakṣa rakṣa māṁ ayi śambho śaraṇāgato'smi te ‖.

But this well expressed and easy flow of devotional feeling is perhaps not so clear in
two more ambitious Stotras, namely, the *Siva-tāṇḍava* and the *Siva-stuti*, attributed
respectively to Rāvaṇa and' Laṅkeśvara. Both are short poems of 14 and 10 stanzas
respectively, but both are artificially constructed in the ornate style and diction, and
composed in the more difficult and less musical Pañcacāmara and Pṛthvī metres respec-
tively. One specimen from each would be enough :

> navīna-megha-maṇḍlī-niruddha-durdhara-sphurat-
> kuhū-niśīthinī-tamaḥ-prabandha-bandhu-kandharaḥ ¦
> nilimpa-nirjharī-dharas tanotu kṛtti-sindurah
> kalā-nidhāna-bandhuraḥ śriyaṁ jagad-dhuraṁ-dharaḥ ¦¦
> > (*Siva-tāṇḍava*, st. 7)
> vṛṣopari-parispurad-dhavala-dhāma dhāma-śriyā
> kubera-giri-gaurima-prabhava-garva-nirvāsi yat ¦
> kvacit punar umā-kucopacita-kuṅkumai rañjitaṁ
> gajājina-virājina-virājitaṁ vṛjina-bhaṅga-bījaṁ bhaje ·¦
> > (*Siva-stuti*, st. 2)

There are, again, several Stotras addressed to the river-goddess Gaṅgā, attributed res-
pectively to Vālmīki, Kālidāsa, Śaṁkara and curiously enough, to a Muslim poet
named Darāf Khān. The first two are Aṣṭakas in Śārdūlavikrīḍita ; and even if the
attribution to Vālmīki and Kālidāsa may be questioned, they show considerable lite-
rary, if not poetic, gift. The Śaṁkarite hymn in fourteen Pajjhaṭikā stanzas, beginning
with :

> devi sureśvari bhagavati gaṅge
> tribhuvana-tāriṇi tarala-taraṅge ¦

is much better known, but it does not rise much above the level of a devotional litany.
The Darāf Khān Stotra is a short production of seven or eight stanzas in different
metres. As it is comparatively little known, we quote here the first two stanzas :

> yat tyaktaṁ jananī-gaṇair yad api na spṛṣṭaṁ suhṛd-bāndhavaiḥ
> yasmin pāntha-dṛganta-saṁnipatite taiḥ smaryate śrī-hariḥ ¦
> svāṅke nyasya tad īdṛśaṁ vapur aho svīkurvatī pauruṣaṁ
> tvaṁ tāvat karuṇāyaṇ-parā mātāsi bhāgirathī ¦¦
> acyuta-caraṇa-taraṅgiṇi śaśi-śekhara-mauli-mālatī-māle ¦
> tvayi tanu-vitaraṇa-samaye deyā haratā na me haritā ¦¦.

It will be seen that in the last stanza the poet desires not Viṣṇutva but Śivatva because
he would not like to have the Gaṅgā rolling at his feet but held on his head ! This
conceit, though striking, is typical of such literary compositions.

It is not necessary to notice any more apocryphal Stotras of this type ; but the
avowedly literary Śatakas, which carry on the tradition of Bāṇa and Mayūra, are
within greater historical certainty. Most of them are elaborately constructed with
greater literary than devotional pretension, and sometimes attempt conventional tricks
of style which diminish their value as Stotras proper. An exception, however, must
be made in favour of the deservedly popular *Mukunda-mālā* of the devout Vaiṣṇava
king Kulaśekhara of Kerala, which is perhaps one of the earliest and best of such
literary compositions. It is a short poem of thirty-four eulogistic stanzas composed

in a variety of lyrical measures. Even if it has some stylistic affectations, they are mostly redeemed by its unmistakable devotional earnestness as well as by a proper sense of style. The Vaiṣṇava idea of Prapatti (surrender) and Prasāda (grace) finds a fine expression in the poet's fervent adoration of his beloved deity :

> nāsthā dharme na vasu-nicaye naiva kāmopabhoge
> yad bhāvyaṁ tad bhavatu bhagavan pūrva-karmānurūpam ¦
> etat prārthyaṁ mama bahu-mataṁ janma-janmāntare'pi
> tvat-pādāmbhoruha-yuga-gatā niścalā bhaktir astu ॥

> divi vā bhuvi vā mamāstu vāso narake va narakāntaka prakāmam ¦
> avadhīrita-śāradāravindau caraṇau te maraṇe'pi cintayāmi ॥

> baddhenāñjalinā natena śirasā gātraiḥ sa-romodgamaiḥ
> kaṇṭhena svara-gadgadena nayanenodgīrṇa-bāspāmbunā ¦
> nityaṁ tvac-caraṇaravinda-yugala-dhyānāmṛtāsvādinām
> asmākaṁ sarasīruhākṣa satataṁ saṁpadyatāṁ jīvitam ॥

The same high praise cannot, however, be accorded to other South Indian hymns of later times, nor to the Kashmirian Śaivite poems of a devotional character. The twenty short hymns, for instance, of Utpaladeva of Kashmir (c. 925 A.D.), are uneven, some being elaborate in the conventional literary manner. The earlier *Devī-śataka* of Ānandavardhana (c. 850 A.D.) and *Iśvara-śataka* of Avatāra of unknown date are stupid Durghaṭa poems, with verbal tricks and Citrabandhas, so wisely condemned by Ānandavardhana himself in his work on Poetics. The *Vakrokti-pañcāśikā* of Ratnākara, which makes the playful love of Śiva and Pārvatī its theme, is a similar exercise in style, illustrating the clever use of punning ambiguities in the employment of the verbal figure Vakrokti in fifty Śārdūlavikrīḍita stanzas. It has little religious leaning, but perhaps the poet fondly felt that as men delight in these verbal tricks so would the gods find pleasure in them ! The *Ardha-nārīśvara-stotra* of Kahlaṇa, a short piece of eighteen Śārdūlavikrīḍita stanzas, is much better in this respect, notwithstanding its partiality for alliteration. The *Sāmba-pañcāśikā*, an eulogy of the sun-god in fifty (mostly Mandākrāntā) verses, is also probably a Kashmirian work, being commented upon by Kṣemarāja in the beginning of the 13th century : but it is referred to the mythical Sāmba, son of Kṛṣṇa, even if it is an apparently late and laboured work having a background of Kashmirian Śaiva philosophy.

From the later Stotras of a literary character, all of which show, more or less, technical skill of the conventional kind but sometimes rise to fine words and ideas, it is difficult to single out works of really outstanding excellence. The *Nārāyaṇīya* of Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa of Kerala, composed in 1585 A.D. is a devout but highly artificial poem of a thousand learned verses, divided symmetrically into ten decades and addressed to the deity Kṛṣṇa of Guruvayoor, who is said to have cured the author of rheumatism after listening to the verses ! The other *Ānanda-laharī* of a little over one hundred Śikhariṇī stanzas has perhaps a better claim to being mentioned as a devotional hymn of quite laudable literary effort, even if it may not have been composed by the great Śaṁkara. Another anonymous Aṣṭaka to Jagannātha, sometimes ascribed to Caitanya of Bengal, which contains the refrain :

6

jagannāthaḥ svāmī nayana-patha-gāmī bhavatu me

is a fine lyric of eight Śikhariṇī stanzas which, inspite of its small size, deserves mention
in this connection.   The more ambitious *Ānanda-mandākinī* of the well known Bengal
philosopher Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, who flourished at the middle of the 16th century,
is a similar production in praise of Kṛṣṇa, in 102 sonorous Śārdūlavikrīḍita stanzas,
in which both the learning and devoutness of the author express themselves equally
well in a highly ornate style.   The same remarks apply to a number of 17th century
productions, such as the five Laharīs (namely, *Amṛta°, Sudhā°, Gaṅgā°, Karuṇā°* and
Lakṣmī°) of Jagannātha, the poet-rhetorician from Tailaṅga ; the *Ānanda-sāgara-stava*
of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita in praise of the goddess Mīnākṣī, consort of Sundaranātha Śiva
of Madura ; the *Sudarśana-śataka* of Kūra-Nārāyaṇa in praise of Viṣṇu's discus, and
the three long stilted panegyrics (each containing over a hundred stanzas) of Rāma's
weapons (*Rāmāṣṭaprāsa* in Śārdūlavikrīḍita, *Rāma-cāpa-stava* in the same metre and
Rāma-bāṇa-stava in Sragdharā) by Nīlakaṇṭha's pupil Rāmabhadra Dīkṣita, who also
perpetrated an absurdity of alphabetically arranged eulogy of the same deity, called
Varṇa-mālā Stotra.   These are really Kāvyas rather than Stotras proper, or at best
Stotra-kāvyas, and should be taken as such.   As mythology concerning various deities
forms the theme of a large number of later ornate Kāvyas, the devotional poems as
such should be distinguished from them.   Works like the *Hara-vijaya* of Ratnākara,
Śrīkaṇṭha-carita of Maṅkhaka, *Nārāyaṇānanda* of Vastupāla, *Yādavābhyudaya* of
Veṅkata Deśika, *Śiva-līlārṇava* of Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita, *Hari-vilāsa* of Lolimbarāja,
Govinda-līlāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, or *Bhikṣāṭana* of Utprekṣāvallabha, to name
only a few at random, can be regarded as no more religious poems than the *Buddha-
carita* of Aśvaghoṣa, *Kumāra-saṁbhava* of Kālidāsa, *Kirātārjuniya* of Bhāravi or *Śiśu-
pāla-vadha* of Māgha.   To the same class belongs the large number of benedictory or
laudatory verses, which are culled from classical poems and dramas by anthologists and
rhetoricians, although some of them do contain fervent appeals to deities.

   One of the noteworthy features of some of the literary Stotras is that they give
a highly sensuous description of the love-adventures of the deities, or a detailed enu-
meration of their physical charms, masculine or feminine, with considerable erotic
flavour.   This may be one form of the mediaeval erotic mysticism, of which we shall
speak presently ; but apart from the sports of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, where such delinea-
tion is perhaps not out of place, there is a tendency, commencing from the tradition
of *Kumāra-saṁbhava* viii, to ascribe sexual attributes to divine beings or paint their
amours with lavish details.   The gentle description of the love of deities, like those
found in the benedictory stanzas of the *Ratnāvali* or *Priyadarśikā*, does not exceed
good taste ; but some poets like to describe their deities in particularly dubious amor-
ous situations.   On the other hand, we have the description of the divine limbs of
Viṣṇu, Śiva or Śakti from the head to the toe-nail ; and even the footwear of the
deity—a curious instance of foot-fetichism—becomes an object of eulogy in a thousand
verses in the *Pādukā-sahasra* of Veṅkaṭa Deśika !   Mūka Kavi, allegd to have been
a contemporary of Śaṁkara, attempts, in his *Pañca-śati, a tour de force* in five hundred
erotico-religious verses, describing in each century of verse such physical charms and
attributes of his deity (Kāmākṣī of Kāñcī) as her smile, her side-long glances, her
lotus-feet and so forth.   The climax is reached in Lakṣmaṇa Ācārya's *Caṇḍī-kuca-pañcā-
śikā*, which describes in more than fifty verses the glory and beauty of Caṇḍī's breasts,

albeit they are described as the breasts of the mother-goddess ! This growing sensu-
ous attitude naturally brings us to the consideration of the other line of development
of Sanskrit Stotra literature, namely, to the Stotras of a distinctly emotional and ero-
tico-mystic type, to which we shall now turn our attention.

<div align="center">III</div>

We now come to the other series of mediaeval devotional Stotra, which marks a
departure from the tradition of literary and reflective Stotra, of which the Vedāntic
hymns ascribed to Śaṁkara may be taken as the type, by their erotic-mystic sensibility
and by their more passionate and sensuous content and expression. We have already
said that these erotico-devotional Stotras and short poems give expression to a phase
of the mediaeval Bhakti movement, which was prominently emotional, and base the
religious sentiment, mystically, upon the exceedingly familiar and authentic intensity
of transfigured sex-passion. In other words, the basic inspiration here is not specu-
lative thought, as in the case of Śaṁkarite Stotras, but a quasi-amorous attitude which
transforms the mighty sex-impulse into an ecstatic religious emotion, and thereby
relates the devotional literature very closely to the erotic, by expressing religious long-
ings in the intimate language and imagery of earthly passion. However figuratively or
philosophically the hymns and poems may be interpreted, there can be no doubt that
they make erotic emotionalism their refined and sublimated essence. But the Bhakti
movement, in all its sectarian ramifications, centres chiefly round the early romantic
life of Kṛṣṇa as it is described, not in the Epic, but in the Purāṇas. No doubt, the
sentiment of Bhakti came to be applied occasionally to other deities as well, including
even the Buddha ; and the *Bhikṣāṭana* Kāvya of Gokula (better known by his title
Utprekṣā-vallabha), which describes Śiva's wandering about as a mendicant for alms
and the feelings of the Apsarases of Indra's heaven at his approach, places the austere
and terrible god in a novel and interesting erotic surrounding. But the mediaeval
Kṛṣṇa-Gopī legend had perhaps the greatest erotic possibilities, which were developed
to the fullest extent ; for in the case of Śiva or the Buddha, there was no tradition of
a *youthful* saviour, as there was in the case of Kṛṣṇa, round which quasi-erotic ideas
could easily centre.

The new movement, therefore, was chiefly concerned with the mediaeval Vaiṣṇava
sects who adored Kṛṣṇa, especially the youthful Kṛṣṇa. The *Śrimad-bhāgavata,* as the
great Vaiṣṇava scripture of emotional devotion and store--house of romantic Kiṣṇa-
legends became the starting point of the theology of neo-Vaiṣṇava sects and supplied
the basic inspiration to the new devotional poetry. Contrasted with the *Hari-vaṁśa*
and the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa,* the *Bhāgavata* scarcely deals with the entire life of Kṛṣṇa, but
concentrates all its strength upon his boyhood and youth. With the youthful Kṛṣṇa
at the centre, it weaves its peculiar theory and practice of intensely personal and
passionate Bhakti, which is somewhat different from the exalted and speculative Bhakti
of the *Bhagvad-gītā.* Although Rādhā is not mentioned, the Gopīs figure prominently
in the romantic legend, and their dalliance with Kṛṣṇa is described in highly emotional
and sensuous terms. The utter self-abandonment of the Gopīs, the romantic love of
the mistress for her lover, becomes the accepted symbol of the soul's longing for God ,
and the vivid realisation of the eternal sports of Kṛṣṇa in an imaginative Vṛndāvana is
supposed by some Vaiṣṇava sects to lead to a passionate love and devotion for the

deity. The *Bhāgavata*, and following it the *Padma* and the *Brahma-vaivarta*, in their glorification of the Vṛndāvana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa, introduces a type of erotic mysticism as their leading religious motive. The apotheosis of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend, with all its paraphernelia of impassioned beatific sports, becomes a literary gain of immense importance, and lifts the devotional literature from the dead level of speculative thought to the romantic richness of an intensely passionate experience. Thus, the new standpoint vivifies religion, as well as its poetry, with a human element, and transfigures one of the most powerful impulses of the human mind into a means of glorious exaltation. It thereby brings colour and beauty into religious life ; and its essential truth lies in its assertion of the emotional and aesthetic in human nature against rigid austerity or the hard intellectuality of dogmas and doctrines. ,

But, in course of time, the new movement creates its own dogmas and doctrines. Along with its theology and philosophy, the sectarian devotionalism elaborates its appropriate system of emotional analysis, its refinements of psychology and poetics, its subtleties of phraseology, imagery and conceits. This is a natural corollary of the fact that the new movement flourished in an age of scholastic cultivation of learning. At no stage of its history, indeed, Sanskrit literature was a spontaneous product of poetic imagination ; much culture and practice, and not inborn gift alone, went into its making ; it was severely dominated by a self-conscious idea of art and method and was not generally meant for undisciplined enjoyment ; its super-normal or super-individual character was recognised both by theory and practice, which ruled out personal interest and emphasised purely artistic emotion. All these tendencies become naturally exaggerated in a scholastic age, in which the really creative impulse in every sphere of knowledge or art was practically over. It was now a stage of critical elaboration, of fertile but fruitless erudition, of prolix but uncreative subtleties, and of amazing but wearisome acumen for trivial niceties. A concomitant cult of style was evolved, in which industry was reckoned higher than inspiration, a normative doctrine of technique replaced free exercise of the poetic imagination, a respect for literary convention ousted individuality of poetic treatment. No doubt, the Stotra springs from a more personal religious consciousness, but it could not entirely escape the inevitable stylistic elegancies and sentimental niceties which characterise the general literature of the age.

The technical analysis and authority of the older Poetics and Erotics had already evolved a system of meticulous classification of the ways, means and effects of the erotic sentiment, and established a series of rigid conventionalities to be expressed in stock poetic and emotional phrases, analogies and conceits. To all this the neo-Vaiṣṇava theology and theory of sentiment added a further mass of well defined subtleties and elegancies. As the sentiment of Bhakti or religious devotion was approximated to the sentiment of literary relish, called Rasa, the whole apparatus of Alaṁkāra, as well as Kāma-śāstra, technicalities were ingeniously utilised and exalted, although the orthodox theory itself would never regard Bhakti as a Rasa. The result was the elaboration of a highly complicated mass of theological and psychological niceties, which were implicitly accepted as aesthetic and emotional conventions for application in literary productions. Nevertheless, it must also be admitted that the new application, in its erotic-religious subtilising of emotional details, became novel, intimate and inspiring ; for the erotic sensibility in its devotional ecstasy very often rose above

the mere formalism of rhetorical and psychological analysis, of metaphysical and theological convention. Very often, therefore, we find in this religious literatuie a rare and pleasing charm, a luscious exuberance of pictorial fancy and a mood of sensuous sentimentality, which we miss in the religious literature of earlier periods. It is true that the reality of personal feeling is sometimes lost in the repe 'ition of conventional ideas and imageries, but the spring and resonance of the lyrical metres and the swing and smoothness of the comparatively facile diction, as well as the inherent passion and picturesqueness of the romantic content, frequently make the devotional poems and songs transcend the refined artificiality of stereotyped idea and expression. Even the subtle dogmas and formulas appear to have a charming effect on literary conception and phrasing, being often transmuted by its fervent attitude into fine things of art. The poems may not always have reached a high standard of absolute poetic excellence, but the standard which they often reach, in their rich and concrete expression of ecstatic elevation, is striking enough as a symptom of the presence of the poetic spirit, which the emotional Bhakti movement brought in its wake and which made its devotees passionately and beautifully articulate.

But the passionately inclined devotional attitude was not without its defect and danger. The Purāṇic life of Kṛṣṇa being brought to the foreground, the ancient Epic figure of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa was transformed beyond recognition. The old epic spirit of godly wisdom and manly devotion was replaced by a new spirit of mystical-emotional theology, which went into tender rapture over divine babyhood, into frankly sensuous ecstacy over the sportive loveliness of divine adolescence ; and its god was moulded accordingly. The mediaeval expression of religious devotion dispenses with the necessity of intellectual conviction (Jñāna) or moral activity (Karman) in the orthodox sense, but takes its stand entirely upon a subtilised form of emotional realisation (Rasa) · The Bengal theistic Vaiṣṇavism, for instance conceives its personal god, Kṛṣṇa of Vṛndāvana, as possessed of divinely human qualities, and fashions its man-like god in the light of human relationship. The Bhakti, in this system, is not an austere concentration of the mind on absolute reality, but the loving contemplation of a benign and blissful personal god, who is felt to be remote, but whom the devotee desires to bring nearer to his feeling than to his understanding. It is also an experience capable of ascending scale of emotions. In theory and practice, it seeks to realise what is supposed to be the actual feeling of the deity, figured as a friend, son, father or master, but chiefly and essentially as a lover, in terms of such series of exceedingly familiar and authentic sentiments of a human being. All worship and salvation are regarded as nothing more than a blissful enjoyment of the purposeless divine sports in Vṛndāvana, involving personal consciousness and relation, direct or remote, between the enjoyer and the enjoyed. But the danger of such an attitude is also clear. As emphasis is laid chiefly on the erotic sentiment involved in the eternal Vṛndāvana sports of Kṛṣṇa, the attitude, however metaphysically interpreted, becomes too ardent, borders dangerously on sense-devotion and often lapses into a vivid and literal sensuousness.

Whatever may be the devotional value of this attitude, there can be no doubt that it became immensely fruitful in literature. It enlivened its Stotras and lifted them to a high level of passionate expression, imparting to them, as it did, as much human as transcendental value. The devotee-poet speaks indeed of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa,

but under this thin veil he speaks of his own feelings, of his own hope and fear, of his own joys and sorrows. Though still theoretically vicarious, the erotic and other sentiments spring ultimately from the direct personal realisation of the poet. Regarded from this point of view, there is no sickly sentimentality or vague reflectiveness in these impassioned utterances ; and what appeals most is not their theological subtleties, nor their rhetorical commonplaces, but their tenderness and human interest. However crude the erotic passages may appear to modern taste, it is impossible to underrate the honest human passion which is expressed in them with exquisite directness of speech.

The earliest sustained composition, which illustrates some of these tendencies, appear to be the *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* of Līlāśuka, of which the text exists in two recensions. The Southern and Western manuscripts present the text in an expanded form in three Āśvāsas of more than a hundred stanzas in each ; while, curiously enough, the Bengal tradition appears to have preserved this South Indian text more uniformly in one Āśvāsa only, namely, the first, with 112 stanzas. One of the concluding self-descriptive verses in the first Āśvāsa appears to make a punning, but reverential, mention of the poet's parents, Dāmodara and Nīvī, and of his preceptor Īśāna-deva ; while the opening stanza speaks of Somagiri, apparently a Śaṁkarite ascetic, as his spiritual Guru. The poet calls himself Līlāśuka, without the addition of the name Bilvamaṅgala, and does not give the fuller form Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka. The fact is important because of the possibility of existence of more than one Bilvamaṅgala and of a Kṛṣṇa-līlāśuka who is known chiefly as a grammarian ; and we have nothing except the uncertain testimony of local anecdotes to equat the two names with that of our Līlāśka. Beyond this nothing authentic is known of the date and personal history of our author, although many regions and monastic orders of Southern India claim him and have their local legends to support the claim ; and reliance on this or that legend would enable one to assign him to different periods of time ranging from the ninth to the thirteenth century.

The *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta* is a collection of devotional lyric stanzas in various metres, a Stotra kāvya, in which Kṛṣṇa is the object of the poet's prayer and praise. It is not a descriptive poem on the life or sports of Kṛṣṇa, but a passionate eulogy of the beloved deity, expressed in erotic words and imageries, in a mood of semi-amorous self-surrender. One need scarcely be reminded of the Vaiṣṇava dogma summarised in the following famous verse :

> sa eṣa vāsudevo'sau sākṣāt puruṣa ucyate |
> strī-prāyam itarat sarvaṁ jagat brahma-puraḥsaram ‘|

‘ He, this Vāsudeva, alone is spoken of directly as the male principle ; the rest, the entire universe from Brahma downwards, is related to him as the female principle'. It is, therefore, the sweet and beautiful form of the adolescent Kṛṣṇa of Vṛndāvana, the darling of the Gopīs, that is ardently adored by the poet as his Beloved :

> kamanīya-kiśora-mugdha-mūrteḥ
> kala-veṇu-kvanitādṛtānanendoḥ |
> mama vāci vijṛmbhatāṁ murāer
> madhurimṇaḥ kaṇikāpi kāpi kāpi ||

mada-śikhaṇḍi-śikhaṇḍa-vibhūṣaṇaṁ
madana-manthara-mugdha-mukhāmbujam |
vraja-vadhu-nayanāñcala-vañcitaṁ
vijayatāṁ mama vāṅmaya-jīvitaṁ ||

astoka-smita-bharam āyatākṣaṁ
niḥśeṣa-stana-mṛditaṁ vrajāṅganābhiḥ |
niḥsīma-śtavakita-nīla-kānti-dhāraṁ
dṛśyāsaṁ tri-bhuvana-sundaraṁ mahas te ||

If any analogy is permissible, one would think in this connexion of the mediaeval
Christian lyrics, which are laden with passionate yearning for the youthful Christ as
the beloved, and of which the Song of Soloman—' I am my Beloved's and my Beloved
is mine'—is the sacred archetype ; but the difference lies in conceiving the youthful
Kṛṣṇa in a background of extremely sensuous charm, in the vivid exuberance of erotic
fancy. and in the attitude of pathetic supplication and surrender (Prapatti) :

amuny adhanyāni dināntarāṇi hare tvad-ālokanam antareṇa |
anātha-bandho karuṇaika-sindho hā hanta hā hanta kathaṁ nayāmi ||

nibaddha-mūrdhāñjalir eṣa yāce
nīrandhra-dainyonnata-mugdha-kaṇṭam :
dayāmbudhe deva bhavat-kaṭākṣa-
dākṣiṇya-leśena sakṛn niṣiñca

Although the poem is made up of detached stanzas, the ardent longing of our
poet-devotee for a vision of his beautiful deity :

mama cetasi sphuratu vallavī-vibhor
maṇi-nūpura-praṇayi mañju śiñjitam |
kamalā-vanecara-kalinda-kanyakā-
kalahaṁsa-kaṇṭha-kala-kūjitādṛtam ||

taruṇāruṇa-karuṇāmaya-vipulāyata-nayanaṁ
kamalā-kuca-kalasī-bhara-vipulīkṛta-pulakam |
muralī-rava-taralīkṛta-munimānasa-nayanaṁ
mama khelatu mada-cetasi madhurādharma amṛtam ||

he deva he dayita he jagad-eka-bandho
he kṛṣṇa he capala he karuṇaika-sindho |
he nātha he ramaṇa he nayanābhirāma
hā hā hā kadā nu bhavitāsi padaṁ dṛśor me ||

the wistfulness of his devotional hope and faith :

tat kaiśoraṁ tac ca vaktrāravindaṁ
tat kāruṇyaṁ te ca līlā-kaṭākṣāḥ |
tat saundaryaṁ sā ca manda-smita-śrīḥ
satyaṁ satyaṁ durlabhaṁ daivateṣu ||

mayi prasādaṁ madhuraiḥ kaṭākṣair
vaṁśī-ninādānucarair vidhehi |
tvayi prasanne kim ihāparair nas
tvay aprasanne kim ihāparair naḥ ||

and the evident burst of joy and amazement in the fulfilment of his cherished desire :

tad idam upanataṁ tamāla-nīlaṁ
tarala-vilocana-tārakābhirāmam |
mudita-mudita-vaktra-candra-bimbaṁ
mukharita-veṇu-vilāsi jīvitaṁ me ||

citraṁ tad etad caraṇāravindaṁ
citraṁ tad etad nayanāravindam |
citraṁ tad etad vadanāravindaṁ
citraṁ tad etad vapur asya citram |

madhuraṁ madhuraṁ vapur asya vibhor
maruraṁ madhuraṁ vadanaṁ madhuram |
madhu-gandhi mṛdu-smitam etad aho
madhuraṁ madhuraṁ madhuraṁ madhuram ||

· -all this supplies an inner unity which weaves the detached stanzas into a passionate whole. It will be seen that in the stanzas that we have quoted at random we have the flow and resonance of a variety of short lyrical measures like Aupacchandasika, Drutavilambita, Praharṣiṇī, Indravajrā, Upajāti, Mañjubhāṣiṇī, Lalitagati, Vasanta-tilaka, Śālinī, Puṣpitāgrā and Toṭaka, the rhythm of which certainly adds to the charm of expression ; and this employment of various musical metres became a feature of many of the later emotional Stotra-kāvyas. It will be seen also that inspite of emo-tional directness, the poem possesses all the distinctive features of a deliberate work of art. This result has been possible because here we have not so much the syste-matic expression of religious ideas as their automatic emotional fusion into a whole in a remarkable poetical and devotional personality, which makes these spiritual effu-sions intensely attractive. The sheer beauty and music of words and the highly pic-torial effect, authenticated by a deep sincerity of ecstatic passion, make this work a finished product of lyric imagination. It is, therefore, not only a noteworthy poetical composition of undoubted charm, but also an important document of mediaeval Bhakti-devoutness, which illustrates firely the use of erotic motif in the service of religion, and deservedly holds a high place in its Stotra-literature.

Several other collections of similar stanzas, called *Sumaṅgala-stotra*, *Bilvamaṅgala-stotra*, *Kṛṣṇa-stotra*, *Bāla-gopāla-stuti* and so forth are also attributed to the author of *Kṛṣṇa-karṇāmṛta*. They contain some undoubtedly fine verses of a similar type, but the authenticity of such collectanea is extremely doubtful. Leaving aside such and other apocryphal or stray poems, we pass on to the *Gīta-govinda* of Jayadeva. It is not really a Stotra or Stotra-kāvya ; but, equally famous and popular, it is comparable to Līlāśuka's work in many respects ; and representing, as it does, another aspect of the same devotional and poetical tendency, it becomes with it the rich source of lite-rary and religious inspiration of mediaeval India. The fame of Jayadeva's work has never been confined within the limits of Bengal ; it has claimed more than forty com-

mentators from different provinces of India, and more than a dozen imitations ; it is cited extensively in Anthologies ; it is regarded not only as a great poem but also as a great religious work of mediaeval Vaiṣṇava Bhakti. Of the author himself, however, our information is scanty, although we have a large number of legends which are matters of pious belief rather than positive historical facts. In a verse occurring in the work itself (xii. 11), we are informed that he was the son of Bhojadeva and Rāmādevī (*v. l.* Rādhā°orVāma)°, and the name of his wife was probably Padmā-vatī alluded to in other verses. His home was Kendubilva (iii. 10), which has been identified with Kenduli, a village on the bank of the river Ajaya in the district of Birbhum in Bengal, where an annual fair is still held in his honour on the last day of Māgha. He flourished in the 12th century at the time of Lakṣmaṇa-sena of Bengal, with whose court he is associated.

Although the *Gīta-govinda* contains two fine opening Stotras (the Daśāvatāra and the *Jaya jaya deva hare* Stotras) the work itself is not a regular Stotra or a Stotra kāvya. But it is often regarded as a great religious work, even though its literary appeal is no less great. It consists really of a highly finished series of lyrics and songs on the erotic episode of Kṛṣṇa's vernal sports in Vṛndāvana. It is divided into twelve cantos in the form, but not in the spirit, of the orthodox Kāvya. Each canto falls into sections which contain Padāvalīs or songs, composed in rhymed moric metres and set to different tunes. These songs, which are briefly introduced or followed by a stanza or two written in the orthodox classical metres, form indeed the staple of the work. They are placed as musical speeches in the mouth of three interlocutors, namely, Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā and her companion, not in the form of regular dialogues but as lyric expressions of particular emotional predicament, individually uttered or described by them in the musical mode. The theme, which is developed in this novel operatic form, is simple. It describes the temporary estrangement of Rādhā from Kṛṣṇa who is sporting with other Gopīs, Rādhā's sorrow, longing and jealousy, intercession of Rādhā's companion, kṛṣṇa's return, penitence and propitiation of Rādhā, and the joy of their final reunion.

It will be seen that the theme has nothing new in it, and in working it out all the conventions and commonplaces of Sanskrit love-poetry are skilfully utilised ; but the literary form in which the theme is presented is extremely original. The work calls itself at Kāvya and conforms to the formal division into cantos, but in reality it goes much beyond the stereotyped Kāvya prescribed by the rhetoricians and practised by the poets. Modern critics have found in it a lyric drama (Lassen), a pastoral (Jones , an opera (Lévi), a melodrama (Pischel) and a refined Yātrā (Von Schroeder). It is obvious that none of these descriptions is adequate. As a matter of fact, like all crea-tive works of art, it has a form of its own, and therefore defies all conventional classi fication. Though cast in a semi-dramatic mould, the spirit is entirely lyrical ; though modelled perhaps on prototype of the popular Kṛṣṇa-yātrā in its musical and melo-dramatic peculiarities, it is yet far removed from the old Yātrā by its highly stylised mode of expression ; though imbued with religious feeling, the attitude is not entirely divorced from the secular ; though it depicts divine love, this love is considerably humanised in an atmosphere of passionate poetic appeal ; though intended and still used for popular festival where simplicity and directness count, it yet possesses all the distinctive characteristics of a deliberate work of art. The chief interest of the work lies in its Padāvalīs. They are meant to be sung as speeches, being skilfully composed

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as word-pictures in rhymed, alliterative and musical moric metres ; and the use of refrain not only intensifies their haunting melody, but also combines the detached stanzas into a perfect whole. We have thus narration, description and speech finely interwoven with recitation and song, a combination which creates a type unknown in Sanskrit. The emotional inflatus is picturesquely supplied, in a novel yet familiar form, by the underlying erotic mysticism, which expresses the ecstatic devotional sentiment in the intimate language and imagery of earthly passion. All this is not only harmoniously blended with the surrounding beauty of nature, but is also enveloped in a fine excess of pictorial richness, verbal harmony and lyrical splendour, of which it is difficult to find a parallel. Jayadeva makes a wonderful use of the sheer beauty of words of which Sanskrit is so capable ; and like all artististic masterpieces his work becomes almost untranslatable. No doubt, there is in all this deliberate workmanship, but all effort is successfully concealed in an effective simplicity and clarity, in a series of extrtmely passionate and musical word-pictures.

In novelty and completeness of effect, therefore, the *Gita-govinda* is a unique work in Sanskrit both in its emotional and literary aspects, and it can be regarded as almost creating a new *genre*. Jayadeva, it is true, emphasises the praise and worship of Kṛṣṇa, but his work is not, at least in its form and spirit, the the expression of an intensely devotional personality in the sense in which Līlāśuka's poem is. Kṛṣṇa is his theme, the fascinating Vilāsa-kalā of the Vṛndāvana-līlā forms its absorbing interest :

> yadi hari-smaraṇe sarasaṃ mano
> yadi hari-smaraṇe sarasaṃ mano
> madhura-komala-kānta-padāvalīm
> śṛṇu tadā jayadeva-sarasvatīm |'

If Jayadeva claims religious merit, he also prides himself upon the elegance, softness and music of his words, as well as upon the felicity and richness of his sentiments. The claim is by no means extravagant. He is chiefly and essentially a poet, as Līlā-śuka is chiefly and essentially a devotee. Three centuries later the Caitanya sect of Bengal attempted to interpret the *Gita-govinda* not so much as a poetical composition of great beauty but as a devotional text, illustrating the refined subtleties of its theology and Rasa-śāstra. But it is difficult to believe that the Kṛṣṇaism, which emerges in a finished literary form in this poem, should be equated with the sectarian dogmas and doctrines of later scholastic theologians. As a poet, as well as a devotee, of undoubted gifts, Jayadeva could not have made it his concern to compose a religious treatise, as perhaps Līlāśuka also never did, according to any particular Vaiṣṇava dogmatics ; he claims merit as a poet, and his religious emotion or inspiration should not be allowed to obscure his proper claim.

In the verse quoted above Jayadeva himself indicates that the musical Padāvalīs form the vital element of his poem, and rightly characterises them as *madhura, komala* and *kānta*. But just as his work itself does not strictly follow the tradition of the Sanskrit Kāvya, his Padāvalīs also do not strictly follow the form and spirit of traditional Sanskrit verse. The rhymed and melodious moric metres with their refrain, are hardly akin to older Sanskrit metres, while the last line gives what is called the Bhaṇitā—a method not found in earlier Sanskrit poetry—of giving us the name of the poet. As the work is well known, it is not necessary to give extensive quotations to

illustrate our point ; but, take for instance, the following short Padāvalī, describing Rādhā's recollection of Kṛṣṇa's erotic sports during the Rāsa-līlā :

> saṁcarad-adhara-sudhā-madhura-dhvani-mukharita-mohana-vaṁśam ;
> calita-dṛgañcala-mauli-kapola-viola-vataṁsam ||
> > rāse harim iha vihita-vilāsam |
> > smarati mano mama kṛta-parihāsam || (Dhruva)
> candraka-cāru-mayūra-śikhaṇḍaka-maṇḍala-valayita-keśam |
> pracura-purandara-dhanur-anurañjita-medura-mudira-suveśam ||
> gopī-kadamba-nitambavatī-mukha-cumbana-lambhita-lobham |
> bandhujīva-madhurādhara pallavam ullasita-smita-śobham ||
> jalada-paṭala-valad-indu-vinindita-candana tilaka-lalāṭam |
> pīna-payodhara-parisara-mardana-nidraya-hṛdaya-kapāṭam ||
> śri-jayadeva-bhaṇitam ati-sundara-mohana-madhu-ripu-rūpam |
> hari-caraṇa-smaraṇaṁ prati saṁprati puṇyavatām anurūpam ||

It will be seen that the diction of the Padāvalī accepts the literary convention of Sanskrit in its profuse employment of verbal figures like alliteration and chiming, in its highly ornamental stylistic mode of expression ; but at the same time it reflects the spirit and manner of vernacular songs. The very term Padāvalī itself, which becomes so familiar in later Bengali songs, is not found in this sense in Sanskrit, but is obviously taken from popular poetry. The diction is indeed highly cultivated, but the appeal is direct and popular. The presumption is not unlikely, therefore, that the vernacular literature in this case must have reacted upon the Sanskrit ; and the *Gita-govinda* is probably one of the earliest examples of an attempt to renew and remodel older forms of Sanskrit composition by absorbing the newer characteristics of the coming literature in the vernacular. The novelty of Jayadeva's attempt became so attractive that the Padāvalī came to be established as an interesting feature only in Bengali Vaiṣṇava songs but also in later devotional Vaiṣṇava literature in Sanskrit.

This is seen not only in about a dozen imitations which the *Gita-govinda*, like the *Meghadūta*, produced, but also, independently, in some works which introduce Padāvalīs composed on the model of those of Jayadeva. Thus, we have inferior imitative works like the *Gita-gauṛīpati* of Bhānudatta, *Gita-rāghava* of Prabhākara and of Hari-śaṁkara, *Gita-digambara* of Vaṁśamaṇi, which substitute the theme of Hara and Gaurī or Rāma and Sītā for that of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā ; but it is not necessary to consider them here, for these literary counterfeits produced in an unoriginal epoch never became the current coins of poetry. But how close the imitation is will be clear if we compare, for instance, the following passage from the *Gita-gauṛīpati* :

> abhinava-yauvana-bhūṣitayā dara-taralita-locana-tāram |
> kiṁcid-udañcita-vihasitayā calad-avirala-pulaka-vikāśam ||
> > sakhi he śaṁkaram udita-vilāsam |
> > saha saṅgamaya mayā natayā rati-kautuka-daraśita-hāsam | (Dhruva)

with the corresponding passage from the *Gita-govinda* :

> nibhṛta-nikuñja-gṛhaṁ gatayā niśi rahasi nilīya vasantam |
> cakita-vilokita-sakala-diśā rati-rabhasa-rasena hasantam ||

sakhi he keśi-mathanam udāram ।
ramaya mayā saha madana-manoratha-bhāvitayā sa-vikāram ॥   (Dhruva)

But apart from these works which are openly imitative, the *Śṛṅgāra-rasa-maṇḍana* of
Viṭṭhaleśvara, son of Vallabhācārya, the founder of the Vallabhācāri sect, introduces
several songs of the same type : such as

kuñje nilīya racita-kusuma-śayanaṁ gatayā katham api rahasi ।
rati-rabhasena hasantam īṣal-lajjitayā cāru-bhāve cetası ॥
katham api madhu-mathanaṁ mayā saha manobhava-koṭi-ruciram ।
ramaya kāma-rasam apyārasa naya rasikaṁ suciram ।। etc.

This is done, much better, also by Rāmānanda-rāya, who flourished under Gajapati
Pratāparudra of Orissa, in his drama *Jagannātha-vallabha* ; e.g.

mṛdutara-māruta-vellita-pallava-vallī-valita-śikhaṇḍam ।
tilaka-viḍambita-marakata-maṇi-tala-bimbita-śaśadhara-khaṇḍam ॥
        yuvati-manohara-veṣam ।
kalaya kalānidhim iva dharaṇīm anu pariṇata-rūpa-viśeṣam ।।   (Dhruva)

khelā-dolāyita-maṇi-kuṇḍala-ruci-rucirānana-śobham ।
helā-taralita-madhura-vilocana-janita-vadhū-jana-lobham ।।
gajapati-rudra-narādhipa-cetasi janayatu mudam anuvāram
rāmānanda-rāya-kavi-bhaṇitaṁ madhuripu-rūpam udāram ।।

Such songs occur also in the poetical works of some of the followers of Caitanya of
Bengal, e.g. in Kavikarṇapūra's *Ananda-vṛndāvana campū*, in Jīva Gosvāmin's
Gopāla-campū, in Prabodhānanda's *Saṁgīta-mādhava* and in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Gītā-
vali*. Of these the most successful reproduction of the spirit and style of Jayadeva is
to be found in the Padāvalīs of Rūpa Gosvāmin, who had an undoubted talent for
facility of phrase and modulation of sound and syllable, as will appear from the fol-
lowing short specimen :

taruṇī-locana-tāpa-vimocana-hāsa-sudhāṅkura-dhārī ।
manda-maruc-cala-piñcha-kṛtojjvala-maulir udāra-vihārī ।।
        sundari paśya milati vanamālī ।
divase pariṇatim upagacchati sati nava-nava-vibhrama-śālī ।।   (Dhruva)

dhenu-khuroddhata-reṇu-paripluta-phulla-saroruha-dāmā ।
acira-vikasvara-lasad-indīvara-maṇḍala-sundara-dhāmā ॥
kala-muralī-ruti-kṛta-tāvaka-ratir atra dṛganta-taraṅgī ।
cāru-sanātana-tanur-anurañjana-kāri-suhṛd-gaṇa-saṅgī ॥

Of later devotional works of the erotic-mystic type it is not necessary for us to
dwell at length ; for with Jayadeva we are practically at the end of what is best, not
only in this kind of poetry, but also in Sanskrit poetry in general, and its later annals
are mostly dull and uninspiring. Jayadeva blew the embers of poetry with a new
breath, but the momentary glow did not arrest its steady decline. We can take as an
instance the *Kṛṣṇa-līlā-taraṅgiṇī* of Nārāyaṇa-tīrtha, pupil of Śivarāmānanda-tīrtha, who
is said to have flourished in the Godavari district about 1700 A.D. This ambitious
work comprehends in twelve Taraṅgas the entire story of Kṛṣṇa from birth to esta-

blishmtnt at Dvārakā, and includes songs in the musical mode. It is sometimes ranked with the poems of Līlāśuka and Jayadeva as the third great work on Kṛṣṇa-līlā ; but it is really a late and laboured imitation which never attained more than a limited currency, and its importance need not be unduly exaggerated.

The same remarks apply, more or less, to the emotional Bhakti-productions of later times, in which Bengal became prolific in the early years of the Caitanya movement. We have already mentioned some of these devotional works, to which may be added the three dramas, namely, *the Vidagdha-mādhava, Lalita-mādhava* and *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, the half-allegorical drama *Caitanya candrodaya* and the poem *Kṛṣṇāhnika-kaumudī* of Paramānanda-dāsa Kavikarṇapūra, the poem *Dāna-keli-cintā-maṇi* and the Campū *Muktā-caritra* of Raghunātha-dāsa, the extensive and elaborate poem *Govinda-līlāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, the much later poems *Camatkāra-candrikā, Gaurāṅga-līlāmṛta* and *Kṛṣṇabhāvanāmṛta* of Viśvanātha Cakravartin. They are composed in the ornate manner of the later Kāvya, and exhibit all its merits and defects. Although marked by considerable literary gift, they have more doctrinal than poetic value, and it is not necessary to consider them here.

But mention must be made of some fine Stotras which the Caitanya movement produced. The only composition that has been left of Caitanya himself consists of eight stanzas, called *Śikṣāṣṭaka* which are given in Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Padyāvalī*, one of the finest and most extensive anthologies of Kṛṣṇaite verses. These eight Stotra-stanzas composed in different metres, give passionate expression to Caitanya's vivid and simple faith, as the following stanzas composed in Viyoginī metre will illustrate :

na dhanaṁ na janaṁ na sundarīṁ kavitāṁ vā jagadīśa kāmaye |
mama janmani janmanīśvare bhavatād bhaktir ahaitukī tvayi ǁ

ayi nanda-tanūja kiṁkaraṁ patitaṁ viṣame bhavāmbudhau ʾ
kṛpyayā tava pāda-paṅkaja-sthita-dhūli-sadṛśaṁ vicintaya ‖

nayanaṁ galad-aśru-dhārayā vadanaṁ gadgada-ruddhayā girā ǃ
pulakair nicitaṁ vapuḥ kadā tava nāma-grahaṇe bhaviṣyati ‖

But the most typical examples of Bengal Vaiṣṇava Stotra are furnished respectively by the *Stavāvalī* of Raghunātha-dāsa and the *Stava-mālā* of Rūpa Gosvāmin. Both of them were immediate disciples of Caitanya, and wrote in Sanskrit ; and as authoritative teachers of the new faith, as well as poets, rhetoricians, learned theologians and devotees, they deservedly became the centre of its arduous and prolonged literary activity at Vṛndāvana. A full account of all these writings will be found in my work on Bengal Vaiṣṇavism ; but since most of them are printed in Bengali characters and are not as widely known as they deserve, perhaps a brief appreciation will not be out of place here.

The *Stavāvalī* of Raghunātha dāsa, which contains twenty-nine Stotras of varying lengths, diverse metres and unequal merit, is inspired by the frankly sensuous Vṛndāvana sports to an intensely passionate expression. They, however, illustrate certain aspect of the devotional attitude, namely, the realisation of what is called the Rāgānugā form of Bhakti, in which, as in this case, the poet imagines himself to be, not a Sakhī or companion, but a Dāsī or humble hand-maid of Rādhā, and fervently prays for a vision and vicarious enjoyment of the erotic sports of his adored deity. This form of

ecstatic worship and adoration of Rādhā (Rādhā-bhajana) is the predominating motive of almost all his Stotras ; for he declares :

> bhajāmi rādhām aravinda-netrāṁ
> smarāmi rādhāṁ madhura-smitāsyām |
> vadāmi rādhāṁ karuṇā-bharādram
> tato mamānyāsti gatir na kāpi ||

The mode of worship that he prefers is, on his own confession, not Sakhya but Dāsya :

> pādābjayos tava vinā vara-dāsyam eva
> nānyat kadāpi samaye kila devi yāce ||
> sakhyāya te mama namo'stu namo'stu nityaṁ
> dāsyāya te mama raso'stu raso'stu satyam ||

Hence, in his much praised Stotra, the *Vilāpa-kusumāñjali*, from which this verse is taken, his sorrow of separation from Rādhā and his intense longing for service and worship are expressed with great warmth and earnestness, the author conceiving him-self as a hand-maid of Rādhā, and describing in lavish detail how he would like to wait upon her, help her to dress and decorate her limbs, and minister unto her love-affair. The prayers in almost all the Stotras are directly addressed to Rādhā more than to Kṛṣṇa ; for, in the poet's view, it is impossible to attain Kṛṣṇa without an adoration of Rādhā :

> anārādhya rādhā-padāmbhoja-reṇum
> anāśritya vṛndāṭavīṁ tat-padāṅkam |
> asaṁbhāṣya tad-bhāva-gambhīra-cittān
> kutaḥ śyāma-sindho rasasyāvagāhaḥ ||

In spite of an excess of sensuous sentimentality, which however, is an essence of the faith, the devout yet passionate personal note in these Stotras of Raghunātha-dāsa is certainly appropriate to this subjective type of devotional literature. It is not mere abstact contemplation, dogmatic exposition or artistic expression of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend which interests him ; he desires a rich and intimate realisation of all its roman-tic associations. And he has been able to communicate to his Stotras the rich and intimate picturesqueness of his devotional fancy and exuberant sentiment. The purely poetic merit of these passionate effusions is perhaps not very high ; but if they are less artistic, they are more human in their appeal, being comparatively free from mere dogma and rhetoric in their emotional exaltation and warmth of earnest belief.

The Stotras, Gītas and Birudas of his friend and fellow-disciple, Rūpa Gosvāmin, are of somewhat different type. As they are deliberately meant to illustrate the many nuances of the erotico-emoitional worship of Kṛṣṇa made current by the Caitanya movement, they have more learning than inspiration, more rhetoric than reality, more wealth of words than fervour of faith, more artistic than human appeal. They are collected together by his nephew Jīva Gosvāmin in a volume entitled *Stava-mālā*, which contains some sixty separate Stotras, Gītas and Birudas, concerned with the various details, chiefly erotic, of the Vṛndāvana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. The pieces are of unequal merit, but they are composed in an endless variety of musical metres with an astonishing volume of vocabulary and richness of decorative devices, for

which the author appears to possess an irrepressible talent. Rūpa is certainly a poet who is also a devotee, but he is also a vastly learned scholar and trained verbal specialist, attempting many rare and some self-invented metres, as well as daring dexterity of words and rhythmical forms.

Some of the Stotras, like the *Mukunda-muktāvalī*, betray the influence of Līlāśuka in respect of its fine pictorial fancy and skilful adjustment of sound-effect. It contains thirty rhymed or alliterative stanzas, eight being composed in the moric Pajjhaṭikā of sixteen mātrās, four in Mālinī and two in each of the following short lyrical measures, namely, Citrā, Jaladharamālā, Raṅgiṇī, Tūṇaka, Bhujaṅgaprayāta, Sragviṇī, Jaloddhatagati, Śālinī and Tvaritagati. As the work is in some respects typical of Rūpa Gosvāmin's manner, it deserves extensive quotation, but we can select here only one stanza in the common Mālinī metre made uncommon by effective middle rhyme (so familiar in vernacular verse), which adds to its melodiousness :

> nava-jaladhara-varṇaṁ campakodbhāsi-karṇaṁ
> vikasita-nalināsyaṁ visphuran-manda-hāsyam |
> kanaka-ruci-dukūlaṁ cāru-barhāvacūlaṁ
> kam api nikhila-sāraṁ naumi gopī-kumāram ||

Similar attempt at verbal and metrical melody, with jingle of rhyme and repetition of refrain, are made in his *Utkalikā-vallarī* and *Svayam-utprekṣita-līlā*, as well as in some of his Aṣṭakas like the *Kuñja-vihāryaṣṭaka* ; but more interesting is his attempt to evolve various rhythmic verse and prose forms in his *Aṣṭādaśa-chandas* and *Govinda-birudāvalī*. The *Aṣṭādaśa-chandas* is more diversified in content, inasmuch as it proposes, in the successive eighteen pieces, to deal with some of the episodes of Vṛndāvana-līlā from birth to the slaying of Kaṁsa. The stretches of the stanzas, with their non-stop lines ranging from eight to sixty, are too lengthy for full quotation, but we quote here a few lines only from some of them to illustrate the variety of verbal melody which they often attain :

Gucchaka Chandas (11 lines) :
> nija-mahima-maṇḍalī-vraja-vasati-rocanam '
> vadana-vidhu-mādhurī-ramita-pitṛ-locanam ;
> śruti-nipuṇa-bhūsura-vraja-vihita-jātakam |
> tanu-jalada-tarpita-svajana-gaṇa-cātakam ; etc.

Anukūla Chandas (12 lines) :
> dhṛta-dadhi-manthana-daṇḍa jananī-cumbita-gaṇḍa |
> pīta-savitrī-dugdha kala-bhāṣita-kula-mugdha | etc.

Dvipadikā Chandas (28 lines) :
> pīnojjvala-bhuja-daṇḍaḥ śirasi sphurita-śikhaṇḍaḥ ,
> śaśi-khaṇḍābha-lalāṭaḥ pīvara-hrdaya-kavātaḥ | etc.

Hāri-hariṇa Chandas (15 lines) :
> megha-samaya-pūrti-ramita vṛṣṭiṣu taru-kandaram ita |
> nīpa-kakubha-puṣpa-valita-sāndra-vipina-labdha-lalita |
> bhakta-pariṣad-iṣṭa-varada hāri-vibhava-dhāri-śarada- ;
> lamkṛta-bahu-pakṣi-bharita-kānana-kṛta-divya-carita | etc.

Lalita-bhṛṅga Chandas (58 lines):

śārada-vidhu-vīkṣaṇa-madhu-vardhita-mada-pūra ǀ
iṣṭa-bhajana-vallabha-jana-citta-kamala-sūra ǀ
gopa-yuvati-maṇḍala-mati-mohana-kala-gīta ǀ
mukta-sakala-kṛtya-vikala-yauvata-parivīta ǀ etc.

The *Govinda-birudāvalī*, though much praised, is a similar but less attractive composition both in its form and content ; for its object is to string together a series of Birudas or epithets of Kṛṣṇa in a vast variety of rhythmic prose by means of ingenious but wearisome verbal devices of alliteration, rhyming and similar tricks of melodious repetition of syllables. It has more artifice than art, The extraordinary jingle of sounds is, no doubt, pleasing, but the result is nothing more than astonishing feats of clever verbosity. A few examples will suffice :

kananārabdha-kākali-śabda-pāṭavākṛṣṭa-gopikā-diṣṭa ǀ
cāturī-juṣṭa-rādhikā-tuṣṭa kāminī-lakṣa-mohane dakṣa ǀ
bhāminī-pakṣa mām amuṁ rakṣa.

We have also a succession of light syllables :

kusuma-nikara-nicita-cikura nakhara vijita-maṇija-mukura ǀ
subhaṭa-paṭima-ramita-mathura vikaṭa-samara-naṭana-catura ǀ
samada-bhujaga-damana-caraṇa nikhila-paśupa-nicaya-śaraṇa ǀ etc.

Or, a row of phrases arranged according to the order of the letters of the alphabet

acyuta jaya jaya ārta-kṛpā-maya
indra-makhārdana iti viśātana ǀ
ujjvala-vibhrama ūrjita-vikrama   etc.

Or, a string of repetition of similar syllables :

vraja-pṛthu-pallī-parisara-vallī-
vana-bhuvi tallī-gaṇa-bhṛti mallī-
manasija-bhallīyita-śiva-mallī-
kumuda-matallī-yuṣi gata jhillī-
rata pariphullīkṛta-cala-cillī-
jita-ratimallī-mada-bhara, etc.

Rūpa Gosvāmin surprises us indeed by such ingenious and interminable accumulation of descriptive epithets, but they cease to be descriptive by being more rhetorically brilliant than visually illuminating.

The amazing literary prodigality of Rūpa in weaving endless patterns of rhythmic richness is better exemplified in his *Gītāvalī*. It consists of forty-one songs, set to musical tunes and composed in moric metres, after the Padāvalīs of Jayadeva. The songs deal with four picturesque topics connected with the Vṛndāvana-līlā, namely, birth of Kṛṣṇa, Vasanta-pañcamī, Dola and Rāsa, as well as give incidental musical word-pictures of Rādhā as the conventional eight types of heroine, namely, Abhisārikā etc. Rūpa always keeps in view his particular object of illustrating his Rasa-śāstra, but the scholar here does not altogether overshadow the poet. We have already given

one specimen, but we are tempted to quote another on Rāsa-līlā to give an idea of the type of songs affected :

komala-śaśikara-ramya-vanāntara-nirmita-gīta-vilāsa |
tūrṇa-samāgata-vallabha-yauvata-vīkṣaṇa-kṛta-parihāsa ||
jaya jaya bhānusutā-taṭa-raṅga-mahānaṭa sundara nanda-kumāra |
śarad-aṅgīkṛta-divya-rasāvṛta-mangala-rāsa-vihāra || (Dhruva)
gopī-cumbita rāga-karambita māna-vilokana-līna |
guṇa-garvonnata-rādhā-saṁgata-sauhṛda-saṁpad-adhīna ||
tad-vacanāmṛta-pāna-madāhṛta valayīkṛta-parivāra |
sura-taruṇī-gaṇa-mati-vikṣobhana khelana-valgita-hāra ||
ambu-vigāhana-nandita-nija-jana maṇḍita-yamunā-tīra |
sukha-saṁvid-ghana pūrṇa sanātana nirmala-nīla-śarīra ||

There can be little doubt that this is a fine imitation of the spirit and style of Jaya-deva's exquisite songs. In spite of the fact that the songs of the *Gītāvalī* are mostly imitative, their variety and pleasing quality, if not anything else, should not be denied.

It would seem that we have devoted disproportionately long space to the consideration of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava Stotras and songs, especially to those of Rūpa Go-svāmin. But since mediaeval devotionalism with its picturesque and erotic emotionalism reaches its climax in these somewhat neglected compositions, our object has been to draw attention to them. The Stotras and Gītas of Rūpa, if not his Birudas, are typical in this respect, especially in view of the highly sensuous pictorial fancy and inexhaustible lyrical and musical gift of the author. But it must also be admitted that profuse and overwrought rhetoric often obscures the reality of the emotion and gives it an appearance of spectacular sensibility, while the incessant straining after purely verbal and metrical effect does not always give us convincing visual pictures. No doubt, Rūpa's efforts bear witness alike to his literary skill, learning and devotion, but we often miss in them the true accent of poetry, as well as the devotional fervour and touching quality of self-expression, the flavour of a simple and loveable personality, which is so conspicuous, for instance, in the less artistic effusions of his friend Raghu-nātha-dāsa.

SANSKRIT AND HINDI WORKS OF MĀHĀRĀJA VISVANĀTHASIMHA OF REWAH

(Between A. D. 1813 And 1854)

By

P. K. GODE, M.A.

Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* makes the following entries about a royal author of the name Viśvanāthasimha or Viśvanāthasimha-deva :—

CC I, 585– "विश्वनाथासिंह or विश्वनाथसिंहदेव an officer of सीतारामचन्द्रबहादूर and pupil of प्रियदास :—

—रामगीताटीका[1]

—रामचन्द्राह्निक and Comm[2].

—राममन्त्रार्थीनिर्णय[3]

—वेदान्तसूत्रभाष्य[4]

—सर्वसिद्धान्त"[5]

About the so-called "सीतारामचन्द्रबहादूर" referred to in the above entries by Aufrecht, we find the following entries in the *Catalogorum* :—

CC I, 723 "राजबहादूर सीतारामचन्द्र, Patron of विश्वनाथसिंह (रामचन्द्रचम्पू) L. 73 "

Aufrecht has not identified either "सीतारामचन्द्रबहादूर or विश्वनाथसिंहदेव". I shall, therefore, try to examine Aufrecht's entries and try to identify these persons.

In June 1945 Dr. C. K. Raja of the Madras University gave me an extract[6] from the MS of संगीत रत्नाकरव्याख्या called संगीतसेतु available in the Alwar Darbar Library (No. 4628-33). Dr. Raja asked me to study this extract and fix the date of the author and his patron.

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1. *CC I, 510—*"रामगीता टीका. Oudh X, 22.
2. *CC I, 553—*"रामचन्द्राह्निक. and Comm. by विश्वनाथसिंह L. 73; Oudh V, 30 XIII, 10.
3. *CC I, 518—*"राममन्त्रार्थीनिर्णय—Oudh, V, 28, XV, 128."
4. *CC I, 385—*"वेदान्तमूत्रभाष्य—Rādhāvllabha doctrine by विश्वनाथसिंह. Oudh, 1876, 24."
5. *CC I, 702-3—*"सर्वसिद्धान्त—a dialogue between राजकुमार विश्वनाथसिंह and भिक्षुकाचार्य on the divinity and worship of राम—
   —L. 2329"
   —Oudh III, 20; V, 24; XIII, 98, 118
   —Oppert 6269"

None of the above MSS is available to me for examination. I shall, therefore, base my evidence in this paper on the description of some of these MSS as found recorded in the Catalogues.

6. This extract reads as follows :—

" जीयाद्राघवसुन्दरी कुलपतियाँनादभूमीश्वरी
यासादिखरनूपुरा रणितयुत्कानोद्धवालापगीः ।
ग्रामादित्रिकसमकाकृतिमयी मूर्च्छासमुच्छापगा
सा श्रीचक्रमयी शतश्रुतिगणाहूता विदेहात्मजा ॥ १ ॥
ईदृक् तदासवर्यः क्षितितलपतिभ्रनैवजातो न भावी
योऽयं विश्वाधिनाथः सरिगमपधनी लापसंलापनाठ्यः ।

The extract from the Alwar MS of the संगीतसेतु supplied by Dr. Raja gives us the following points for verification :—

(1)   The author of the work was one गंगाराम, son of तुलाराम of माथुरकुल.

(2)   The patron of our author was King विश्वाधिनाथ or विश्वनाथसिंहदेव who was a lover of music.

(3)   विश्वनाथसिंहदेव is described in the colophon as " महाराजाधिराज " and " श्रीराजाबहादूर ". He is further described by the epithet " सीतारामचन्द्रकृपा-पात्राधिकारि ", which suggests that he was a devotee of god सीतारामचन्द्र. सीता is referred to in verse 1 of the extract as " राघवसुन्दरी " and " विदेहात्मजा. "

(4)   The work संगीतसेतु was composed in व्रजभाषा by our author by the order of विश्वनाथसिंहदेव as stated in verse 3 at the beginning.

(5)   In verse 3 at the beginning of the work our author makes a respectful reference to one प्रियदास who needs to be identified.

Before proceeding to record evidence on the points mentioned above, let us see if we can trace any other MS of the संगीतसेतु of गंगाराम in our published catalogues of MSS. Fortunately for us there is a complete MS of this work in the Sarasvati Mahal Library at Tanjore. In the description of this MS the editor of the Tanjore MSS Catalogue observes as follows :—

" *Saṅgītaratnākaravyākhyā-Setu* —A Hindi Commentary. Though the text of Śārṅgadeva is published this Commentary is not published. As this author says this work is written in *Vrajabhāṣā* or a North-Indian Dialect. This Commentary is called *Saṅgītasetu* and as the author says, is written at the bidding of a prince called *VisvanāthasimhaSudevā*. He mentions his father's name as one *Tulārām* belonging to a family residing in Muttra. The MS in this library represents the commentary on all the seven chapters." (The entire commentary is represented by MSS Nos. 10754 to 10782—*Vide* Pp. 7282—7283 of Vol. XVI of the *Tanjore MSS Catalogue*).

श्रुत्योरेवं श्रुतीनां गणमणिलषितः सक्तधी प्रामकूटे
जूटे तानात्मकेऽसौ स इह विजयते रागरूपो नृपेन्द्रः ॥ २ ॥
तदाज्ञायां करवाणि सेतुं संगीतसिन्धो व्रजभाषयैव
तत्रासहायस्य सहायवन्ते भवन्तु सन्तः प्रियदासवर्याः ॥ ३ ॥
सहन्तु तेऽरिति साहसं कुलादिचक्रकानने ।
उपस्थितं विमर्शनात् स्वरादि वातसंक्रमे ॥ ४ ॥
श्रीगुरुचरणसरोजे ध्यात्वा सेतुपरिस्थितोऽपि
गंगारामेति.संज्ञः कुर्वरीमे सप्रीत्याहं ।
माथुरमणिकुलजन्मा जिज्ञासूनां विनोदाय
तद्वत्संगीतज्ञमतमनुकलयन् सुबोधाय ॥ ५ ॥
इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीमहाराजा-श्रीराजबहादूर
सीतारामचन्द्रकृपापात्राधिकारि-विश्वनाथसिंहदेव-तदाज्ञाप्रयुक्त
श्रीमाथुरकुलमणि तुलारामगर्भसमुद्भूत-गंगारामकृत संगीतसेतौ......"

7,   Vide p. 7279 of Vol. XVI of *Des. Cata. of Tanjore* MSS—*No 10754 (Bnrnell's Catalogue No. 6598 a* (Page 59) Sheets 102 — *Begins:*—जीयाद्राघवसुन्दरी etc and *Ends :*—

" इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीमहाराजबहादूर सीतारामचन्द्र कृपापात्राधिकार विश्वनाथसिंह सुदेव तदाज्ञाप्रयुक्त श्रीमाथुरकुलमणि तुलाराम गर्भसमुद्भूत गंगारामकृत सङ्गीतसेतौरवहा (स्वरग) ताध्यायः प्रथमः समासिमगमत् तवेतद्विदुषां शुभं भूयात् ॥

No MSS of the several Sanskrit works ascribed to *Viśvanāthasimhadeva* by Aufrecht are available to me. I shall, therefore, record below the description of the MSS of two Sanskrit works of this royal author as given by Rajendralal Mitra :—

(1) रामचन्द्रचम्पू with टीका (MS *No. 73* described by R. Mitra on p. 41 of *Notices*, Calcutta, 1871, Vol. I)—A romance on the life of Rāma and his consort Sītā, by *Viśvanāthasimha*—folios 43 Country paper—MS belongs to Babu Hariścandra of Benares.

The MS begins :—"शक्तिर्येषा न पुंसां भवति न कविता लोकशास्त्राद्यवेक्षां । नैपुण्यं चैव नैवाभ्यसन-
मपि तथा शिक्षया काव्यगानाम् । काव्यं कुर्वन्ति तेऽपि प्रभुरगुणयुतं यत्कृपापातो
लभन्ते । प्रेमाणं चालम्बं तदवनितनयापादपद्मं नमामि ।"

The MS ends :—"विश्वनाथानुभूतोदितं ध्यानं हान्ति भवबन्धजालं । इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज
श्रीराजबहादुरसीतारामचन्द्रकृपापात्राधिकारी विश्वनाथसिंह भूदेवविरचितरामचन्द्राह्निकटीकायामष्टमो यमः "

The above extract clearly proves the identity of the author of this Sanskrit work with his name-sake mentioned in the Hindi work viz. the संगीतसेतु already described by me on the strength of the extracts from the Alwar and Tanjore MSS of this work. This Sanskrit work रामचन्द्राह्निक with commentary gives us the following particulars :—

(i) Its author is King विश्वनाथसिंहदेव.

(ii) In the colophon he is called "महाराजाधिराज", "राजबहादूर" and "सीतारामचन्द्रकृपापात्राधिकारी". These epithets are invariably mentioned in the Colophons of the MSS of the Hindi works of our author like the संगीतसेतु and others.

(2) सर्वसिद्धान्त—A MS of this Sanskrit work is described by Mitra in his *Notices*, Vol. VII, Calcutta, 1884, Pp. 99–100—No. 2329, folios 85, Extent 3300 s'lokas. This work is described as "an essay on the divinity of Rāmacandra and the truth of the dual theory of the elder Vedānta. By *Rāja Kumāra Viśvanātha Simha*."

The MS begins :—

सान्द्रानन्दसुधाम्बुधेरुदयभूः सत्यप्रतिज्ञावशा । प्रायेशास्त्रप्रतिपादकोपनिषदां प्रामाण्यमेव स्वयं ।
सीताऽलक्ष्मणवायुसूनुसहितः सर्वेश्वरेशो विभुर्जगन्नाथद्वुतभूरिशक्तिरवतु श्रीरामचन्द्रः स नः ॥
शक्तिः संविदसौ हरेः प्रणयिनी जाड्यं हरन्ती नृणां । मुक्ताकुन्द + + न्दुकम्बुमिहिका कर्पूरकान्तद्युति ।
वीणावादनहर्षितान्तर्जगती हस्ताक्षमालामतिर्हंसीव प्रतिगृह्णतामविरतं मे मानसं भारती ॥
व्यासव्यासक्तचित्तप्रथितहरिगुणानर्थधारावगाढं । सद्यो या लेखिलु तानुपममसृणं मोदकं मातृदत्तं ।
शुण्डाग्रे सन्दधानस्त्रुटितरदरयो विघ्नराजो मदीयं । प्रत्यूहं काण्डमस्मिन् हरतु दुरि......वमानोदरीयं ॥
पतितोद्धतिमहिमानः सदयहृदयप्रियादासगुरुचरणाः । विश्वनाथहृदयस्थमनसिद्धान्तं तन्वते स्वयमेव ॥

भो महाराजकुमार विश्वनाथसिंहदेव भवन्निर्मितभाषाप्रबन्धरामायणप्रतिपादितश्रीरामपरत्वपर्यालोचनया
बुद्धिमत् प्रवराग्रगणीय समधिगतसमस्तवेदान्ततत्त्वभवदमात्य श्रीमद्रघूवुल्लासततप्रतिपादिता द्वैतमतपर्यालोचनया
इत्यादि ।

The MS Ends :—चन्द्रकालोऽनिरुद्धो वै युग्मभक्तिप्रवर्तकः ।
यतः श्रीराधिकाकृष्णकृपापात्रं हि मद्वपुः ॥
गुरूत्तमस्य केशस्य त्रियं छुडा परम्परा ।
तनोतु मङ्गलान्याशु प्रियदासनिरूपिता ॥
तस्य शिष्योऽस्मदाचार्यः परमानन्दरूपवान् ।
भुवने श्रीप्रियादासो नित्यं:तस्मै नमो नमः ॥

इति श्रीगुरुपरम्परा—इति श्रीसर्वसिद्धान्ते श्रीमहाराजकुमार-श्रीविश्वनाथसिंहविरचिते भिक्षुकाचार्य
संवादे पञ्चमः सिद्धान्तः । समाप्तश्चायं ग्रन्थः ॥

We get the following information from the above extracts :—

(i) The author of this work was विश्वनाथसिंहदेव who is called "श्रीमहाराजकुमार" and not "महाराजाधिराज" as in the रामचन्द्रचम्पू and Gangārāma's संगीत (रत्नाकर) सेतु. It appears, therefore, that the सर्वसिद्धांत was composed by our author before his coming to the *gādī*.

(ii) The guru of our author was one प्रियादास (प्रियादासगुरुचरणाः). The *guruparamparā* begins with one चन्द्रलाल and ends with प्रियादास.

(iii) When विश्वनाथसिंहदेव was a महाराजकुमार there seems to have been a minister of the name भोंदूलाल mentioned as 'अमात्यश्रीभोंदूलाल " at the beginning of the work.

(iv) One भिक्षुकाचार्य is mentioned in the colohhon. We must see if this person is imaginary or historical.

From the data so far recorded it is clear that our author was interested in व्रजभाषा and that by his order and under his patronage Gangārāma composed the संगीतसेतु in व्रजभाषा. प्रियादास mentioned by Gangārāma with respect is evidently identical with प्रियादास the guru of Gangārāma's patron विश्वनाथसिंहदेव. The spiritual genealogy of this *guru* has also been recorded by this author in his Sanskrit work सर्वसिद्धान्त composed by him when he was an heir-apparent, महाराजकुमार.

In view of our author's interest in व्रजभाषा we must see what works in this language were composed by him. In my search for these works, I have found the following *Hindi* works in the Catalogues of Hindi MSS available to me:—

(1) Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Report on the Search of Hindi MSS*, Allahabad, 1929, makes the following remarks on " *Visvanātha Simha*":—

P. 117—" 205. Viśvanātha Simha Mahārājā of Rewah, who ascended the throne in *1835 A. D.* has written many books of which *Parama Tatva Prakāsa* (a work on yoga and devotion) and *Rāgasāgara* on music have been found in the present search in the Fatehpur district. The first MS is dated *1837 A. D.* which appears to be the date of its composition. The second has no date. Viśvanātha Simha[b] was a poet of eminence"

P. 488—*MS No. 205 (a)*—परमतत्त्वप्रकाश by Viśvanātha Simhaji, leaves 15, 64 ślokas—Date of composition :—

Samvat 1892 (= A. D. 1835). MS ends :—"इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराजा श्रीराजाबहादुर सितारामचन्द्र कृपात्राधिकारि विश्वनाथसिंह जू देवकृत परमतत्वप्रकास ग्रंथ समाप्त etc.

In the beginning our author refers to his guru प्रियादास : —"जय गनेश हरिगुरु प्रियादास चरण धरि सीस ॥"

—*MS No. 205 (b)*—रागसागर by Mahārājā Viśvanātha Simha of Rewā ·· 6 leaves —270 *ślokas*— " राग रागिनीयों के वर्नन "

MS Begins—" अथ लिष्यते रागसागरादि महाराज विस्वनाथसिंघ कृतता चौतारा etc "

(2) Syam Sundar Das in his *Triennial Report* (*Hindi*) MSS, Allahabad, 1912, records the following note on our author :—

8. विश्वनाथसिंह the Maharaja of Rewa should not be confounded with विश्वनाथ, a Bhāṭ of Biswan (Dist. Sitapur) who composed अलंकारादरस in *A. D. 1815* for one जालिमसिंह and another work अलंकार दर्पन in the same year (Vide pp. 243-244 of *Triennial Report* —*Hindi MSS*, Allahabad, 1924).

Pages 92-93— "No. 249— विश्वनाथसिंह महाराज (*1813-1834*) of Rewâh. Besides being a liberal patron of learned men he was himself a good author (See No. 43 of 1900). The following works of his have been found :—

(*a*) उत्तमनीतिचन्द्रिका—An unusually large commentary or the eight *Kabittas* on morals or policy written by himself and named ध्रुवाष्टकनीति. The MS is dated *1847 A. D.*

(*b*) आनंदरघुनंदन नाटक—A dramatic work dealing with the story of Rāma.

(*c*) पाखंडखंडिनी—A Commentary on the works of Kabīra Dāsa.

(*d*) ध्रुवाष्टक—A work on morals and policy in prose.

(All these MSS are described on p. 326 of this Report).

(3) The *Triennial Report* (Hindi MSS), 1914 (Allahabad) contains the following remarks about विश्वनाथसिंह :—

Page 23 (Report)—"(52) His Highness Maharaja **Viswanatha Simha** of Rewah who from *1813 to 1859* was one of the voluminous authors and 10 of his works have been noticed, only two of which appear to have been known before. I may add that his son and successor Mahārājā **Raghuraja Singha** (*1854–80*) is alone a well-known and voluminous author.

Page 443—''No. 329 – Viśwanātha Singha, Maharaja of Rewah (*1813–1854*) is one of the voluminous poets of Hindi (See No. 52 in the body of the Report. His ten works have been noticed :—

(*a*) आदिमंगल a Commentary on Kabīra's *Bījaka*

(*b*) बसन्त dealing with God and Soul

(*c*) चौतीशी on Spiritual Knowledge

(*d*) चौराशी रमैनी—MS dated *1847 A. D.* gloss on the Ramainī of Kathiawar.

(*e*) कर्हा on spiritual knowledge and precepts, being comments on Kabīra-Dāsa's "*Karhā*"

(*f*) रामायन—or the Story of Rāma.

(*g*) शब्द—MS dated *1839 A.D.*, being a commentary on Kabīra's "*Śabda*"

(*h*) साखी—MS dated *1847 A.D.*, Commentary on Kabīra's "*Sākhī*".

(*i*) संतशतक—MS dated 1846 *A.D.*, on spiritual knowledge, devotion and unworldliness

(*j*) विश्वभोजनप्रकाश, on cooking food.

These MSS have been described on pages 444-45. The MS of रामायन (*f*) refers to गुरुप्रियादास. This work was composed when our author was an heir—apparent or महाराजकुमार as the Colophon reads " इति उत्तरकांड रामायण समाप्त श्रीमहाराजकुमार श्री बाबूसाहब विश्वनाथसिंह जू देवकृत ॥". The following MSS describe the author as " महाराजाधिराज श्री महाराजा राजा बहादुर " and hence they were composed when he had come to the *gādī* of Rewa :—

(*g*) शब्द dated *Samvat 1896* = *A.D. 1840.*

(*h*) साखी dated *Samvat 1904* = *A.D. 1848.*

(*i*) सांतशतक dated *Samvat 1903* = *A.D. 1847.*

(*j*) विश्वभोजनप्रकाश[9]—This is a treatise on cookery (*7030 ślokas*)

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9. Cf. भोजनसार (MS No. 1515 of 1891-95) composed by Girdhari in A.D. 1739. This author was a Court-poet of Sevai Jaising of Amber (A. D. 1699-1743).

(4) The *Annual Report* (Hindi MSS), Allahabad, 1905, contains the following MSS of the works of Viśvanātha Siṁha :—

MS No. 22— अनुभवपरप्रदर्शनी टीका—Prose and Verse—Annotations on the 12 books of Kabīra Dās by Maharaja Viśvanātha Singha of Rewa (*1834 A. D.*) The MS copy was made in Saṁvat 1905 (*1848 A. D.*)—The extracts given in the Catalogue refer to guru प्रियदास and the author as " महाराजाधिराज etc"

MS No. 53— उत्तमकाव्यप्रकाश—Prose and Verse-1195 *ślokas*-A book on Hindi composition with special reference to sarcastic style by Maharaja Viśvanātha Singh of Rewah. The MS is dated Saṁat 1896 (*1839A. D.*) in which year, it appears, the work was also completed. The extracts refer to *guru* प्रियदास and author as "महाराजाधिराज" etc.

MS No. 54— शांत शतक—Prose and Verse-2580 *ślokas*—A book dealing with spiritual subjects by Maharaja Viśvanātha Singh of Rewah. The book is divided into 3 Chapters, dealing with worldly renunciation, spiritual knowledge and final beatitude. The MS is dated sanivat 1895 (= *A. D. 1838*)—See No. 53—The extracts refer to प्रियदास and the author as "महाराजाधिराज" etc.

No 115—रामायण (in verse)—13,448 *ślokas*—570 folios.—The Story of Rāmacandra's life by Maharaja Viśvanātha Singh of Rewah (*1840*). The MS is dated Saṁvat 1889 (*1832 A.D.*)

The MS refers to *guru* प्रियादास and the author as " महाराजकुमार श्री बाबूसाहेब विश्वनाथसिंह जू देव "

No. 172—गीतरघुनंदन with Commentary—composed in *A.D.* 1832—MS dated A.D. *1833* (see No. 44 of 1900. The date 1844 given in this note is of the MS and not of the composition of the book).

No. 173—भजन by Viśvanātha Singh.

(5) *Annual Report* (Hindi MSS) Allahabad, 1903 records the following MSS of the works of Viśvanātha Singha :—

No. 43—अष्ट याम का आह्निक (in verse)—34 folios—210 ślokas—A poem in *Dohā Coupāī* and *Sorathā* metre describing the diary of Rāma and Sītā during the 8 watches of one whole day and night, written in Saṁvat 1877 (*1830 A.D.*) by Maharaja Vishvanātha Singh of Rewah. He was a great patron of poets and during his reign Rewah was one of the centres, where Hindi poets flourished in their greatest brilliancy and whence standard works on Hindi poetry were issued.

No 44 — गीत रघुनन्दन with टीका प्रमानिका—Prose and Verse —39 folios—1432 *ślokas* — A commentary (with text) on गीतरघुनन्दन, a poem regarding Śrī Rāmacandra by one Gosai Jamunādāsa—the author of the commentary is Maharaja Viśvanātha Singha of Rewah, who completed it in *Saṁvat 1901* (= *A. D. 1844*)—See No 43.—The colophon refers to the author of the commentary as "महाराज कुमार श्रीबाबूसाहेब विश्वनाथसिंह. "

No 47— धनुर्विद्या (Text and commentary)—Prose and Verse—22 folios—495 *ślokas*—By Mahārāja Viśvanātha Singha of Rewah—This is a treatise on the art of using the bow and the arrow—MS dated Saṁvat 1911 (= A. D. *1855*).

No 48— परमतत्त्वप्रकाश—Verse—16 folios—210 *Ślokas*—A book on the Bhakti (devotion) of God by Maharāja Viśwanātha Singha. (See No. 43)—The Colophon refers to the author as " महाराजाधिराज etc "

(6) *Annual Report* (Hindi MSS), Allahabad, 1904, records the following MSS of Viśvanātha Singha's works :—

No 6 — आनन्दरामायण (अयोध्याकाण्ड to उत्तरकाण्ड) Verse — 250 folios—14000 *Ślokas*—the story of Śrī Rāmacandra's life in verse. The book is divided into 7 parts, out of which the first part is missing. In the midst of the MS there is an extra page on which is written that the first book consisted of 40 leaves and extended to 2480 *ślokas*. The author of this book is the well-Known Maharaja Viśvanātha Singhaji of Rewah some of whose works were noticed in the *Report* for 1900. He composed the book before he was installed on the *gaddi*. The dates of the different parts of the MS range between Samvat 1880 and 1890 (*1833–1843 A. D.*). — The extracts refer to *guru* प्रियादास and the author as " श्रीबाबूसाहेब विश्वनाथसिंघ जू देव "

No. 16— परमधर्मनिर्णय (प्रथम खण्ड)—Verse and Prose—130 folios—2730 *ślokas*—A treatise on Vaiṣṇavism by Maharaja Viśwanātha Singha of Rewāh. It deals in detail with all the forms, ceremonies and beliefs of the Vaiṣṇavas as propounded by the professors of that religion. It is divided into four parts of which three only have been noticed. The MS is dated *Samvat 1905 (1848 A. D.)*—The author refers to his *guru* प्रियदास at the beginning of the work.—In the Colophon the author is called " श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीमहाराजा श्रीराजाबहादुर सीतारामचन्द्रकृपापात्राधिकारी विश्वनाथसिंह जू देव "—The MS was copied by लाला रामदयाल.

No. 17—परमधर्मनिर्णय (द्वितीय खण्ड) Verse and prosé—104 folios—2574 *ślokas*—This part treats of love of God and the expiation of sins.—The MS is dated *Samvat* 1905 (*1848 A.D.*)—Colophon similar to the above Colophon of No. 16.

No. 18—परमधर्मनिर्णय (चतुर्थ खण्ड)—112 folios—Verse and prose—2630 *ślokas*—This part treats of duties and ceremonies which may be performed by the four varṇas in cases of danger and difficulty.—Colophon as in No. 17.

No. 19 —प्रियादासचरितामृत—folios 11–370 *Ślokas*—This is a biographical account of *Priyā Dās*, the preceptor of Maharaja Viśvanātha Singh of Rewāh. *Priyā Dās* was a *Mahārāṣṭra Brahmin*, Son of Basudeva and his former name was *Kṛṣṇa Datta*. He was reputed for his deep knowledge of *Bhāgavata* and probably he rendered that book into the Bundelkhandi dialect as mentioned by Ward (*View of the History of the Hindus*, Vol. II, p. 481) but he cannot be the same Priyā Dās (1712 A. D.) who wrote the well—known gloss on the *Bhaktanāmāvali* of Nābhā Dās, as the time of Priyā Dās alias Kṛṣṇa Datta must be fixed in the *first half of the 19th Century*, when Maharaja Viśvanātha Singh, his disciple flourished at Rewāh. The author of this MS is one *Droṇācārya Tiwāḍi* who was a disciple of Priyā Dās and who *wrote this life in Samvat 1910* (*1853 A. D.*). — Syamsundar states that Priyā Dās composed many *Sanskrit* and *Bhāṣā* works.

No 20— धनुषविद्या--Verse—15 folios—226 *Ślokas*—This is a treatise on archery based on the laws of Manu, by Maharaja Viśvanātha Singh of Rewā. A similar treatise was noticed last year but it was in sanskrit with a commentary in Hindi,—Colophon as in No. 18.

(7) The *Annual Report* (Hindi MSS by Syamsundar Das, Allahabad, 1907 records the following MSS of the works of Viśvanātha Simha :—

No. 38—आनन्द रघुनन्दन नाटक—Prose and verse—85 folios --2225 ślokas--story of Rāmacandra's life in dramatic form by Maharaja Viśvanātha Simha of Rewāh (*1830 A.D.*)

The MS is dated *Samvat 1887* (*1830 A.D.*)   The Colophon refers to the author as "श्रीमहाराजकुमार श्रीबाबूसाहेब विश्वनाथसिंह जू देव".   Mr. Das states that this work was composed by its author before his coronation --The MS was copied by one दिलराज लाला.

No. 84— वेदान्तपंचक सटीक भाषा—Prose and Verse—folios 13 –300 ślokas—A small book on Vedānta by Maharaja Viśvanātha Simha of Rewah,- -The author refers to प्रयदास at the beginning of the work—The Colophon mentions its author as "श्रीमहाराजा-धिराज श्रीमहाराज श्रीराजाबहादुर श्रीसीनारामचन्द्र" कृपापात्राधिकारी विश्वनाथसिंह जू देव "

No. 111—गीतावली पूर्वार्द्ध--verse 91 folios--2460 ślokas—An account of Rāmacandra and the city of Ajudhyā by Maharaja Viśvanātha Simha of Rewah.   The MS is dated *Samvat 1887* (*1830 A. D.*)   The Colophon describes its author as—श्रीमहाराजकुमार श्रीबाबूसाहेब विश्वनाथसिंह जूदेव"

No 115—उत्तमकाव्यप्रकाश by विश्वनाथसिंह Composed in *A. D. 1840*--MS is dated *A. D. 1840*—(See No 53 of 1903)—This MS is not fully noticed in the Catalogue but is mentioned with the above details in *Appendix I*. I have recorded above some account of the Sanskrit and Hindi works of Viśvanātha Simha on the strength of scattered notices of them in Sanskrit and Hindi MSS Catalogues.[11] This account may not be exhaustive as the Catalogues available to me are not many. It is, however, clear from my account that Maharaja Viśvanātha simha was a highly religious personage with voluminous literary work[11] to his credit.

10. In the जगदंश शतक (MS No 82) and रामरसिकावली (MS No. 89) by महाराजा रघुराज सिंह (son of विश्वनाथ सिंह) the author is called "श्रीकृष्णचन्द्र कृपापात्राधिकारी "

11. My friend Mr. K. M. K, Sarma, M. O. L. Curator, Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner reports to me the following MSS of the works of विश्वनाथसिंह in the Anup Library :—

Sanskrit :— (1) संगीत रघुनंदन (Sanskrit) folios 15—Dated *Samvat 1891* (= *A. D. 1835*)- It ends:—" इति सिद्धि श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराज श्रीजयसिंहदेवसूनु श्रीविश्वनाथसिंह जू देवकृत etc "

Hindi :— (1) रामायण in 7 vols.—Dated *Samvat 1891* (A. D. 1835). In the Colophon the author is called "महाराजकुमार श्रीबाबूसाहेब विश्वनाथ"

(2) आनन्द रघुनन्दन — dated *Samvat 1891* (*A. D. 1835*)

(3) सिकारकी कवित्त — No date

(4) अयोध्यायशा वर्णन — No date

(5) गीतावली पूर्वार्द्ध— dated *Samvat 1893* (*A. D. 1837*)

(6) विनयमाला — dated *Samvat 1890* (*A. D 1834*)

(7) वीर विजयकर — No date

(8) चित्रकूट माहात्म्य — No date

I am thankful to Mr. Sarma for the above information sent by him on 20—9—1945.

9

My friend the late Diwan Bahadur Janaki Prasad of Rewa, whose contact with me for a few years prior to his sad demise created in me a strong desire to study the cultural and literary history of Baghel Khanda, had sent to me a typewritten copy of his *History of the Rewah state*. In this copy I find the following remarks about Maharaja Viśvanātha siṁha :—

" Maharaja *Jai Singh Deva* abdicated in favour of his son Maharaja Kumar *Vishwanath Singh* (afterwards Maharaja Vishwanath Singh) in 1813 and from this time onward Vishwanath Singh controlled the administration of the state until his father's death in 1833. Jaisingh was a good scholar and author of several works as well as a patron of learning. He was married at Manda and at Gauria. He had three sons : (1) *Vishwanath Singh*, who as already stated succeeded him. (2) *Lakshman Singh* who was granted the chaurasi Madhogarh and (3) *Balbhadra Singh* of Amarpatan...

30. *Vishwanath Singh (AD 1833—1854)*—We have seen that Vishwanath Singh was administering the state for 20 years before his accession to the Gādī. He was a very able ruler and administered the state with great success. *Like his father he was a lover of literature and patron of learning*. Misunderstanding arose between Maharaja Vishwanath Singh and the heir—apparent. Some of the Sardars of the state endeavoured to create misunderstanding between Maharaja Vishwanath Singh and the Yuvarāja Maharaja Kumara afterwards Maharaja Raghuraja Singh. They partially succeeded in doing so and the result might have been disastrous to the state but for the foresightedness and sagacity of Maharaja Vishwanath Singh and good sense and filial love of Raghuraj Singh..................... (Some Sardars were expelled from the state)........these Sardars went to Lahore and and were in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the "Lion of the Punjab". They were called back to Rewa some years afterwards at the suggestion of Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor General.

Raghurāj Singh was born in 1823. Maharaja Vishwanath Singh delegated most of his powers to Raghuraja Singh in 1842 when the Yuvaraja was in his 19th year..................................

Maharaja Vishwanath Singh on the delegation of powers to him by his father made *Pande Bhondu Lal* his Diwan...

Vishwanath Singh had only one son and three daughters. He had five Mahārāṇis.........*Raghurāja Singh* (A. D. 1854-1880) Born in 1823. He ascended the Rewa Gādī in 1854 and died in February 1880. Like his father and grand-father he was a patron of learning and was a Hindi poet of no mean order. He was *a Sanskrit Scholar and knew English*"............

I believe, the above remarks of Diwan Bahadur Janaki Prasad give us the cultural background of the several Sanskrit and Hindi works of Maharaja Vishwanath Singh of Rewah. It is also noteworthy that three Rewa Maharajas in succession viz. Jai Singh, Vishvanath Singh and Raghuraj Singh were not only patrons of learning but were men of high literary attainments and capable administrators.

I now close my account of the Sanskrit and Hindi works of Maharaja Vishwanath Singh of Rewa with the following table showing the dates of com•

position of these works as also the dates of their available MSS noted in this paper :—

Serial No.	Language	Name of Work	Date of Composition	Date of MS	Remarks. V = विश्वनाथसिंह
1	Sanskrit	रामगीताटीका	..	..	
2	,,	रामचन्द्राह्निक and Commentary	..	..	
3	,,	राममन्त्रार्थनिर्णय	..	..	
4	,,	वेदान्तसूत्रभाष्य	..	..	
5	,,	सर्वसिद्धान्त	..	..	V called महाराजकुमार —mentions अमात्य भोद्लाल
6	,,	रामचन्द्रचम्पू	..	..	V Called महाराजाधिराज
7	,.	संगीत रघुनंदन	..	1835	
8	Hindi	परमतत्वप्रकाश	1835	1837	V-" महाराजाधिराज "
9	,,	रागसागर	..	..	
10	,,	उत्तमनीतिचन्द्रिका	..	1847	
11	,,	आनंदरघुनंदन नाटक	..	1830 1835	V-" महाराजकुमार बाबूसाहेब"
12	,,	पाखण्डखण्डिनी	..	..	
13	,,	ध्रुवाष्टक	..	..	
14	..	आदिमंगल	..	..	
15	,,	बसन्त	..	..	
16	,,	चौतीशी	..	..	
17	,,	चौराशी रमैनां	..	1847	
18	,,	कन्हा	..	..	
19	,,	रामायन (ण)	..	1835 } 1832 }	V-" महाराजकुमार बाबूसाहेब "
20	,,	शब्द	..	1839)	
21	..	साखी	..	1847	V-" महाराजाधिराज श्रीमहाराजबहादुर "
22	,,	संतशतक	..	1846	
23	..	विश्वभोजनप्रकाश	..	..)	

Serial No.	Language	Name of Work	Date of Composition	Date of MS	Remark. V = विश्वनाथसिंह
24	,,	अनुभवपर प्रदर्शनी टीका	..	1848	V "महाराजाधिराज"
25	,,	उत्तम काव्यप्रकाश	1840	1840	Do
26	,,	शांतशतक	..	1838	Do
27	,,	* गीतरघुनंदन by जमुनादास	1832	1833	
28	..	Do-with टीका प्रमानिका by *Viśvanātha Simha*	..	1844	V-"महाराजकुमार बाबूसाहेब"
29	,,	भजन	..	..	
30	.,	अष्टयाम का आह्निक	1830	..	
31	,,	धनुर्विद्या (*Sanskrit*) with टीका (Hindi)	..	1855	
32	..	आनंदरामायण	..	1833 to 1843	V-"बाबूमाहेब"
33	,,	परमधर्मनिर्णय	..	1848	V-"महाराजाधिराज श्रीमहाराजा श्रीराजाबहादुर"
34	,,	* प्रियादासचरितामृत by द्रोणाचार्य तिवाड़ी	1853	..	
35	,,	धनुषविद्या	..	..	
36	,,	वेदान्तपंचक सटीक भाषा	..	..	V "महाराजाधिराज etc."
37	,,	गीतावली (पूर्वार्द्ध)	..	1830 1837	V "महाराजा श्री बाबूसाहेब"
38	,,	सिक्कार की कविन	..	..	
39	,,	अयोध्यायगोवर्णन	..	..	
40	,,	विनयमाला	..	1834	
41	,,	वीर विजयकर	..	..	
42	,,	चित्रकूटमाहात्म्य	..	1834	

After this paper was written I received a copy of the *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of H. H. the Maharana of Udaipur* (Mewar) by M. L. Menaria, (1943). Pages 188—286 of this catalogue contain a list of *Hindi and Rajasthani MSS.* In this list I notice the following MSS of the works of विश्वनाथसिंह :—

Page 190—No. 323—अयोध्याजी के भजन—*Kāvya*

  ,, ,, 119—अयोध्या माहात्म्य—*Māhātmya*

Page 194—No. 113—आनंद रघुनदन नाटक—*Nātaka*

Page 204—No. 114—गीतावली (पूर्वार्द्ध)—*Kāvya*

Page 206—No. 57—चित्रकूट माहात्म्य—*Māhātmya*—वि. सं. १८९० (= *A. D. 1834*).

Page 240—No. 325—भजन—*Kāvya*

Page 252—No. 279—राजनीति—*Niti*

Page 264—No. 326—विनयमाला—*Kāvya*

  ,, —No. 674— Do — Do —वि. सं. १८९० (= *A. D. 1834*).

Page 266—No. 322—सारविजय—*Dhanurvidyā*

Page 272—No. 327—शान्तिशतक—*Kāvya*

  ,, —No. 278—शिकार के कवित्त—*Kāvya*

  ,, —No. 321— Do — Do —

Page 274—No. 324—शृङ्गार के कवित्त—*Kāvya*

Page 284—No. 280—हनुमान जी के कवित्त—*Stotra*—वि. सं. १८८९ (= *A. D. 1833*)

  ,, —No. 335— Do — Do

It is possible to trace the MSS of the works of Maharaja Viśvanātha siṁha in many other MSS Libraries, both private and public. In H. I. Poleman's *Census of Indic MSS in U. S. A. and Canada* (1938) he records a MS of आनन्द—रघुनन्दन नाटक (Hindi) P. 302– *MS No. 5820*. This is the only MS of Viśvanāthasiṁha's works recorded in this Catalogue.

SANKĀRĀCARYA AND SANKARABHAGAVATPĀDA

Preliminary remarks concerning the authorship problem.

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The following abbreviations are used :

Bik = Rājendralāl MITRA, *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of His Highness the Mahārājā of Bikāner*, Calcutta 1880.

C · Hrishīkeśa ŚĀSTRĪ and Śiva Chandra GUI, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Calcutta Sanskrit College* ; vol. I, Vedic Mss., Calcutta 1895 : vol. III, Philosophy Mss., Calcutta 1900.

H = E. HULTZSCH, *Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India*, No. I-III, Madras 1895-1905.

M = Rājendralāl MITRA, *Notices on Sanskrit Manuscripts*, voll. I-IX, Calcutta 1870-1888.

T - P. P. S. SASTRI, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tanjore Mahārāja Serfoji's Sarasvatī Mahāl Library*, Tanjore, voll. I-XIX, Srirangam 1928-1934.

W = Albrecht WEBER, *Verzeichnis der Sanskrit-Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek Berlin*, vol. I, Berlin 1853.

(Roman numerals refer to the volumes, Arabic figures indicate the items of the catalogues.)

I

For many centuries the great Bhāṣyakāra of the Kevalādvaita school and propagator of the Māyā doctrine has traditionally been styled Śaṅkarācārya. And some hundreds of writings are ascribed to the famous Ācārya. Now there can be no doubt that such a large number of works cannot have been written by a single man who, according to tradition, reached an age of 32 years only. Moreover, the variety of contents makes it highly improbable that all those works should have been composed by one and the same person. So it was inevitable that the majority of historians should have taken the position that all those writings were provisionally to be regarded as spurious, with the only exception of Śaṅkara's main work, the *Brahmasūtra-bhāṣya*, and that in the case of all the other commentaries and independent treaties the question of the authorship required special investigation.

How was it possible that such a large number of writings might have been wrongly attributed to the great teacher ? Even if the possibility of a forgery is left out of account it will not be difficult to give one possible answer to that question if it is taken into consideration that all the Jagadguru of the Śṛṅgeri Maṭha, which is believed to have been founded by the famous Bhāṣyakāra, have borne the t i t l e of Śaṅkarācārya. So any literary work composed by one of these Ācāryas could rightly

be called the production of a Śaṅkarācārya. There is one instance at the least of a
text having been handed down by one tradition as a production of Śaṅkarācārya,
whereas other traditions designated it as the work of a later Jagadguru of the Śṛṅgeri
Maṭha. This is the case of the *Vākyasudhā*, otherwise called *Dṛgdṛśyaviveka*, which
is ascribed by different traditions to Śaṅkara, to Bhāratītīrtha, and to Vidyāraṇya
(T XII 7364). It is not surprising that the latter two Ācāryas should have come to
be confounded as tradition speaks of a close collaboration between Vidyāraṇya and
his teacher Bhāratītīrtha in composing another text, viz. the Pañcadaśī, but the ascrip-
tion of the *Vākyasudhā* to Saṁkarācārya will be best accounted for by the fact that
both Vidyāraṇya and Bhāratītīrtha actually were Śaṅkarācāryas, as both were heads
of the Śṛṅgeri monastery.

Bhāratītīrtha and Vidyāraṇya were influential teachers and famous authors ; so
it is natural that they should have preferred to be called by their own Sannyāsin names
and that contemporary scribes should as a rule have used those names in the colophons
of works composed by them. On the other hand, it may be assumed that authors who
were themselves less renowned should have chosen to be called by the sacred title of
Śaṅkaācārya rather than by their obscure sannyāsin names and that they should have
been styled thus by their contemporaries also. This may account for a good deal of
the attributions of writings to Śaṅkarācārya.

Another occasion for works not composed by the great Śaṅkara being erroneously
assigned to him may have been the following. Anonymous texts used in the Śaṅkara
Maṭhas for purposes of instruction may in the course of time have come to be attri-
buted to the founder of the Maṭha. Texts circulating outside the Maṭhas may also,
for reasons varying in the individual cases, have been believed to be productions of the
most influential spiritual teacher India has known in the course of the past millennium.
But it will hardly ever be possible to identify a case of this type.

Thirdly, the name of Śaṅkara is by no means a rare one, and there have certainly
beeen several men who bore the name of Śaṅkara and were ācāryas too. Such men, or
the transcribers of their writings, may have drawn a careful distinction between their
literary productions and those of the great Bhāṣyakāra Śaṅkara. There is, e.g., a
Śaṅkarācārya, the author of a *Tārārahasyavivṛttikā*, who is styled in the colopon
Gaura-bhūmi-vāsi-mahāmahopādhyāya-śrī-śaṅkarācārya (M I 512)—a designation
which is obviously intended to prevent confusion with the Bhāṣyakāra. But there may
have been others who did n o t care to see their works distinguished from those of
the great Śaṅkara, and if their doctrines were similar to his, it could easily happen
that they finished by being identified with him in the memory of posterity.

Various other circumstances may further have led to the identification of an
author with the Bhāṣyakāra Śaṅkara. So for instance the well-known story of Śaṅ-
kara's dispute with the wife of Maṇḍanamiśra and of his entering the body of the
dead king Amaru has been sufficient reason for several manuscripts ascribing the
Amaruśataka to Śaṅkarācārya ! (T. VII 3895ff., H III 1759).

II

If we accept " Śaṅkarācārya " to be the usual designation of the Bhāṣyakāra, we
cannot but be puzzled over the fact that he is not called by that name, or combination
of a name with a title, in ancient wriṭtings. As to his direct disciples, Padmapāda

once calls him Śaṅkara,[1] whilst the prevalent designation in the text of the *Pañcapādikā* is Bhāṣyakāra and the title of Bhagavat is twice added to that word.[2] Sureśvara also calls him Śaṅkara[3] and uses the designations of Bhagavatpāda[4] and Bhagavatpūjya-pāda.[5] It is true that the reference of the latter titles to Śaṅkara is not absolutely certain as the name of Śaṅkara is not added to them and they are employed to designate the author of the *Upadeśasāhasrī*, a work belonging to the corpus of Śaṅkarean writings the authorship of which has not yet been settled ; but the context leaves very little doubt about these titles actually referring to Sureśvara's teacher. Toṭakācāya, another disciple of Śaṅkara, does not give his preceptor's name or title in his *Śrutisārasamuddharaṇa*, but his commentator Saccidānanda Yogīndra, in explaining stanza 178 of his woik, mentions Bhagavatpāda as the n a m e of Totakācāya's teacher (. . . "*tān gurūn*" *bhagavatpādākhyān* "*yāvadāyur namāmi*"). Vācaspatimiśra. who may have been a younger contemporary of Śaṅkara, styles him " Bhagavān Bhāṣyakāra " in his *Bhāmatī* several times.[6] Jñānottama, an old commentator of Sureśvara's *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi*, never calls Sureśvara's teacher Śaṅkara, but uses the designations Bhāṣyakāra,[7] Bhagavatpāda-Ācārya,[8] Bhagavatpūjyapāda-Ācārya,[9] and Ācārya,[10] the latter title and the addition of Ācāiya to the second and third ones apparently being meant to allude to the fact that Śaṅkara was S u r e ś v a r a ' s Ācārya.

So, as far as Śaṅkara's contemporaries and immediate successors are concerne l we find :

(1)   The great teacher is sometimes called Śaṅkara without the addition of any title ;

(2)   His usual title seems to have been Bhagavat. This word, when added to Bhāṣyakāra or combined with -pāda or -pūjyapāda, replaces the name ;

(3)   The combination of the name of Śaṅkara with Ācārya does not seem to have been very usual. It was of course possible to form this combination, but the more solemn title of Bhagavat seems to have been preferred to Ācārya as a rule.[11]

In later Advaita literature Śaṅkara is also called Bhagavatpāda and Bhagavat

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1.   *Pañcapādikā*, Maṅgalācaraṇa, st. 3.
2.   *Pañcapādikā*, Viz. S. S. edition, p. 29 1.9 and p. 39 1.1
3.   *Naiṣkarmyasiddhi* IV. 74 and 76.
4.   *Ibidem* IV. 19.
5.   *Ibidem* IV. 43.
6.   E.g. pp. 8 and 27 of the Nirnaya-sagar edition (*Brahmasūtra-Śaṅkarabhāṣyam* with the commentaries Ratnaprabhā, Bhāmatī, and Nyāyaniṇaya, ed. by Mahādeva Shāstrî Bākre, 2nd ed., Bombay 1909).
7.   E.g. in the commentary on *Naiṣk.* I. 6 and IV. 20.
8.   *Ibidem* IV. 22.
9.   *Ibidem* IV. 44.
10.   *Ibidem* IV. 23ff.
11.   It would have been useful to examine Sureśvara's Vārttikas also, but they were not accessible to me.   For the purpose of the present article, however, the utilized material seems to be sufficient as completeness is not aimed at here and it is only intended, in this section, to point to the fact that the solemn titles of Bhagavat, etc. were preferred by Śaṅkara's contemporaries. Sureśvara's *Pañcīkaraṇavārtika* has on purpose been left out of account here as the stanzas (1-2) mentioning Śaṅkara are apparently spurious (cp. P. Tuxen in : "*Aus Indiens Kultur, Festgabe R. v. Garbe dargebracht*", Erlangen 1927, p. 134).

pūjyapāda, the designation Śaṅkaraācārya alternating with the old titles. It will suffice for our purposes to quote a few instances. Ānandajñāna, who in his commentaries on the Bhāṣyas ascribed to Śaṅkara usually names him Bhāṣyakāra, composed the following stanza :

> *Bhagavatpādapādābjadvandvaṃ dvandvanibarhaṇam*
> *Sureśvarādisadbhṛṅgair avalambitam ābhaje.*[12]

Here the word Bhagavatpāda obviously refers to Śaṅkara, as the association with Sureśvara proves. Rāmatīrtha's commentary on the *Upadeśasāhasrī* begins with the words : *Iha bhagavatpādābhidho bhagavān bhāṣyakāraḥ . . . upadeśasāhasrīm . . . prakaṭīkurvan . .* The expression *vedāntasiddhānto bhagavatpārasammataḥ*, meaning the Vedāntic doctrines as interpreted by Śaṅkara ", is found in the introduction to a commentary on Madhusūdana's *Siddhārtabindu* (M VII 2497). To these quotations from texts two colophons be added. In the colophon to a ms. of the *Śrutisārasamuddharaṇa* of Toṭakācārya the author is called Bhagavatpāda-Śiṣya (M IV 1584). The *Bhāmatī* is called *śārīraka-bhagavatpāda-bhāṣya-vibhāga* in the colophon to the fourth pāda of the third adhyāya (Nirṇayasagar edition   C III 84 ; W I 608).

The habit of calling Śaṅkara Bhagavatpāda and Bhagavatpūjyapāda has not been discontinued in our days.[13] Those titles are however not confined to being applied to Śaṅkara, other Advaitins being also styled thus in colophons. So for instance Śaṅkara's teacher Govinda is Bhagavatpūjyapāda, Vimuktātman is Bhagavat, his teacher Avyayātman is Bhagavatpūjyapāda, Ānandajñāna and Govindānanda are Bhagavat, etc., whilst others bear different titles, as yati (Prakāśātman), muni (Citsukha). etc. But Śaṅkara is the Bhagavatpāda or Bhagavatpūjyapāda *par excellence* as he is not seldom called thus in unambiguous context without his name being mentioned. This is a well-known fact, but nevertheless it does not seem superfluous to insist on it here, for, as we shall see, it is important to bear this fact in mind when the authorship problem is discussed.

<center>III</center>

We have found that Śaṅkara's contemporaries preferred to call him Bhagavat. Now it will perhaps prove useful to examine the ms. colophons of writings ascribed to him. It may be assumed that in many cases an old tradition has been preservd in these colophons as they certainly were transcribed mechanically from generation to generation.

I had to depend on the descriptions given in ms. catalogues. I was able to go through a number of old catalogues and to examine one of recent date (T). The majority of the catalogues were however not utilizable as they do not give full descriptions of the mss., colophons not being reproduced in them and all works attributed to Śaṅkara being indiscriminately described as productions of Śaṅkarācārya, whereas the question to which an answer was sought from the ms.

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12. St. 3 of the maṅgalācaraṇa introductory to the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣya*.

13. Cp., e.g., the Prastāvnā in the Nirnayasagar edition of the *Citsukhī* (2nd ed., 1931), p. 1 1.20, and the introduction (" *prāstāvikaṃ kiṃcit* ") to the Ānandāśrama edition of Toṭakācārya's *Śrutisārasamuddharaṇa* (Ānandāśrama S. S., vol. 103, 1936), p. 1, l. 1.

descriptions was just this : do the colophons attribute the several works to Śaṅkarācārya
or to Śaṅkarabhagavat(pūjya)pāda ? [14] Most of the materials have been drawn from
T, C, and M. But as T also was utilizable only to a limited extent[15] the material
which could be extracted from the catalogues for the purposes of the present investiga-
tion is by far not so vast as would be desirable and might be expected from the num-
ber of catalogue items examined. Yet nevertheless it will perhaps be sufficient for
enabling us to draw some conclusions.

WORKS ASCRIBED TO ŚAṄKARA   (-BHAGAVAT OR ĀCĀRYA)[16]

(a)   Works attributed to Śaṅkara-Bhagawat (bh) or Śaṅkara-Bhagavatpāda (p)
      or Śaṅkara-Bhagavatpūjyapāda (pp)

Advaitānubhūti.   T XII 7148 (p).

Īśā-Upaniṣad-Bhāṣya.   C I 174-5 (both bh), T III 1437-9 (3 times bh), H I 105a (p),
   Ān (bh), BI (bh).

Upadeśasāhasrī   T XII 7205 (pp), W I 614 (bh), Poona (bh ; after the Gadya-
   prabandha : p), Ed. in " The Pandit " (bh ; after the Gadyprapandha : p).

Aitareya-Upaniṣad-Bhāṣya.   C I 92 (bh), T III 1444-6 (3 times bh), Ān (bh
   after all 3 adhyāyas), BI (final colophon : Śaṅkarācāryabhagavat, but after 2nd
   adhyāya : bh).

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14.   The more important ones among the utilizable catalogues are specified above in the
abbreviation list. One of the catalogues, though not giving colophons, distinguished between
Śaṅkarācārya and Śaṅkarabhagavat in the index (Kunja Vihari KĀVYATĪRTHA, *Catalogue of
the Printed Books and Mss. in Sanskrit Belonging to the Oriental Library of the Asiatic
Society of Bengal, Calcutta* 1904). But while using the book one cannot get rid of the sus-
picion that the distinction is rather an arbitrary one, especially as the index adds *Govinda-
bhagavatpūjyapāda-śisya* to Śaṅkarācārya, not to Śaṅkaṛabhagavat, whereas, as we shall see,
the overwhelming majority of the colophons as reproduced in other catalogues give that spe-
cification of the teacher just in the case of such writings as are attributed to Śaṅkarabhagavat.
It seems rather incredible that all the Calcutta mss. should deviate from that rule. The fact
that in other instances Śaṅkarabhagavat or Śaṅkarācārya has obviously been confounded with
Śaṅkarānanda—commentaries called *dīpikā* here being attributed to Śaṅkarabhagavat or
Śaṅkarācārya whereas they are elsewhere ascribed to Śaṅkarānanda and never to the bhaga-
vat or the Ācārya—adds to the impression of unreliability which the books produces. The
book has therefore been left out of account.

15.   Unfortunately T in such cases where the library possesses several ms. of one and
the same work as a rule gives the colophon of one of these mss. only, arranging the data
of the rest in a list but omitting notions as to the colophons in the list. May we assume
that the colophons of the mss. described in the list are identical with the one reproduced ?
It is probable, but we cannot be absolutely certain about it, for the compiler did not dis-
criminate between Śaṅkarācārya and Śaṅkarabhagavat.

16.   The following abbreviations are used to indicate printed editions :
      Ān = Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series,
      BI = Bibliotheca Indica,
      BSS= Bombay Sanskrit Series,
      K = Kāśī Sanskrit Series,
      Nim. = Nirnayasagar Press (edition specified above, footnote 8),
      Poona = Works of Shankaracharya, vol. IV, Minor Works, Poona 1925,
      Viz. = Vizianagram Sanskrit Series.
      " T list " is added in some cases to indicate that the Tanjore catalogue contains a large
list of further mss. which presumably have the same colophon as the one specified.

Kaṭha-Upaniṣad-Bhāṣya. C I 178-9 (both bh), T III 1455 (bh), Ān (bh after all 6 vallīs), BI (bh).

Kena-Upaniṣad-Bhāṣya. C I 176 (bh), T III 1456-8 (3 times bh), T III 1460 (bh), Ān (after 1st and 2nd khaṇḍas : p ; final colophon : bh), BI (bh).

Chāndogya-Upaniṣad-Bhāṣya. C I 162 = Bik 215 (bh), T III 1476 (bh), I III 1478-82 (5 times bh), Ān (in the colophons of the 1st and 2nd Prapāṭhakas : p. in cols. of other chapters and in final col. : bh), BI (1st prapāṭhaka : p ; 2nd-6th prapāṭhakas : bh).

Taittirīya-Upaniṣad-Bhāṣya. C I 147 (pp), T III 1487-9 (3 times p with omission of the name), T III 1493 (pp), Ān (bh after all 3 adhyāyas), BI (bh after all 3 adhyāyas).

Praśna-Upaniṣad-Bhāṣya. C I 198 (bh), T III 1513-6 (4 times bh), T III 1518 (bh), Ān (bh after all 6 praśnas), BI (bh).

Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad-Bhāṣya. T III 1526-7 (both bh), Ān (bh after all 6 adhyāyas), BI (bh after all adhyāyas).

Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya. T XII 7025 (p), T list, C III 140 (p), C III 145 (p , K (final col. : pp ; the cols. of the other 15 pādas give bh. p, and pp promiscuously), Nim (pp ; other pādas as mentioned under K), BI (pp ; other pādas as K).

Bhagavadgītā-Bhāṣya. T XV 8860 (pp), T list, Ān (bh after all adhyāyas).

Māṇḍūkya-Upaniṣad-Bhāṣya (with Gauḍapādīya-Bhāṣya or Āgamaśāstra-Vivaraṇa) C III 38 (bh), C III 59 (bh), C I 181 (bh), T III 1547-51 (5 times bh), Ān (bh after all 4 prakaraṇas), BI (bh after all 4 prakaraṇas).

Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad-Bhāṣya. C I 182 (bh), T III 1557-60 (4 times bh), Ān (bh), BI (bh).

Vivekacūḍāmaṇi. T XII 7378-9 (both p), M II 247 (p), Poona (bh)

Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad-Bhāṣya. T III 1565 (p), BI (bh after adhyāyas I, III, IV V, and VI).

Svātmapūjā. T XII 7400 (p).

Haritattvamuktāvali or Haritattvavyākhyā. M IV 1489 (p).

Harim-Īḍe-stotra. M III 1297 (bh).

Hastāmalakabhāṣya. C III 173 173 (bh), T XII 7411 (p).

(b) *Works mentioned more than once as composed by Śaṅkarācārya.*

(32 works which I have found mentioned not more than once each as Śaṅkarācārya's productions, are not included in the list).

Amaruśataka. H III 1759, T VII 3895ff.

Ātmānātmaviveka. M II 620, C III 48-9.

Kaupīnapañcaka. M VIII 127, T XII 7223.

Tripuṭī or Tripurī (-Upaniṣad). M I 14, W 1 618.

Dakṣiṇāmūrtyaṣṭaka. T XII 7227, T list, (Dakṣiṇāmūrtistava) W I 615.

Daśaślokī. M IV 1535, T XII 7256, T list.

Nirañjanāṣṭaka. T XII 7281-3 (once "Śrīparamahaṁsaparivrājakācārya " only.

Nivāṇaṣaṭka (also Cidānandaṣaṭka). T XII (7284-6).

Probodhasudhākara. T XII, 7309 (in 7310 attributed to Dinakarācārya), C III 75 (Śaṅkarācārya designated as Govinda's disciple), M VIII 2845 (Śaṅkarācārya, Govinda's disciple).

Bālabodhasaṁgraha. T XII 7318-9.

Bālabodhinī. W I 618, T XII 7320-1, M I 175.

Vijñānanaukā. T XII 7377, (Vedāntavijñānanaukā) M II 715, (Vijñānanavaka) M IV 1720.

Vajrasūcī (-Upaniṣad). M I 36, C III 105.

Sahajāṣṭaka T XII 7390-1.

Svātmanirūpaṇa or Vedāntāryā or Svātmānandaprakāśikā. M III 1214, M V 1781, T XII 7392.

(c)   *Works variously attributed : to Śaṅkarācārya (ā) and Śaṅkarabhagavat (bh, p, or pp).*

Aparokṣānubhūti. M I 483 (ā), M III 1284 (ā), T XII 7151 (ā), Aparokṣānubhava) H III 1856 (pp, without preceding titles).

Ātmajñānopadeśavidhi. M I 176 (Śaṅkara, Govinda's disciple, no title following), W I 618 (ā), T XII 7161 ("a short vedāntic treatise of some unknown author in the manner of Śrī Śaṅkara's Upadeśasāhasrī").

Ātmabodha. T XII 7162 (p, without specification of teacher), T XII 7195 (ā), W I 617-8 (both ā), C III 39 (ā), C III 41 (ā, Govinda's disciple), Poona (bh).

Ātmavidyopadeśa (vidhi). M III 1310 (Śaṅkara, no title following), C III 45 (Śaṅkara, no title following).

Nṛsiṁhatāpanī-Upaniṣad-Bhāṣya. M I 24 (ñ), T III 1509 (bh).

Mahāvākyavivaraṇa. T XII 7323 (Śrībhāṣyakāra), H III 1789 (ā), Haraprasād Shāstrī's Notices of Skt. Mss. (Calcutta 1892) X 4133 (ā).

Vākyavṛtti. T XII 7347 and 7353 (both ā), W I 618 (ā), M. I 178 (bh), H III 1793 (bh, without addition of name), (-vyākhyā) T XII 7354 (p).

Sanatsujātīya-Bhāṣya or -Vivaraṇa. T XII 7381 (ā), M IV 1494 (Śaṅkara-Bhagavatpūjyapāda-Śiṣya !), Poona (bh).

CONCLUSIONS

The list given above is far from being complete. But it would be impossible to compile a complete list of all colophons ascribing treatises to Śaṅkara even if a comprehensive collection of catalogues could be utilized as those catalogues that do not reproduce colophons omit distinguishing between Śaṅkara-Bhagavat, -Bhagavatpāda, or Bhagavatpūjyapāda on the other. It is however absolutely necessary to draw this distinction, as I hope to show in the sequel.

However scanty the materials presented here may be, they allow us to ascertain the following facts :

a. When variations of the title occur in the colophons to different sections (adhyāyas, pādas, etc.) of a work, only Bhagavat, Bhagavatpāda, and Bhagavatpūjyapāda alternate with one another, wheraes Śaṅkarācārya does not seem to be interchangeable with the Bhagavat titles in the colophons of one and the same work. The only exception from this rule in the available material is the *Aitareya Upaniṣad-Bhāṣya* (see list, section a), where the abnormal form Śaṅkara-Ācārya-Bhagavat occurs. But the irregularity of this form is easily explainable as the lapse of a modern scribe to whom the Ācārya form was more familiar than the Bhagavat form which he found in the ms. he was copying ; so he formed a contamination of both.

b. The forms containing the word Bhagavat are invariably accompanied by a specification of the teacher, who is always stated to be Govinda. On the other hand, when Śaṅkarācārya is stated to be the author of a text, a teacher is mentioned only in extremely rare cases. Such cases have been noted above b. and c. Among the 32 works not included in the list one case of the compound Govinda-Bhagavatpūjyapāda-śiṣya preceding the word Śaṅkarācārya was observed. This rareness of statements as to the teacher may fairly well be accounted for by the fact that the transcribers of the first copies were aware that Śaṅkarācārya was not the n a m e but the t i t l e of the author whose work they were copying. It is quite natural that the teacher's name should not have been added to the t i t l e of a man who, besides his designation of Śaṅkarācārya (= Jagadguru), bore still a Sannyāsin n a m e , for when he was the disciple of a teacher, he was not yet a Śaṅkara, and it was not as a Śaṅkara that he had received instruction. Again, it is probable that a scribe who was the first to a t t r i b u t e to Śaṅkara a treatise which had circulated up to his time as annoymous, chose the simple colophon *Śaṅkarācārya-viracita* rather than one containing the teacher's name and further titles, and when such an ascription was effectuated at a late date, it could only be to Śaṅkarācārya, not to Śaṅkarabhagavat, as the Ācārya title seems to have become prevalent in the course of time.

The designations of Bhagavat, Bhagavatpāda, and Bhagavatpūjyapāda are almost invariably preceded by a series of titles, mostly Paramahaṁsa-parivrājakācārya, sometimes with the omission of -ācārya. These titles have been omitted in the list. But it is worth mentioning that even here a divergence between the Ācārya and the Bhagavat type is discernible : while the Bhagavat form is regularly preceded by titles of the description just mentioned, the Ācārya form is so only in the minority of the cases.

c. The Bhāṣyas of the three Prasthānas (early Upaniṣads, Bhagavadgītā, Brahmasūtras) as well as the Gauḍapādīya-Bhāṣya are always attributed to Śaṅkara-Bhagavat in the utilized material. Among the independent treatises the *Upadeśasāhasrī* and *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi* were found several times to be ascribed to Śaṅkara-Bhagavat. A few other works may perhaps also claim to have been composed by him.

As opposed to that group, a large number of writings, mostly independent ones, are assigned to Śaṅkarācārya, and some among them were in the available material found to be ascribed to the Ācārya several times. In some instances ascription varies between the Bhagavat and the Ācārya, but not in the case of the three Prasthāna-Bhāṣyas.

It is only natural that some confusion should have occurred as Śaṅkarācārya has for centuries been regarded as always identical with Śaṅkara-Bhagavat, and it is even surprising that the confusions, as far as the colophons of the Prasthāna-Bhāṣyas are concerned, are so few in number.

At any rate, the observations set forth above—the formal divergencies between the two varieties of colophons and the association of each of them with a rather definite series of works—are so striking that they should not be neglected when the problem of authorship is discussed.

Since Śaṅkara's contemporaries styled him Bhagavat, Bhagavatpāda, and Bhagavatpūjyapāda, and the *Brahmasūtra-Bhāṣya*, which surely has been composed by him, is invariably ascribed to Śaṅkara -Bhagavat, -Bhagavatpāda, or -Bhagavatpūjyapāda in the colophons, we are entitled to regard provisionally as genuine those works that

are described in their colophons as productions of the Bhagavat, whereas all the works that are usually attributed to Śaṅkara-Ācārya in the colophons are suspicious of being spurious.

So we find that, above, all, the Bhāṣyas on the Prasthānatrayī can claim to be Śaṅkara's genuine productions.

IV

The authorship problem cannot of course be solved by the superficial method of examining colophons ; the contents of the works require attention also.   There may even be writings which, though described in all colophons as composed by the Bhagavat, are spurious all the same.   The *Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad-Bhāṣya,* for instance, can hardly be regarded as genuine in its present shape.   It may perhaps have been interpolated and remodelled by a later author, but this question will require special investigation.

On the other hand, it will not be difficult to prove the spuriousness of many of the works that pass as Śaṅkarācārya's productions or are alternately attributed to the Bhagavat and to the Ācārya if the phraseology and doctrines of the Sūtrabhāṣya are taken as a standard of comparison.   Two of these writings shall now be singled out as specimens, and a few remarks as to the possibility of their being the Bhāṣyakāra's productions will be made.

A.   THE SANATSUJĀTĪYABHĀṢYA

In the colophons examined above text is ascribed once to the Bhagavat, once to a disciple of the Bhagavat, and once to the Ācārya.   This does not speak much in favour of its having been composed by the Bhagavat.

The beginning of the text bears a striking resemblance to the first sentences of the long introduction to the *Śvetāśvatara-Bhāṣya.*   Now this introduction is certainly spurious—its habit of frequently quoting long passages from the Purāṇa literature being opposed to the practice of all those works that may provisionally be regarded as the Bhāṣyakāra's productions—and it seems to have been prefixed to the genuine Bhāṣya for, after the introductory clause (idam *vivaraṇam alpagrantham* .... *āra-bhyate,* p. 248 of the BI edition), there is a fresh beginning on p. 274 (*brahmavādino vadantītyādi śvetāśvatarāṇāṁ mantropaniṣat, tasyā alpagranthā vṛttir ārabhyate*), which is quite similar in its form to the introductory phrases of Śaṅkara's commentaries on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka, Kāṭhaka, Chāndogya, Muṇḍaka,* and *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣads,* which also start by quoting the first words of the Upaniṣad.   And there is one expression at least, common to the *Sanatsujātīya* and *Śvetāśvatara Bhāṣyas,* which can hardly have been written by Śaṅkara-Bhagavat, viz.   : *svaprayayā svaviṣayayā-vid-yayā svānubhavagamyayā* (BI p. 248; Poona p. 437).   The theories implied by this phrase have been developed by the Bhagavat's contemporaries and successors, not by him.   More-over, the *Sanatsujātīya* frequently specifies the sources of the quotations given in the text, which is very seldom done in Śaṅkara-Bhagavat's presumably genuine works.   Further un-Śaṅkarean expressions might be added to the one quoted above—as for instance a passage on p. 455 (Poona), in the commentary on stanza 21 : *na svataś cidānandā dvitīyasya kāraṇatvam, kiṁtu māyāveśavaśāt*—but the question as to whether Śaṅkara-

Bhagavat can have been the author of the text is definitively decided in the negative when we find a quotation from the Brahmasūtrabhāṣya (*avidyākṛtanāmarūpopādhy-anurodhīśvaro bhavati*, from Sūtrabhāṣya II, 1, 14 ; Nirn. p. 382 1. 8 ; K p. 471 1. 12) introduced by *uktaṁ hi* (Poona p. 447, commentary on stanza 8) and, subsequently, a quotation, probably from one of Sureśvara's Vārttikas, ushered in with the words *uktam hi Sureśvarācāryaiḥ*. It is unconceivable that Śaṅkara should have cited his own disciple, styling him Ācārya.

B.   THE   SARVA (DARŚANA) SIDDHĀNTASAṀGRAHA
(abbreviated : SSS)

This text is not mentioned in the list given above.   In the edition[17] it is des-cribed as *Śaṅkarācārya-viracita* in the colophon to each of its 12 chapters.   The edi-tion is based on 5 mss. and the editor mentions (preface, pp. XIII-XIV) that all of them ascribe the authorship to Śaṅkarācārya.

The editor in his preface seeks to prove that the text must have been composed by Śaṅkara the Bhāṣyakāra.   Two German scholars have further propounded opinions as to the authorship of the text : H. JACOBI[18] emphatically denied the Bhāṣyakāra's authorship whereas B. LIEBICH[19] argued for the probability or at least the possibility of the text's having been composed by the Bhāṣyakāra.   I shall not examine the argu-ments advanced by the two scholars ; neither of them takes the Vedānta chapter of the SSS into account and in either case the reasoning does not seem to be very con clusive.   But I think the question can be settled by a correct interpretation of two or three stanzas which are employed by RAṄGĀCĀRYA to support the thesis of the " genu-ineness " of the work.   The stanzas 20-22 of the 1st chapter read as follows :

> *Bhavaty uttaramīmāṁsā tv aṣṭādhyāyī dvidhā ca sā*
> *Devatājñānakāṇḍābhyāṁ vyāsasūtraṁ dvayos samam* : 20
> *Pūrvādhyāyacatuṣkeṇa mantravācyātra devatā*
> *Saṅkarṣaṇoditā tad dhi devatākāṇḍam ucyate* 21
> *Bhāṣyaṁ caturbhir adhyāyair bhagavatpādanirmitam*
> *Cakre vivaraṇaṁ tasya tad vedāntaṁ pracakṣate* : 22

Professor RAṄGĀCĀRYA was certainly right in rejecting the reading *Saṅkareṇoditā* and in preferring *Saṅkarṣaṇoditā*.   But in interpreting the word *bhagavatpāda* he follows the commentary of Śeṣagovinda, a disciple of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, who curiously explains the word as referring to Śaṅkara's teacher Govinda.   It is true that Govinda is usually styled Bhagavat(pūjya)pāda also, but when we consider that a Brahma-sūtrabhāṣya composed by Śaṅkara's teacher Govinda is entirely unknown[20], whereas we should expect Śaṅkara in his own Bhāṣya to have alluded to the important fact that his teacher had also composed such a Bhāṣya, and when we take into account,

17.   By M. RAṄGĀCĀRYA, Madras 1909.
18.   In : *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1921, coloumn 724.
19.   In : *Zeitschrift für Indoloogie und Iranistik*, 1923, p. 124ff.
20.   A fragment of a *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* by one Govinda is mentioned by AUFRECHT In his *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in the University Library of Leipzig* (Leipzig 1902), but it seems rather improbable that this fragment, which apparently is the production of a Kṛṣṇaite, should have been composed by Śaṅkara's teacher.

on the other hand, that the title of Bhagavatpāda, wherever it occurs in Advaitic literature without a name following or preceding it, refers to Śaṅkara-Bhagavat (see above, —then it comes out that Seṣagovinda's explanation is utterly improbable and that it must be one of those *ad hoc* interpretations that are not seldom met with in commentaries. Seṣagovinda was convinced that the author of the SSS and the great Bhāṣyakāra were identical ; so he tried to explain away the obvious meaning of the word *bhagavatpāda*.

So the fact that the SSS mentions a Brahmasūtrabhāṣya composed by the Bhagavatpāda suffices to make it appear very probable that the text has not been written by Śaṅkara-Bhagavatpāda. But further observations lead to the same conclusion. In the stanzas quoted above our Śaṅkarācārya speaks of an *Uttaramimāṁsā* consisting of e i g h t adhyāyas. This is very strange indeed, for we know only of Brahmasūtras divided into f o u r adhyāyas, and these four adhyāyas have been commented upon by Śaṅkara-Bhagavatpāda. Now if this Śaṅkara-Bhagavatpāda were identical with the author of the SSS, who enunciated the theory of the eight adhyāyas, in his commentary on the second four adhyāyas (the Jñānakāuḍa) he would verly likely have referred to the fact that these constituted only the second part of the system, the first part being the Devatākāṇda, but as far as I know no allusion to this fact is met with in the *Sūtrabhāṣya*.

There are unŚaṅkarean expressions and ideas in the SSS also. In XII. 18 we find the term *vivarta*, and in XII. 54 the compound *saccidānanda* ; it is not very probable that Śaṅkara the Bhāṣyakāra should have used these words.[21] In XII. 77 and 78 the *ekajīvavāda* is contrasted with the view that there are many individual souls. This points to a stage of development which had perhaps not yet been attained by the *Bhāṣyakāra's* time ; at any rate, the juxtaposition of the three theories concerning the *Jīvao* as given in XII. 77-9 is not in harmony with the phraseology of his main work. The *suṣupti* theory as enunciated in XII. 81 also does not tally with the doctrine of the *Sūtrabhāṣya*.

On the other hand, the term *nāmarūpa* is to be expected in an exposition of the Vedānta by the Bhagavatpāda ; it is, however, not met with in the Vedānta chapter of the SSS.

The author of the SSS clearly is a Vaiṣṇava, adoring the Supreme under the form of Kṛṣṇa. This is all the more evident because he betrays his faith in a context which does not in any way necessitate the use of Vaiṣṇava expressions : in VI. 41, at the close of his exposition of the Nyāya system, he exclaims, with reference to the doctrine that final release is mere insensibility : " I choose to be a fox in the beautiful Bṛndāvana in preference to that altogether bliss'ess salvation of soul-deliverance which has been taught by the Vaiṣeṣika ! " [22]—thus alluding to the Kṛṣṇa legend. In I. 21 he says that the Devatākāṇda has been taught by Saṁkarṣaṇa—now it is a Vaiṣṇava belief that it is " Saṁkarṣaṇa's function to proclaim the Śāstra, which means .... that all knowledge comes ultimately from him who, in the beginning, started the great universal system from which all single systems .... have emanated." [23]   The SSS

21. Cp. my paper on the history of the term *vivarta* in the NIA and DEUSSEN, *Das System des Vedānta*, p. 228.

22. RAṄGĀCĀRYA'S translation.

23. O. SCHRADER, *Introduction to the Pāncarātra* (Madras 1916), p. 15.

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proceeds from inferior systems to more valuable ones, and the Vedānta follows all the others, but still after the Vedānta the somewhat enigmatic Hiraṇyagarbhapakṣa is set forth, and at the conclusion of the whole work our Śaṅkarācārya declares that it is Kṛṣṇa who has taught to Uddhava " the path of those who have renounced all worldly attachments " (*avadhūta-mārga*), and that this path can be learnt from the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (XII. 99). Thus the Vaiṣṇava doctrine of deliverance, as proclaimed by Kṛṣṇa and transmitted in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, is the highest wisdom. After these observations we shall not hesitate to interpret the Govinda that is identified with the Paramātman in XII. 54 as Kṛṣṇa also ; at any rate, this would be a much more plausible explanation than that propounded by RANGĀCĀRYA, who thinks that Govinda here is the name of Śaṅkara's teacher (preface, pp. XII-XIII). The learned professor quotes two instances of a spiritual teacher being identified with the Supreme, but both of them are *maṅgala* stanzas, and it is of course quite another thing to identify one's teacher in a *maṅgalācaraṇa* than to do so in a context where nothing necessitates the teacher's name being mentioned.

Photo No. 1–Pillars in the mandapa of the Koppeshvar Temple, Khidrapur

Photo No. 2–Exterior of the mandapa-wall, Koppeshvar Temple, Khidrapur.

Photo No. 3–Exterior (showing portion of the pitha and mandovara) of the mandapa of the Koppeshvar Temple, Khidrapur.

Photo No. 4–The Lakshmi Temple, Methi. W. Khandesh.

Photo No. 5–Exterior of the mandapa and garbhagrha showing mouldings of the pitha and mandovara and the ornate gargoyle, Gondeshvar Temple, Sinnar, Nasik District.
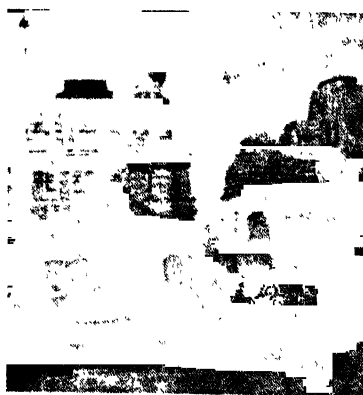
Photo No. 6–Exterior of the main porch of the Gondeshvar Temple and the Temple of Sūrya on the NE of the former, Sinnar, Nasik District.

Photo No. 7 - Exterior of the south-side porch of the Gondeshvar Temple and the tower of the Visnu Temple on the SE of the former, Sinnar, Nasik District

Photo No. 8 - The temple of Ganeśa on the NW of the Gondeshvar Temple, Sinnar, Nasik District.

Photo No 9 - The Temple of Sūrya on the NE of the Gondeshvar Temple, Sinnar, Nasik District.

Photo No. 10 - Exterior of the pitha and mandovara ot the Maheshvar Temple at Patne, E. Khandesh District.

Photo No. 11 - Back-exterior of the vimāna, Maheshvar Temple, Patne, E. Khandesh District
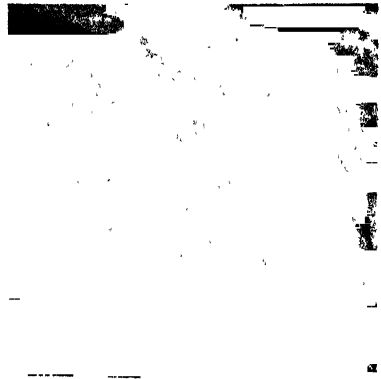
Photo No. 12 - Exterior of the mandapa-wall showing larger images in the 'jangha' portion of the mandovara Mahadev Temple, Jhodga, Nasik District.

Photo No. 13 – Exterior of the 'Vimāna', Mahadev Temple, Jhodga, Nasik District.
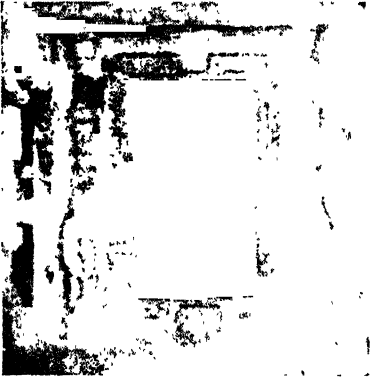
Photo No. 14 – Doorway of the garbhagrha, Narayan (Bhadra-Hari) Temple, Methi, W. Khandesh District.

Photo No. 15 – Ruins of a temple showing a corner-slab of the mandapa-ceiling bearing a 'Kirtinukha', Balsane, W. Khandesh District.
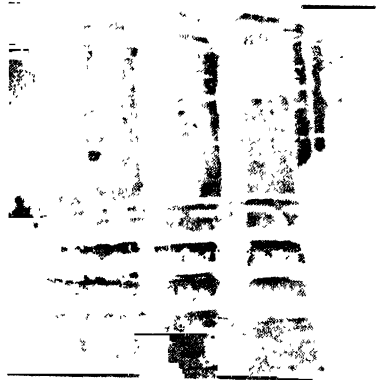
Photo No. 16 Exterior of the pitha and mandovara of the Mudhai Devi (Sūrya) Temple Vaghli, E. Khandesh District.
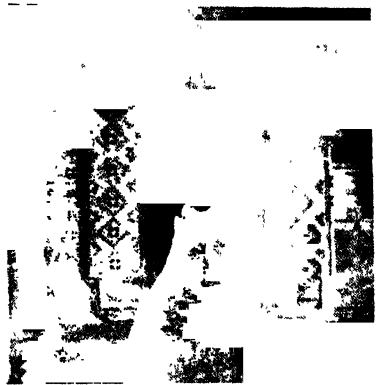
Photo No. 17 – View of the interior showing the perforated screens of the vestibule, Kadamba Devi Temple, Mahuli, Satara District.

Photo No. 18 – A mandapa pillar, Kadamba Devi Temple, Mahuli, Satara District.
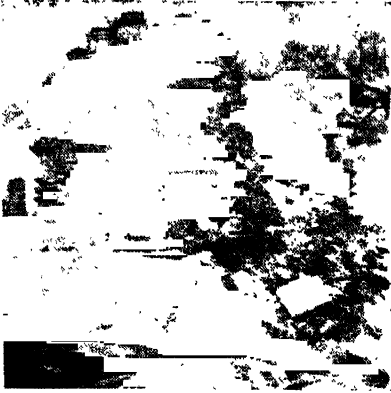
Photo No. 19 – Back-view of the Kadamba Devi Temple, Mahuli, Satara District.

Photo . No 20 - Exterior of the garbhagrha, showing the niche and mouldings, Kadamba Devi Temple, Mahuli, Satara District.
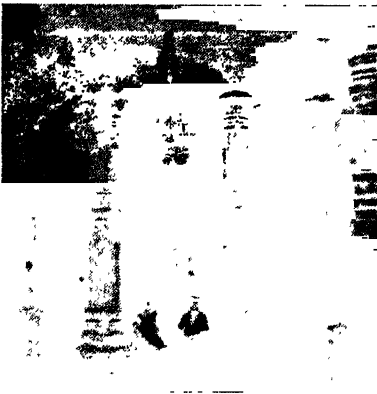
Photo No. 21 - Interior-view of the Narayan Temple, Pur, Purandar, Poona District.
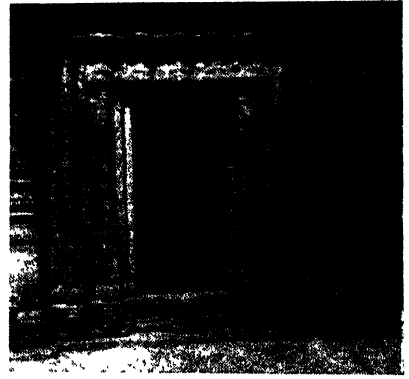
Photo No. 22 – Main doorway, Narayan Temple, Pur, Purandar, Poona District.

Photo No. 23 – Sculptures on the jamb of the main doorway, Narayan Temple, Pur, Purandar, Poona District.

Photo No. 24 – Jamb-sculptures, main doorway, Narayan Temple, Pur, Purandar, Poona District.

Photo No. 25 - Sculptured frames of the main doorway, Narayan Temple, Pur, Purandar, Poona District.

Photo No. 28 - View from south-west of the double-shrine Temple at Ganjibhoyre, Ahmadnagar District.

Photo No. 26- Pillars in the mandapa, Kalleshvar Temple, Manjarde, Satara District.

Photo No. 29 - The Ramling Temple and the niched Step-well forming the forepart of the temple, Gursale, Satara District.

Photo No. 27 - Showing the capital of a pillar in the mandapa of the Kalleshvar Temple, Manjarde, Satara District.

Photo No. 30 - The Ramling Temple and the Step-well, Gursale, Satara District.

Photo No. 31 – Interior of the niched Step-well at Nighoj, Ahmadnagar District.

Photo No. 32 – The Step-well at Manchar, Poona District The niche contains a slab bearing an inscription in the 13th cen. characters.

Photo No. 33-Step-well at Pur, Purandar, Poona District.

Photo No. 34 – A portion of the pillared verandah of the Step-well near the double-shrine Temple, Ganjibhoyre, Ahmadnagar District.

Photo No. 35 – The Step-well at Parner, Ahmednagar District.

Photo No. 36 – Showing a niche in the interior of the tSep-well, Ramling Temple, Gursale, Satara District.

Photo No, 37 – Ruins of the niched
Step-well near the Katareshvar
Temple, Katarkhatav, Satara District

STRUCTURAL ARCHITECTURE OF THE DECCAN*

By

A. V. NAIK

SECTION I — ANCIENT PERIOD

(circa 300 B. C. to 500 A. D.)

Of the existing structural temples, so far known, in the North Deccan, the earliest are those at Ter—one of which appears to have been built in the ancient period. But otherwise the Deccan may be said to be barren of structural monuments of the ancient period. That they were never erected in the period under consideration is perhaps too much to say, but the fact is that besides the temple at Ter, we do not know of any structural monuments in the Deccan that can be ascribed to this period. And the records of the dynasties of this period do not enlighten us much on this point.

The records of the *Traikūtakas* do not refer to any structural monuments, except the stone and brick built *Caitya* (*Stūpa*) at Kanheri which was erected by one Buddha-ruci, an inhabitant of the *Sindhu* country in the 245th year of the *Traikūtaka* era.[1] 456-57 A. D. Their coins and records show that they were devout *Vaiṣṇavas*[2] and one would naturally expect to find them erecting *Viṣṇu* temples. But so far nothing like one has been noticed in *Aparānta* or North Konkan over which they mainly ruled, whereas the *Cutus* whose sway was confined to the southern portion of the Konkan are not known to have erected any monuments there.

It is only in the *Vākātaka* records that we find allusions to structural monu-ments, which, however, are restricted to the inscriptions of the main branch.[3] Several structural monuments have also been discovered which can be attributed to them or to their time.[4] But almost all of them are so situated that we have to stretch the limits of the Deccan on the north and north-east, beyond what may be called the normal extent of the region, to include them in the present survey.

Like those of the *Traikūtaka*s, the *Kataccuri* records contain ·no reference to monuments and even do not ascribe to any of the kings of the dynasty the erection of temples in their eulogistic portions, though they say that Kṛṣṇarāja was solely

1. J. BURGESS and B. INDRAJI, Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India, (*ICTWI*), Bombay, 1881, p. 57.

2. JBBRAS 16. 346, EI 1051 (Pardi Copper-plates) ; JBBRAS 23. 6, EI 11. 219. (Surat Copper-plates) ; *ICTWI; 57* (Kanheri Copper-plate); E. J. RAPSON, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikutaka, Dynasty and *the "Bodhi" Dynasty,* (London, 1908). Pl. CLXIII.

3. *Pro. Tr. Eighth Oriental conference,* (Mysore), 613ff, *CH* 3.234, and EI 17.13, (Deotek, Nachne—ki—Talai and Ganj Inscriptions respectively).

4. *Pro. Tr Eighth Oriental Conference,* (Mysore), 619; CUNNINGHAM, *ASI* 21.97 ff, and Pls. 25-26; *ABIA* 8. No. 156, 9. Nos. 486, and 492, and 482 ; JAYASWAL, *Modern Review* (July, 1933), p. 68.

devoted to *Paśupati* and that his son and grandson Śankaragaṇa and Buddharāja respectively were devout worshippers of *Mahēśvara*,[5] both being forms of *Śiva*.

The earliest definite mention of a structural Brahmanical temple well within the limits of the Deccan is perhaps the one found in the Kasare Copperplates of the *Sendraka* prince Nikumbhallaśakri, dated in the year 404.[6] The temple is mentioned by the name of *Langyeśvāra* for the upkeep of which a village of *Pippalakheta* was granted by that prince to a *Brāhmaṇa*. The temple was very probably situated in the granted village itself and since the find-place of the record lies in the West Khandesh district it is quite possible that *Pippalakheta* itself was situated in that district. However, the record does not give any clue to the identification of the village and so, though there are several villages of the names of Pimpalkhed and Pimpalgaon in that district none can be definitely identified with the *Pippalakheta* of the record. No temple again is known to exist in that district, at present, which can go back to the time of Nikumbhallaśakti.

FLEET's identification of Ter with the ancient *Tagara*[7] was followed by COUSENS' discovery of the Buddhist and Brahmanical temples at that place. COUSENS also discovered several extensive mounds on the banks of the river Terna which flows by Ter, all covered with potsherds, brickbats and prickly pear, undoubtedly showing the extent of previous occupation by their size and the amount of brick and pottery debris. Inspite of COUSENS' discovery of a number of monuments at Ter,[8] unfortunately, it has never been systematically explored and excavated.

§ 1 — THE TEMPLES AT TER

The chief interest of the Ter antiquities lies in the brick-built *Caitya* or the Buddhist Temple[9] which is the earliest structural monument in the Deccan. It stands in a small crowded courtyard in the middle of the village, being shut off from it by a high wall all round. It was converted, with some additions, into a Hindu temple at a subsequent date and is still used as such, under the name of the temple of Trivikrama. However, the original structure remains quite intact and presents a complete Buddhist *Caitya*-temple. It faces the east.

The temple, as it stands, comprises a shrine and a low, flat–roofed, closed *maṇḍapa* ; the latter not forming part of the original Buddhist design. The shrine representing the original *Caitya*, is "a long chamber 26 feet long by 12 feet broad inside with apsidal end and wagon-vaulted ridge-roof." The shrine-walls are 3½ feet thick and are constructed, together with the roof, of "the very best brickwork, laid in mud-cement with exceedingly fine joints, the bricks measuring 17″ × 9″ × 3″. Within the *Caitya* are no pillars, its small size not requiring them. The arched roof above, which rises to a height of about 30 feet, is constructed of horizontal courses of brick masonry, each having a slight offset inwards as it rises to the ridge. The principle of true arching with radiating bricks is quite absent in the construction, the interior

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5. *EI* 9.29, 12. 30, 6.294 (Abhone, Vaner and Saraswanai Copper-plates respectively).

6. *BISMQ* 20.66 (*SMHD* 3. No. 34).

7. *JRAS* (July, 2901), 537 ff.

8. *ASLAR* 1902-3. 195-204.

9. Ibid, Pl. XXXIX.

thus following the curve of the exterior there being no intermediate or false ceiling within.

The original object of worship was undoubtedly a *Stūpa* the position of which is now occupied by the image of *Trivikrama*. Portions of the original *Stūpa* were found lying about.

The upper portion of the facade of the shrine or *Caitya* rises above the roof of the *maṇḍapa* and is an imitation of the true Buddhist *Caitya*-arch as is found in the caves. It is almost a rough counterpart of that of the Vishvakarma Cave at Elura. Says Cousens " the wooden arch frame is reproduced most literally, and the wooden construction of the earlier *Caityas* is, moreover, repeated most markedly where the ends of the longitudinal beams project and rest upon the tops of the two pilasters. The whole facade, with its inner arching, cross-beams, pilasters, and toothed ornament, is practically the same design, in the rough, as that of the Vishvakarma cave at Elura. " The niche in the centre of the arch, which now holds an image of *Hanumān*, was as Cousens thinks, undoubtedly originally a plain square opening, like that in the facade of the Vishvakarma, to lighten the interior, especially the *Stūpa*.

The exterior is decorated with heavy roll-mouldings, analogous to what Cunning-ham called " Gupta mouldings "[10] around the base of the walls and the eaves with slender pilasters between them and at intervals.[11] The whole of the exterior is coated with plaster which Cousens thinks to be original.

The *maṇḍapa* is a rectangular hall about 23 feet deep by 21 feet wide, and has doorways on the east and north side only, the present frames being substitutes for the earlier ones removed at some later period. The south wall is intact and had never had a doorway. Four wooden pillars divide the hall-space into a square bay and surrounding aisle and have corresponding pilasters on the walls, all supporting the wooden beams and joints of the roof. The ceiling is very much like those of the ordinary later temples. Its central space is of flat boards, set diagonally in the square enclosed by the four beams over the pillars, forming two other squares, one within the other. Thd centre has a very prettily carved wooden boss or rosette, about 2 feet in diameter.[12] Over the beams is brick and plaster.

Several reasons led Cousens to think that the *maṇḍapa* is a later addition: (1) the walls are not so well laid as those of the *Caitya*, (2) the bricks are not uniformly larger, a smaller size being mixed with the larger, (3) the present wooden door-frame of the shrine is small for the larger Hindu images which have been placed inside and therefore must have been inserted after the images were taken in through the original larger aperture, the outlines of which are still visible in the plaster around the smaller frame, (4) the pillars of the *maṇḍapa* are not quite in keeping with the more archaic aspect of the shrine, but are of a more advanced style which, as Cousens says seem to be immediate precursors of the stone-pillars of the *Calukyan* work. They have turned capitals, narrow mouldings and constricted necks. Iron-bands have been fixed round the necks of the capitals and the edge of the *abaci* of square tiles surmounting them, (5) there is no stone in the construction of the shrine or *Caitya*, whereas four rough-hewn channelled black stones serving as gargoyles

10. *ASI* 9. 32.

11. *ASI, AR* 1902-3. Pl. XXIX.

12. Ibid.

have been employed in the *maṇḍapa* above the eaves and leading off the flat-roof, (6) the roll mouldings around the eave of the *maṇḍapa* are not carried round on the same level and in continuity with those of the shrine but slightly lower, (7) the walls of the *maṇḍapa* appear to have been built against and not into, those of the shrine.

§ 2—DATE

Judged by the generally accepted test of antiquity—woodenness the *Caitya* strikes at once as a very early structure. As pointed out by COUSENS, the vaulted roof recalls to the mind the bamboo and thatched roof while the series of thin shallow pilasters along the wall-exterior represent the original wooden pillars supporting the framework of the roof. The heavy, overhanging, lower edge of the roof reminds one much of the lower, thick, trimmed edge of a thatch. The facade is almost a refined copy, even to the little square opening, of that of a grass Toda hut.[13]

With this *Caitya* might be compared the the structural brick *Caitya* at Chezarla[14] and the Sahadeva's Rath[15] at Mahabalipuram, both in the Madras Presidency. The former is almost identical with the Ter *Caitya* in size and design and has also been appropriated for Hindu—*Saiva* in this case—religious purposes at a later date with the addition of a *maṇḍapa* at the east or front end of it. The bricks are exactly of the same size as that of the Ter bricks being $17'' \times 9'' \times 3''$. However, it differs from the Ter example in not having the pilasters along the wall-exterior, both of the *Caitya* and the *maṇḍapa*. The latter—the Sahadeva's Rath—is a much later work of the seventh century and though it has an apsidal end and a wagon-vaulted roof, it differs much from the Ter and Chezarla examples in having a decorated exterior and storeyed additions below the roof. Moreover it suffers from the lack of interior in the real sense of the term. The simplicity of the Ter *Caitya* with its absence of all decoration, and more archaic and primitive appearance point to a very early period. The stone fragments, which COUSENS thinks are the remains of the *Stūpa*, bear ornaments analogous to those found at other early Buddhist sites. The lotus ornament upon some of these is very similar to what is found upon the Sanchi *Stūpa* and that which stood at Amaravati.[16] The fragments of what was a decorative band passing round the drum of the *Stūpa* have *Caitya* windows with little Buddhist railings or *vedikā* before them and a railing on a larger scale runs along below these.[17] Between these are panels of basket-work in convex rolls as is noticed on the face of the Kondane *Caitya*.[18] These affinities with the earlier Buddhist monuments strongly support COUSENS' estimate of the age of the Ter *Caitya*, which places it not later than the 4th century. He even thinks that it is possibly very much older. And the *maṇḍapa* which is decorated with pilasters and mouldings, almost identical with those of the shrine, cannot be as COUSENS has said, so very far removed in point of time from the building of the *Caitya*.

13, *Cf. Glimpses of India*, P. 441.

14. *Progress Report., Madras Archaeological Survey for* Dec. 1888—*Jon.* 1889, P. 12.

15. O. BRUHL, *Indian Temples*, (*IT*), No. 99. (Oxford University Press, 1937)

16. H. COUSENS, *The Architectural Antiquities of Western India*, (*AAWI*), P. 12 (London, 1926).

17. *ASI, AR* 1902-3. Pl. XXIX.

18. *ASI. AR* (Imperial Series) 4. Frontispiece.

§ 3—THE BRAHMANICAL TEMPLES AT TER

There are two old brick temples at Ter which were originally dedicated to Brahmanical worship. Of these that known as the shrine of Uttareshvar[19] is situated in a small courtyard in the midst of the town, while the other known by the name of Kaleshvar[20] is upon the high bank, on the other side of the river Terna and to the north of the town. Both have suffered much at the hand of time and what remains of these at present has been closed and damaged by later repairs, alterations and additions.

Built in moulded or carved brick they are completely free from stone in their construction. The beams and door-frames here are all in wood, but are now crumbling to dust. The bricks used in their construction are of a slightly smaller size than of the *Caitya* bricks, and measure 16" × 9" × 2¼". The towers are built in the ' *Dravidian* ' style and rise in horizontal storeys, with heavy overhanging roll-moulding and boldly fashioned *Caitya*-arch ornamentations.

§ 3—TEMPLE OF UTTARESHVAR

The temple of Uttareshvar seems to have originally consisted of a *garbhagrha* and a porch before it, though at a later date a stone *mandapa* appears to have been added to it. It is a small edifice, very much dilapidated. The shrine at present contains a small *linga* which is evidently a later addition. The temple faces the east.

The tower has fallen on the south-east corner and its walls have collapsed. The upper portions have been clumsily rebuilt at a later date. Through the gap in the tower the method of its construction can be seen. From the level of the flat wooden ceiling of the shrine the walls slope inwards to form the spire by corbelling forward the horizontal layers of bricks until they meet, as was noticed in the *Caitya*. The brick-work has been beautifully moulded *makaras* with flowing arabesque tails being sharply and crisply worked. The walls, on the exterior, have been decorated with upright pilasters at intervals, between which were ornamental niches, the tops of which are formed by *makaras* supporting foliated arches.

The chief interest of the temple lies in the caved wooden door-frame of the shrine,[21] which in the opinion of COUSENS is a gem of the wood-carver's art. Across the top and above the deep, overhanging cornice is a grand band of small figures which are carved out in full relief. These represent Brahmanical deities and their attendants. Beneath this is a deeply projecting, quarter-round, roll-cornice, decorated along its front, at intervals, with boldly cut little *Caitya*-arch-ornaments, four in all. Under this is a band of geese with a central lotus. Upon the dedicatory block, below the cornice is a seated image with pendent ears and only two hands the palms of which are laid one upon another in the lap. The outer moulding of the door-posts is a running scroll, next a succession of griffins rampant, then pairs of human figures; after this comes the main pilaster, aud finally an inner hand of the usual lozenge-shaped ornament. There were also figures at the bottom of the door-frame but they are now destroyed.

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19. *ASI, AR* 1902-3. 201-203
20. Ibid, 203.
21. Ibid, PL. XXX.

§ 5—THE TEMPLE OF KALESVAR

The temple of Kalesvar is practically useless for our purpose, since what remains of it—the shrine—has been completely closed by later repairs. The only thing is that its ' Dravidian tower is complete, its crowing member being very similar to that of the Kailas at Elura. Within the shrine is a *linga*, but upon the dedicatory block over the shrine-doorway is *Garuḍa*, as well as over the outer doorway of the courtyard. But COUSENS is inclined to regard them as additions of a much later date.

§ 6—DEDICATION

It is very difficult to decide the original dedication of these shrines. The cult images, which are *lingas* in both of them, have been stamped as later additions, as well as the images of *Garuḍa* on the door-lintels of the temple of Kaleshvar. That on the shrine-door-lintel of Uttaresvar is curiously like the usual *Jina* upon Jain temples, and were the upper band of sculptures absent, one would have unhesitatingly ascribed the temple to the Jain faith. The sculptures in the upper band, referred to above, definitely represent Brahmanical deities and the question of the original dedication of the temple mainly rests on their correct identification. The three principal images in the band occupy the same position over the doorway, where, in later temples, we usually find *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Siva*. The central figure here is three-faced and six-handed, but very much mutilated and corroded. The *āyudhas* are rather indistinct. COUSENS thought that it represented a *Trimūrti*, composed of *Śiva*, *Sūryā*, and *Viṣṇu* or *Brahmā*. The figures flanking it are, he thinks, representations of *Brahmā* on the right and *Śiva* on the left, and since, according to him, in the present arrangement *Brahmā* and *Śiva* are relegated to the flanks, the temple was dedicated to *Viṣṇu* or *Sūrya*. But COUSENS is wrong here. Closer examination of the image shows that it represents *Maheśvara* and that the temple was originally dedicated to him. The *Jina*-like image on the lintel might be *Śiva Yogiśvara*.

As to the other temple, COUSENS may be wrong in considering the images of *Garuḍa* on the door-lintels as of a much later date, and if they are coeval with the temple, then it is quite possible that the temple was dedicated to the wroship of some form of *Viṣṇu*

§ 7—DATE

Judging by the material with which they are built, the temples appear to be very old. The size of the bricks indicates a somewhat later period than that of the Buddhist *Caitya*. The decoration on the temples is in the same style as that of the early *Cālukya* temples at Kukkanur and pattadkal and the Kailas at Elura, but the Ter temples present a more venerable appearance than those. The shrine doorway of the Uttareshvar is of much the same pattern as the old decorated stone *Cālukyan* doorways; however, the details here are bolder and freer in treatment. The brick-temples at Shirpur, in the Central Provinces, of the seventh and eighth centuries, have stone-doors, beams and ceilings while the Ter temples have these in wood. Taking all this into consideration COUSENS opined that the Ter temples may not be later than the seventh or eighth centuries, but perhaps older. The size of

the bricks and the exterior decoration of the Uttareshvar indicate their nearness, in point of time, to the Buddhist *Caitya* and we may not be far from right in placing these temples in the latter half of the sixth century.

It is difficult to know who the builders of the Ter Temples were. To guess from the evidence of political history the *Caitya* seems to have been erected under the patronage of the *Vākāṭakas* of *Vatsagulma*. Their sway extended over the north-west part of the Hyderabad State and it may have stretched a little southwards, though there is nothing in the epigraphic evidence to indicate that.

As to the Brahmanical temples, their affinities with the early *Cālukya* temples do not help us in ascertaining their authorship. Moreover, it is improbable that the *Cālukya* sway extended towards north-east so much as to include Ter in the sixth century. On the other hand the *Kaṭaccuris* are known to have held the north-west parts of the Hyderabad State till about 610 A.D.[22] Not only that, but they were the only northern neighbours of the *Cālukyas*. It is quite possible, then, that Ter was in the possession of the *Kaṭaccuris* in the 6th century and that the Brahmanical brick-temples there were erected by them or during their rule. From their records we know that Śaṅkaragaṇa and Buddharāja were devout worshippers of *Maheśvara.*

SECTION II

EARLY MEDIAEVAL PERIOD

(circa 500-1000 A. D.)

The early half of the mediaeval period presents a similar dearth of structural monuments in the Deccan ; so much so as to give rise to the belief that structural architecture begins from the 11th century in the Deccan. And the belief is quite true so far as the central bulk of the Deccan is concerned. Excepting the Brahmanical temples at Ter described above, no structural monument has come to light which can be said to belong to the early mediaeval period. As said above, the Brahmanical temples at Ter appear to have been erected by the *Kataccuris*, but we have no evidence, except circumstantial, to support such an assumption. If that assumption is correct, then the *Kataccuris* must have built those temples sometime during the second half of the 6th century. It may also be pointed out here that since the different families of the *Silāhāras* claim to have been the lords of *Tagarapura*,[1] it is possible that their ancestors in the early mediaeval period were ruling over a small principality around Ter and that the temples there were constructed by them.

There is nothing in the records of the Badami *Cālkyas*. to suggest that they ever built temples in the Deccan[2] whereas their successors the *Rastrakutas* busied themselves more in cave-cutting than in temple building. A few of their records refer to structural temples in the Deccan[3] but they are not known to exist to-day. In the present state of our knowledge of the monuments in the Deccan we possess nothing in the structural line that can definitely ascribed to their authorship. During the reigns of Amoghavarṣa I and his son and successor Krṣṇa II several temples were built. But they are all within the limits of Karnatak.[4] Most of them are Jain temples, later on so very changed by repairs and and additions, that they are practically of no help in understanding the style of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* structural temples, if at all they had any, different from the prevailing style in the localities concerned. Except these it appears, little was done both in the Deccan and Karnatak in the way of temple building, what was done being, most probably, repairs rather than original work.

The structural temples of the *Cālukyas* of Badami, like their cave-temples are situated beyond but very near the southern confines of the Deccan, most of them in the vicinity of their metropolis: at Badami, Aihole and Pattadkal.[5] A close examination of these temples reveals the striking fact that they show precisely the same stages of dévelopment as are presented by the Brahmanical cave-temples in the Deccan. The most complete form of cave-temple appropriate for Brahmanical ritualistic purposes was reached in the Deccan in the 8th century while, as will be shown below, in the case of *Cālukya* structural architecture it was obtained in the 7th. And

1. A. S. ALTEKAR, Th Silāhāras of Western India, *IC* 2 393.
2. See Appendix.
3. Ibid, No. 28
4. Ibid, Nos. 32–40
5. See Map

it is quite natural since the movement in the latter started about a century earlier than in the former.   Thus in the process of development every stage in the *Calukya* structural architecture precedes, in point of time, the corresponding stage in the Brahmanical cave-architecture in the Deccan.   And when we take into account the historical fact that both the Deccan and Karnatak were under the same political power of the *Calukyas* during the early half of the period under discussion, it appears that the two movements were only two different manifestations of one great effort namely, that of finding out a suitable temple-formula for Brahmanical worship.   The co-ordinated process seems to have been like this : that experiments were first carried on in the structural method near the capital and then imitated in rock on greater scale in the Deccan.   In the light of this a survey of the *Calukya* temples is necessary here inspite of the fact that they do not fall within the geographic scope of the present study.   However, the following account of those temples is limited only to those features which are pertinent to the point in view, namely to elucidate the remarks made above.

The principal stages of development traced in the *Calukya* Temples may be stated as follows :   (1) the most primitive arrangement in which the shrine is contained within the main body or hall of the temple, being placed against the back-wall,   (2) though in the hall, the shrine is taken a little forward from the back wall so that a passage or ' *pradaksiṇā-mārga* ' is formed around it and afterwards   (3) showing an advance upon the last, the shrine becomes a separate part in continuation of the hall and sometimes divided from it by an intermediate passage or vestibule.   Externally the temples in the first stage are characterised by an absence of any indication as regards the position of the shrine from outside, their roofs being flat or slightly sloping.   But afterwards a tower was added over the shrine which in the last stage combined with the shrine to form the ' *vimāna.* '

The earliest *Calukya* temple is, like the earliest Brahmanical cave temple, to be found at Aihole, a little to the north-east of Badami namely, the temple of **Lad Khan** in the middle of the village.

§ 8—THE TEMPLE OF LĀD KHAN, AIHOLE, (C. 480-500 A. D.)

Probably no other structural temple is so much cave-like in character as the Lad Khan's,[6]   The plan,[6a] too, is representative of the most primitive stage, the shrine being built within the hall and against the back-wall.   The hall is a perfect square and measure 47' each side in the interior.   It is closed on three sides by massive walls about 3' thick and from its eastern end, which is left open, projects an open pillared porch.   The walls are composed of posts at intervals, those of the side ones being joined by perforated stone grilles.[7]   The interior of the hall resembles a pillared pavillion, where 16 pillars are arranged in two squares, one within the other effecting a double aisle all round.   The pillars have no bases, being shafts of heavy square blocks with roll-bracket-capitals and are remarkably massive.[8]   Between the

6. H. COUSENS, *Chalukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts*, Archaeological Survey of Imperial Series, Vol. XIII, 1926, (*CA*), *pp.* 32-34.

6a. Ibid., Pl. VI.

7. Ibid., Pls. V and VII.

8. Ibid, Pl, VIII

pillars of the portico is a low parapet-wall having a seat with sloping back-rest running round on the inside.[9]   The exterior of this wall is panelled and decorated.

The temple is flat-roofed, there is no indication whatsoever of any intention to build a tower.   A small square shrine facing east is built over the central bay of the hall-ceiling and roof.   Its roof again is covered with flat slabs.   But this shrine seems to have been a later addition[10]

The temple is generally a plain structure.   The decorative details are very few and are mostly confined to the latticed part of the walls.   They are ' vigorous and expressive ', ' chaste and effective' and are not so crowded and meaningless as in many later buildings.   Of these the most interesting is the " *fish* " design in the circular windows in square frames of the back and front walls.   The fishes radiate from the centre of the circle, forming as it were, the spokes of a wheel.[11]

It is, however, the porch that has received more aesthetic consideration than the main part.   The pillars have life-sized images upon them in bold relief.[12]   The pillars at the extremities of the facade have representations of the river-goddesses, *Yamunā* on the south and *Gaṅgā* on the north.   The panelled exterior of the parapet-wall is decorated with waterpots and a complicated " *knotted* " design.[13]   In the centre of the ceiling is a small *Nāga* figure with his tail rolled twice around him. There are indications of the main temple being originally dedicated to *Vaisṇava*[10] worship, though at present the shrine and *maṇdapa* are occupied by a *linga* and *Nandi* respectively.   But these are evidently later additions.

COUSENS has sufficiently brought out the cave-like character of this temple. The most characteristic features indicating it may be stated as follows : (1) the pillars are unnecessarily heavy and are more suited to support the heavy rock-roof in a cave than the lighter one of a structural temple. The roll-brackets are thoroughly cave-like in character,   (2) the flat-roof and its want of elevation are another cave like characteristics,   (3) in the construction of the roof are used stone-ribs suggesting wooden origin while the heavy overhanging eaves, which show ribs underneath, are suggestive of thatch derivation.[15]   The stone screens containing lattice-windows are analogus to wooden framing ;[16] thus the wooden forms from which cave-architecture sprang, are apparent throughout.

The cave-like character and the most primitive appearance of this temple surely point to a very early period.   The pillars are simpler and of more dignified style than those of Cave No. 3 at Badami, the architecture of which is a distinct advance upon this in general style.[17]   COUSENS opined that this temple must be placed at an earlier date than of Meguti[18] (634. A. D.)   And taking its architectural relation

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9.   Ibid., Pl. VII

10.   Ibid., Pl. V.

11.   Ibid., Pl, VII.

12.   Ibid , Pl. VII ; P. BROWN, *Indian Architecture*, Volume I, Buddhist and Hindu Periods, Bombay, 1943, (*Ind. Arch.*), Pl. *XXXVII.*

13.   COUSENS, *CA.*, Pl. VII.

14.   Ibid., 34.

15.   BROWN, *Ind. Arch.*, 1. 61.

16.   COUSENS, *AAWI.*, 17

17.   COUSENS, *CA.*, 33.

18.   Ibid.

with the Badami Caves, the date would seem to be at least by a century and a half earlier than that of Meguti. It is, therefore, to be ascribed to the close of the 5th century A.D.[19]

In view of this early date of the temple its affinities with the cave-temples in the Deccan are strikingly suggestive of a closer connection, explaining the occurrence of many architectural and decorative features that we meet with in the latter. The arrangement of the hall-pillars in two squares, one within the other, is noticed in the *Mahāyāna Vihāra* Cave No. 6[20] at Ajanta., which belongs to the latter half of the 5th century but which is slightly earlier than the present temple. This particular arrangement of pillars seems to have been introduced for the first time at Ajanta and in cave-architecture of the Deccan in general at that period. But it was immediately abandoned there as it was unnecessarily complex and confused while here, in the case of *Cālukya* structural architecture, we find it repeated in some of the subsequent examples. The plan of the temple is more akin to the *Mahāyāna Vihāras* of the 5th century in the Deccen than to the Brahmanical cave-temples there, the earliest of which is later by about half a century than this. Of course, the cells around the sides of the hall were dispensed with as being unnecessary for the Brāhmanical ritualistic worship.

Another important feature is the ''cushion''-capital. In the Deccan it appears for the first time at Ajanta in the *Mahāyāna* caves Nos. 19 and 26[21] which belong to the latter half of the 6th century while it is traced here above the slightly taper-ing shafts of the pilasters placed at each of the exterior angles of the building.[22] However, the ''cushion'' capital assumes prominence at Badami[23] where it becomes one of the most characteristic features of the Cave-temples. The Ajanta capitals show a more advanced form of the '' *cushion* '' where it is compressed to surmount the vertically fluted, circular portion of the shaft. Further elaborations of the '' *cushion* '' form are to be found in the Buddhist and Brahmanical caves at Elura[24] and at Elephanta, Jogeshvari etc., in the Deccan.[25]

The '' *water-pot* '' ornament and the images of river—goddesses—*Yamunā* and *Ganga*—which are seen here on the facade of the porch, are found repeatedly used in the Brahmanical cave-temples of the Deccan and especially at Elura where they occupy more prominent positions.[26]

There are three other temples at Aihole of the same type as that of Lad Khan and belonging to the same early period but ranking slightly after the Lad Khan, An examination of the plans of these shows quite clearly that the type most suitable to Brahmanical ritual had not yet been reached and that the early architects were

19. BROWN, *Ind. Arch.,* 1. 60, ascribes it to the 5th century A. D.

20. J. FERGUSSON and J. BURGESS, *Cave Temples of India,* (*CTI*), Pl. XXXII (London, 1880).

21. BRUHL, *IT.,* Nos. 28 and 32, J. FERGUSSON and J. BURGES *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture,* (*HIEA*), (Two Volumes, London, 1910), 1. Woodcut No. 74.

22. COUSENS, *CA.,* Pl. .V.

23. *ASWI* 1. Pls. XXXV, XXIX XXX, XVIII, BROWN, *Ind. Arch..* 1. Pl. XL (fig. 1).

24. *ASWI* 5. Pls. XXXIII (Fgs. 1-3), XXXIX (figs.1-2), XXXVI! (figs. 1, 3-4) : J. FERGUSSON, *Illustrations of the Rock-cut Temples of India.* Text Volume, Pl. 9 (1845).

25. BRUHL, IT., No. 93; H. SASTRI. *A Guide to Elephanta,* (*GE*), Pl. VI.

26. *CTI.,* Pl XLIX (figs. 1-2, and Woodcut No. 42; *HIEA.,* 1. Woodcut No. 111.

in the experimental stage.   Of these the Kont Gudi temple presents also a massive
square structure, except for the pillars, in which the shrine is placed—as at Lad Khan's—
under the sloping roof,   The few courses of a spire upon the flat central portion of
the roof and the *astadikpāla*-ceiling under it are, in the opinion of COUSENS,[27] later
additions.   The pillars,[28] which are of one pattern, are a distinct advance on the
Lad Khan but not so far as those in Cave No. 3 at Badami.   As in the Lad Khan,
they are without bases and are square all the way up, supporting a round squat
"*cushion*"-capital below the brackets.   they lack the graceful proportions of those
in the Badami Caves, but their ornamentation has a firmer and much more certain
touch than that of Lad Khan.   Of the remaining two examples,[29] the one by the
side of the kont Gudi is remarkable for the ceiling sculptures which are not inter-
polations while the other known as the Sarang Gudi presents the most elaborate
doorway in those of the whole group.   Though of the same early type as the two
preceding examplés these offer some individual peculiarities suggestive of initial efforts
which deserve to be noted here.   The former is more like a long open verandah
with three rows of pillars across the depth, a plan, as pointed out by COUSENS,[30]
remarkably like the early Muhammadan mosque.   The latter shows an attempt to
separate the verandah from the rest of the building by erecting a cross-wall along
from end to end against the middle row of pillars leaving a doorway in the middle
opposite the shrine, thus effecting a porch and a closed hall.   The central bays of
the ceiling of the former bear representations of *Śiva* in the centre and *Brahmā* and
Śesaśāyin Visnu on the south and north of him respectively,[31]   The elaborate door-
way of the latter shares some characteristics with one of those in the Kailas at Elura.[32]

§ 9—TEMPLE OF HUCHIMALLI GUDI, AIHOLE. (C. 500-525 A.D.)

The temple of Huchimalli Gudi,[33] situated in the fields a short distance to
the north of the town of Aihole, illustrates best the second stage in the development
of the *Cālukya* structural temple.   Here, though still contained within the main body
or hall of the temple, the shrine is isolated by means of a ' *pradaksinā-mārga* ' form-
ed by taking the former a little forward from the back-wall."[34]   It has a more ancient
appearance on account of its heavier cyclopean masonry and general style, than the
temples of Durga and Meguti at the same place.[35]   Externally, the position of the
shrine is marked by a spire in the *Northern* style,[36] which is strikingly similar to
that of the temple of Parashurameshvar at Bhuvaneshvar in Orissa,[37] though here
the spire is simpler and heavier looking.   Internally, the temple is severely plain
except for the shrine-doorway which, as pointed by COUSENS,[38] follows the
style of some of the cave-doorways.   A remarkable thing in the interior is the ab-
sence of pilasters in the walls opposite the pillars,[39] as found in the later temples.
Like the Lad Khan, the porch in front of the entrance doorway is elaborately carved.

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27. *CA.*, 35.
28. Ibid, Fig. 7.
29. Ibid., 36-37.
30. Ibid. 36
31. Ibid., Fig. 8.
32. Ibid., Pl. 8.
33. Ibid, 40-41.
34. Ibid, Pl. XIII.
35. Ibid., Pl. XII.
3C. Ibid.
37. *HIEA.*, 2. 96, Woodcut No. 312.
38. *CA.*, 41-
39. *AAWI.*, 20.

It stands on four disengaged pillars and on either side of it, between two pillars, is a low seat with its outer back forming a parapet which is decorated in the same manner as that of the porch of Lad Khan. The ceiling has a representation of *Karttikeya,* implying with other indications, that the temple was originally dedicated to the worship of Siva. COUENS[40] considers the temple as a contemporary of the Cave No. 3 at Badami but the style and manner of execution of the sculpture points to a somewhat early date. It may, therefore, be safely ascribed to the first quarter of the 6th century.

At Aihole, the third stage in the development seems to have rapidly followed, though temples illustrative of the second continued to be built—even after the type of the third had evolved,—as late as 634 A.D. The Temple No. 9 at Aihole, which represents the third, cannot be much later than the Huchchimalli Gudi, just described, and may even have been coeval with it. At Badami, examples of the second stage appeared first in the last decades of the 6th century, which were also immediately followed by those of the third, carrying the process of evolution to its completion by the end of the 7th century. The process took rather a strange course at Pattadkal where the temples show two types, almost contemporary, showing, one an independent development of the type of the second stage as it had evolved at the two former places, while the other represents a blend of the second and third stages, rather than the third stage itself.

Architectural activity began later at Pattadkal in the beginning of the 8th century. But here the progress was astonishingly rapid. The most magnificent temples of the *Cālukyas* were set up here in the first half of the 8th century which were destined to affect radically the cave-architecture of the Deccan.

§ 10 —Temple No. 9, Aihole, (c. 525—550 a d.)

Temple No. 9 at Aihole[41] partakes of the general characteristics of the Huchchimalli Gudi and shows the same heavy, massive style.[42] But its shrine is a separate compartment from the hall, marking an advance upon the others described above.[43] The exterior walls are very similar to those of the Huchchimalli Gudi showing the same mouldings and the same plain surface between the plinth and the cornice.[44] The roof is surmounted by a tower of the *Northern* type[45] which, however, follows the older curve of the Bhuvaneshvar temple, differing in this respect from the Huchchimalli Gudi which has the spire in considerably straighter outline. Another dissimilar feature is the image-niches round the exterior of the shrine walls,[46] one on each face, indicating an architectural and iconographical advance over the earlier examples. The entrance porch at the eastern end is supported upon four massive pillars, two at the back being placed against the front wall and touching it.[47] This is a different arrangement from those of the porches of the Lad Khan and the Huchchimalli Gudi where they stand away from the walls. Thus, though still on separate pillars, the porch here is an approach to those of the later temples which are supported on pilasters at the back, built into the walls of the temple.

40. Ibid., 19.
41. *C.A.,* 41-44.
42. Ibid., Pls. XIV and XV.
43. Ibid., Pl. XIII.

44. Ibid., Pls. XIV, and XV.
45. Ibid, Pls. XIV, XV and XVI,
46 Ibid., Pl. XIV,
47. Ibid., Pl. XIII.

The hall contains a good deal of sculpture[48] consisting of dwarf-figures and arabesque together with the *avatāras* of *Visṇu* and the *aṣṭadikpālas*. The pillars in the hall—which with the adjacent pilasters divide the hall longitudinally into a central nave and two side aisles[19]—are much plainer than those of the Lad Khan and more like those in the temple beside the Kont Gudi,[50] except the ornamentation. As in the preceding examples the central roof here is raised by a deep, sculptured entablature, considerably above the lower sloping roof of the sides, the method of roofing being worthy of notice.[51]

Images of *Siva* and *Pārvati*, *Seṣasāyin* and *Brahmā* are to be found on the slabs that once spanned the architraves of the hall while upon the dedicatory block of the shrine door-way is Garuda. The ceiling of the porch has a group representing the *tāṇḍava* of *Śiva*.[52] The temple was originally dedicated to the worship of *Visṇu*.[53] and may be, in view of its similarities with the earlier temples and its style, placed in the second quarter of the 6th century, slightly after the Huchchimalli Gudi.

§ 11—THE TEMPLE OF DURGA, AIHOLE, (C. 557—600 A.D.)

Here we have to revert to the second stage to which belong the temples described below, though chronologically they follow the Temple No. 9. Of these, the earlier is the Temple of Durga[54] at Aihole which is most unique in that it represents a Brahmanical version of a Buddhist *Caitya*, partaking many of the characteristics of an excavated one. It is an apsidal-ended structure with a tower in the northern style,[55] but still preserving the idea of an isolated shrine in the body of the temple. Its plan[56] is practically the same as the Buddhist cave *Caityas*, the shrine occupying the places where the *stūpa* would be. Like the cave *Caityas*, the body of the hall, here, is separated by two rows of columns into a central nave and two side aisles. COUSENS,[57] has pointed out the striking similarity between this temple and the *Caitya* No. 19 at Ajanta, which is only slightly earlier than this. Surrounding the temple, outside, is a passage formed by the colonnade of a verandah which broadens out in front to form an open pillared porch.

The pillars[58] are very simple in their general outline and are only square blocks without bases, surmounted by very plain bracket-capitals. They are less massive and less heavy than those of the Lad Khan. Those in the porch have pairs of human figures in full relief, enriched in some cases with bands and medallions of arabesque.

The entablature, which is built 4' deep over the columns on either side in order to raise the height of the central nave, is strongly reminiscent of the same in the cave-*Caityas* such as that in the Cave No. 26 at Ajanta while the rock-wall periphery of the cave corresponds to the outer pillared periphery of the temple ; and the walls of the temples are just the columns of the cave all linked up. In stone-construction it was difficult to imitate the vaulted roof of the *Caitya* as it was done in the brick

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48. Ibid., 43.
49. Ibid., 42. Fig. 10.
50. Ibid., 36.
51. Ibid., 44.
52. Ibid., 42-43.
58. Ibid., Fig. 9, and Pls. IX and X.

53. Ibid.,
54. Ibid., 38-40.
55. Ibid., Pl. IX.
56. Ibid., Pl. XI.
57. Ibid., 38.

Caitya at Ter, so the nearest approach to it was made by making the central roof lofty and that of the side aisles sloping and low, the slope corresponding in a great measure with the half-vault of the Caitya. The shrine door-way follows the style of those of the *Vihāras* at Ajanta.

There is an impartial mixture of *Saiva* and *Vaiṣṇava* deities in the niches around the exterior of the walls. But there is evidence to suppose that the temple was originally dedicated to *Vaiṣṇava* worship, and COUSENS[59] thinks, "very possibly to *Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa*". The present name of the temple has nothing to do with its original dedication,it perhaps came to be applied to this temple on account of its situation in the ruins of a fort-like enclosure or "*durga*".

§ 12—TEMPLE OF MEGUTI, AIHOLE, (634 A.D.)

The other temple is that of Meguti at Aihole.[60] which was erected in[61] 634 A.D. Though built so late, it does not show any signs of advancement so far as the plan and general arrangements are concerned,for the temple still lingers in the second stage, as it retains the square, pillared hall enclosing the central shrine.[62] But here the circumscribing passage is divided up into small rooms by cross-walls and pilasters. The whole is a long rectangular building showing two principal parts—the shrine with its surroundings and the forward hall—both connected by an intermediate smaller hall or antechamber. The larger hall in front has been roughly rebuilt in later times upon the plinth of an older one.

The outer walls of the temple[63] are severely plain and are relieved by alternate square projections and recesses. However, there are signs indicating the original intention of decorating the exterior. But the temple was never completed. Round the plinth runs a band of small figures in panels mixed with some arabesque work.

The temple has no tower at present, and COUSENS[64] thinks that it was never built. But the walls of the shrine run up through the roof and form the sides of the first storey of the tower just as is seen in the Jain Temple at Pattadkal.[65] It was used as an upper shrine.

Meguti was perhaps the last to be erected at Aihole. As might be expected, then, it shows several features indicative of the progress in the art of building. A marked improvement in the masonry is the use of smaller blocks of stone instead of massive and heavy slabs in the construction of the walls. The treatment of ornamentation is also more delicate which is particularly apparent in the design of the bracket-capitals of the exterior pilasters which strongly contrast with the coarse scrolls of the earlier buildings.

§ 13—MAHAKUTESHVAR TEMPLE. (c. 550-600 A.D.)

The temples of Mahakuteshvar[66] and Mallikarjun[67] represent an off-shoot, as it were, of the second stage and show modifications of the type represented by the

59. Ibid., 39.
60. Ibid., 29-32.
61. See Appendix No. 4; A. V. Naik, !
A list of the Inscriptions of the Deccan. (*LID*),
BDCRI, 9. 71-160, No. 14,
62. *CA.*, Pl. IV.

63. Ibid., Fig. 5 and Pl. III.
64. Ibid., 37.
65. Ibid., Pl. LI.
66. Ibid, 51-52.
67. Ibid.

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temple of Huchchimalli Gudi at Aihole. A comparison between the plans[68] of these temples and that of the Huchchimalli Gudi shows clearly how the type of the former group was arrived at : by cutting a narrow rectangular slice off either side of the body of the temple exactly from where the enclosed shrine begins. This gives the whole structure a composite appearance externally as being composed of two separate parts—two rectangular compartments, one small and the other large. But internally it shows the same arrangement as that of the Huchchimalli Gudi when the shrine exterior is not exposed to view from outside.

Of these two temples, as epigraphic evidence shows, the Mahakuteshvar was certainly built before 600 A.D.[69] But the temple of Mallikarjun appears to have been built earlier, as is shown by the arrangement of pillars in the hall. The tower of the former is complete with an octagonal, domical finial and surrounded by tiers of miniature shrines.[70] This is perhaps the earliest appearance of this type of tower on the *Cālukya* Temples. The two examples may be placed between c. 550-600 A.D

At Badami, the third stage only is largely represented implying very possibly later beginning of structural activity when the art of building had considerably progressed and the architects had gained a good deal of experience.

§ 14—THE MALEGITTI-SHIVALAY AND BHUTANATH TEMPLES AT BADAMI (C. 625-700 A.D.)

But inspite of this advanced architectural and building knowledge, buildings according to older conceptions seem to have been erected even so late as 700 A.D. as is shown by the ruined temple upon the hill top of the foot on the north of the town.[71] The temple is much ruined and its interior is exposed, showing its shrine contained within a '*pradakṣiṇā mārga*' and in front the sloping, roofed pillared hall. Through representing the second stage in the main it marks a new stage of development as it shows a square *śikhara* instead of an octagonal one.

The third stage in the evolution of temple structure is represented at Badami by the Malegitti Shivalay[72] and the Bhutanath group[73] of temples. The former, which is the earliest temple at the place, is the most complete structure consisting of a shrine, a hall and a porch.[74] The shrine is a separate compartment in continuation of the hall at its back-end and approached through a narrow vestibule. The exterior of the shrine-walls is exposed to view from outside. The interior of the hall is divided by its pillars and entablature into a central and two side aisles and is lighted by four perforated stone windows[75]—two on either side. The ceiling of the nave is divided by cross-beams into three bays, the central one bearing a lotus medallion with an image of *viṣṇu* upon *Garuḍa* inset.[76] The porch is supported upon four pillars : the pair at the back being placed nearly 4' apart from the front-wall of the hall. The porch-ceiling is perfectly plain. The pillars, both in the hall and the porch are heavy monoliths with no bases and are surmounted by simple bracket

68. Ibid., Pl. XXVII.
69. See Appendix No. 3.
70. *CA.*, Pl. XXVI.
71. Ibid., 55 and Pl. XXX.
72. Ibid., 53, 55.

73. Ibid., 55-56.
74. Ibid., Pl. XXI.
75. Ibid., Pl. XXIX.
76. Ibid., 54 and Pl. XXXII.
77. Ibid., 54 and Pl. XXIX.

capitals.[77] The exterior of the temple[78] is decorated with pilasters and niches containing images of deities while the overhanging roll cornice has "*Caitya*-arch" ornaments with figures inset. A string course of sculptured panels runs round the base between the heavy cornices. The domical finial of the tower is, like that of Mahakuteshvar, octagonal and is supported by a series of small shrines.

There is no inscription to indicate the date of its construction, but, as pointed out by COUSENS[79] the style of the Malegitti is the same as that of the Meguti. In its whole style it resembles the Mahakuteshvar temple.[80] Thus its approximate date would seem to be the second quarter of the 6th century but it may be slightly later than the Meguti at Aihole.

The main temple of the Bhutanath group, which only deserve notice here, is composed of works of different periods. From COUSENS' account of it,[81] it seems to have originally consisted of three parts : porch, hall and the shrine, of which the porch has been enveloped within a large, open, pillared hall which has been subsequently added. In its plan[82] and style it closely resembles the Malegitti Shivalaya but differs from it on two points. While the deep, heavy architraves above the pillars in the hall divide the interior into a lofty central nave and two lower side aisles, as in the Malegitti temple, the central floor is raised effecting an appearance of an arrangement noticed in later temples where the interior is divided into a central square bay and an aisle running round it. The other point of difference is the arrangement of the vestibule, which here is usually placed within the shrine door and between it and the shrine. The original porch shows an advance upon the Malegitti and other older temples as it rested upon two pillars and two pilasters, the latter built against the front wall of the hall. The exterior of the temple has image-niches which are now empty and at the base of the tower, leading off the roof by a doorway, is a small empty shrine, a feature characteristic of Jain temples.

Though, as pointed out by COUSENS.[83] the pillars are of the same massive style as those in the Malegitti Shivalaya, they are definitely more advanced in ornament.[84] The tower also shows an advanced feature in the form of a square finial[85] like, that of the ruined temple on the northern fort, These points of difference undoubtedly place the temple considerably after the Malegitti in the chronological scale and would seem to point to the last decades of the 7th century as its approximate date.

There are at least ten temples of consequence at Pattadkal, of which four need our close attention here. These are :

(1) Sangameshwar, originally called the *Vijayeśvara* as it was built by *Vijayāditya*.[86]

78. Ibid., Pls. XXXIX and XXXII.
79. Ibid., 52-53.
80. F. H. GRAVELY and T. N. RAMCHANDRAN, Three Main Styles of Temple Architecture, *BMGM (STA)*, p 14 (New Series, General Section, Vol. III, Part I, 1934).
81. *CA.*, 55-56.
82. Ibid., Pl. XXXI
83. Ibid., 55.
84. *STA.*, 16; *CA.*, Pl. XXXIII.
85. *STA.*, 16; *CA.*, Pl. XXXIV.
86. See Appendix No. 16.

(2) Virupaksh, originally called the *Lokesvara* as it was ʼcaused to be erected by *Lokamahādevi*, the queen consort of Vikramāditya II.[87]

(3) Mallikarjun, originally known as the *Trailokyesvara* as it was built by the younger queen of Vikramāditya II named *Trailokyamahadevi*.[88]

(4) Papanath, at the south-east corner of the village.

§ 15—PATTADKAL TEMPLES

There is no difficulty in determining the dates of these temples excepting the last—the Temple of Papanath—as there is inscriptional evidence to indicate their age. The Sangameshvar (*Vijayesvara*) must have been built between 696 and 733 A.D. as Vijayāditya reigned between these dates and the two temples of Vikramāditya's wives between 733 and 747 A.E. during the reign of Vikramaditya II, About the date of the temple of Papanath there is some divergence of opinion. In FERGUS-SON's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture,*' as revised by BURGESS, the age is put down as, approximately, 700 A. D.[89] But COUSENS[90] says " It is hardly likely that three great, costly temples would have been in hand in one place at nearly the same time. 650 A.D. as the latest possible date, therefore, would be, as near the mark as we can get with the present data.' GRAVELY and RAMCHANDRAN[91] point out that " the presence of a projecting gable in front of its tower, similar to (though much shorter than) that of the Virupaksh indicates that it is unlikely to be much earlier" than the Virupaksh, and ascribe it to the reign of Vikramaditya II so as to make it coeval with the temples of his wives.[92] COUSENS[93] has point-ed out the close similarities that exist between the Papanath and the Virupaksh and between the former and the Kailasnath at Kānchi. The temple of Kailasnath at Kānchī was, as is shown by the inscriptions,[94] built by the *Pallava* king Rajasimha who was a contemporary of Vikramāditya I who ruled between 655 and 680 A.D.[95] The Temple of Papanath seems to imitate the plan of the Kailasnath, therefore it must be considered as later than that and if it is, as suggested by COUSENS,[96] ear-lier than the Virupaksh, then it must be placed between 680 and 733 A.D., a period which saw the reigns of Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya. Now, we know that during the reign of the former several southern powers, including the *Pallavas*, had risen against the *Cālukyas* and that Vinayāditya scored a military triumph against them. Vinayāditya had also taken active part in his father's campaign against the *Pallavas*.[97] It appears, therefore, that the temple of Papanath was built by Vinayāditya during his reign (680 A. D.-696 A. D.). probably within the few years after coming to the

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87. See Ibid., No. 14.
88. See Ibid., Nos. 14, 16.
89. 1. 319-322.
93. *CA.,* 68

90. *CA.,* 68.
91. *TA.,* 18.
92. Ibid., 23.

94. *South Ind. Issers* 11,2 ff. (Nos. 24-26), 23-24 (Nos. 29-31); F. KIELHORN, A List of Inscriptions of Southern India, from about A. D. 500, (*Kielhorn's List*), EL 71 Appendix, Nos. 629-631.
95. *HIEA.,* 1. 357.
96. *CA.,* 68
97. R. G. BHANDARKAR, *The Early History of the Deccan* (*EHD*), Collected works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. III. (Poona, 1927), p. 78

throne, and that it was a result of his personal contact with the temples at Kāñchi which he must have seen during the above mentioned campaigns.

§ 16—THE TEMPLE OF PAPANATH, (c. 680-696 Ā.D,).

The Papanath Temple,[98] then, is the earliest temple of consequence at Pattadkal which has several features indicating an earlier stage in the development of temple structure at Pattadkal.   Foremost of these is the plan[99] itself which shows a blend of the second and third stages.   A glance at the plan will show that it consists of two main parts : an oblong compartment placed its smaller side against a square one. The former represents the type of the second stage as is presented by the Huchchi- malli Gudi, the shrine contained within the main body or hall and isolated by means of a "*pradakṣiṇā-mārga.*"   The latter represents a 16-pillared, square hall, and both together make a complete temple of three parts : a shrine surrounded by a "*pradak- ṣiṇā-mārga,*" an inner hall, leading off the larger hall, and the larger 16-pillared, hall.   It will be seen that the intermediate 4-pillared hall assumes the character of a vestibule in later temples, which came to be so compressed as to form a narrow or shallow link between the shrine and the hall   Thn exterior of the shrine is still con- cealed but there is an attempt to make it accessible from the sides by adding three entrance-porches one on either side[100]   The stages through which the inner hall gradually came to be transtormed into a shallow vestibule can be traced in the three temples of Sangameshvar, Mallikarjun and Virupaksha at the same place.

A comparison between the plans of this and the Kailasanath of *Rājasiṁheśvara* Temple at Kānchi[101] brings out the striking similarity between the two, so far as the inner hall is concerned.   It has six pillars in the latter while in the former it has only four.

The pillars in the outer hall are very clumsy and squat-looking and have moulded bases, sixteen sided shafts and "*cushion*" capitals of rather clumsy shape.[102]   The porch is supported on two pillars and corresponding pilasters following the style of those of the Durga Temple at Aihole.[103]

The tower of the temple is in the *Northern* style,[104] and though we have mention of Vinayāditya's conflict with northern powers in the records,[105] we need not connect its appearance here with this political event of his reign as towers in that style are shown by earlier examples at Aihole which seem to have directly inspired this one. But, here is to be noticed an innovation in the form of a projecting gable in front of the tower which, perhaps, appears for the first time on the *Cālukya* monuments.

There are signs of the original dedication of the temple which was *Vaiṣṇava* and, as COUSENS thinks, it was " possibly dedicated to *Sūrya.* "[106]

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98. CA., 68-70.
99. Ibid., Pl. XLIX.
100. Ibid., Pl. L.
101. *HIEA.*, 1. 358 and woodcut No. 209.
102. *CA.*, Fig. 19.
103. Ibid., Fig. 20.
104. Ibid., Pl. L.
105. *EHD.*, 79 ; *IA.* 9. 129, 107, 111.
106. *CA.*, 69.

§ 17—Temple of Sangameshvar. (c. 696-733 a.d.)

The temple of Sangameshvar or *Vijayesvara*[107] is a very plain, simple and massive structure but has been badly damaged during the centuries. The plan[108] shows that it is more akin to the third stage, but the shrine is still surrounded by the walls that enclose the " *pradakṣiṇā-mārga* " and thus is kept from outside view. The inner hall in the preceding example, here becomes a narrow compartment with much less width than in the preceding. But the four pillars are retained and a small cell is added on either side. The hall was a square compartment with 16 pillars and corresponding pilasters but is much ruined. Another important and interesting point about this temple is that unlike most of the preceding examples it was originally dedicated to *Śaiva* worship.[109]

The temple has a simple square pyramidal tower surmounted by a broad square member with a window ornament on each side.[110]

§ 18—Temples of Virupaksh and Mallikarjun. (c.733-746 a. d.).

These two almost contemporary temples[111] are of the same general plan and design, their interiors being almost identical save for some minor differences. A comparison between the plants[112] of these and that of the preceding Sangameshvar Temple[113] brings out their identical character. However, there are some points of difference indicating further development in the temple structure and the art of masonry. Though closely akin to the third stage, these temples may be said to represent an independent development of the type of the second stage as it had evolved at Aihole and Badami, as will be apparent on a reference to the plans of the Huchchimalli Gudi[112] at Aihole and those of the Mahakuteshvar and Mallikarjun[112] near Badami.

In both these temples the arrangement of 16 pillars in the *maṇḍapa* shows an advance over that in the *maṇḍapa* of the Sangameshvar. In the latter the pillars are arranged in four rows of four, the distance between each pair being equal, while in the former the pillars are arranged in four groups of four effecting a cross-shaped aisle in the interior. Similar arrangemant is also noticed in the Papanath Temple[116] and in the Kailas at Elura.[117] The structure of the shrine in both has a projection added to its front side which consumes the rear pair of pillars in the antechamber of the Sangameshvar thus reducing still more the area of the portion between the shrine and the *maṇḍapa*. Here, then, we have the nearest approach to the *antarāla* or the vestibule of the later temples. The two little side shrines, one on either side, are retained in both. Cousens[118] has brought out the close similarities that exist between these two temples, the only difference he found was the increased width of the interior of the Virupaksha.

107. Ibid., 60-61.
108. Ibid., Pl. XXXV.
209. Ibid., 61.
110. Ibid., Pl. XXXVII.
111. Ibid., 61-68.
112. Ibid., Pls. XXXV and XLV,

113. Ibid., Pl. XXV.
114. Ibid., Pl. XIII.
115. Ibid,, Pl. XXVII.
116. Ibid., Pl. XLIX.
117. *CTI*, Pl. LXXXI, A.
118., *CA.*, 66-67.

A comparison of the towers of these two temples shows that they are alike in all their parts, but the Mallikarjun or *Trailokyeśvara* is unique in having a *round* instead of a *square* crowning member,[119] while that of the Virupaksha is *square*[120] like that of the Sangameshvar. In both a decorative projecting gable is added to the front of the tower.

Both the temples were originally dedicated to *Śaiva* worship as is shown by epigraphic evidence[121] which is confirmed by the sculptures in them. But in the Mallikarjun Temple there are signs which may lead one to suppose that it was dedicated to the worship of *Viṣṇu*, as was supposed by COUSENS.[122] But the presence of the *Nandi-Maṇḍapa* in front of the temple clears every doubt as regards its *Śaiva* character. However, in this temple *Śaiva* and *Vaiṣṇava* sculptures are impartially mixed up.

COUSENS[122] has pointed out in detail the close similarities between the Virupaksha and the Kailas at Elura. The Kailasnath at Kāñcī also shows many features in common with the Virupaksha. COUSENS[124] remarks : " There is so much in common between that temple (Kailasnath at Kāñcī) and Virupaksha that there can be no doubt that he (Vikramāditya II) brought away architects and masons to build another like it at his own capital." That Vikramāditya had a personal acquaintance with, and admiration for, the Kailasanath Temple at Kāñcī is a recorded fact.[125] The Virupaksha is also recorded to have been constructed to commemorate Vikramāditya's successes over the *Pallavas*[126]. COUSENS' suggestion is also supported by two inscriptions[127] on the Virupaksha itself whish give the name of its architect as *Śrī Guṇḍa* and state that he was an architect of the *Southern* country. *Śrī Guṇḍa* was very probably a *Tamil* architect taken to Pattadkal by Vikramāditya.[128] But inspite of its architect being a Tamilian the Virupaksha's indebtedness to the *Pallava* Temples is not much. This may have been due to the strong local architectural traditions which the Tamilian architect was forced to adopt.

The Virupaksha and Mallikarjun are the last, chronologically, of the monuments of the Badami *Cālukyas*. After the death of Vikramāditya II, in C. 747 A. D. the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* established themselves as sovereigns of the Deccan by defeating Kirtivarman II, the last king of the *Calukyas*, who, however, pulled on till 754 A. D. This political revolution affected in no small measure the architectural activities in the Deccan, for it had now passed on the cave-cutters from the temple-builders. Brahmanical cave-architecture in the Deccan had by this time reached the third stage in its efforts to seek a suitable temple-formula, represented by the Dhumar Lena (c. 700-725 A. D.) at Elura which shows the shrine isolated and contained within a group of halls arranged on a cruciform plan.[129] The original *vihāra*-like form had been almost entirely obliterated by that time and a type of Brahmanical rock-cut

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119. Ibid., Pl. XXXIX.
120. Ibid., Pl. XL.
121. See Appendix No. 16.
122. *CA.*, 67.
123. Ibid., 62-63.
124. *AAWI.*, 22
125. ROBERT SEWELL. *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* (*HISI*) p. 28, (Ed, by S. K. Aiyangar, Madras, 1932), *LID.*, No. 65.
126. *HISI.*, 28 ; *LID.*, No. 68.
127. *LID.*, Nos. 66-69.
128. *STA.*
129. *CTI.*, 446 and Pl. LXXIX ; *ASWI* 5.41 and Pl. XXXVII (fig. 1).

temple, distinct from the structural type, might have evolved, had the Brahmanical Cave Architecture in the Deccaṇ been left to pursue its own course. But the political revolution mentioned above brought the Rāṣṭrakūṭsas in closer contact with the structural temples of the Cālukyas which resulted in their conceiving the idea of copying a structural temple in the rock. And the Virupaksha being the largest and most imposing of the Cālukya temples supplied them the model.

§ 19 Affinities and Influences

The most peculiar characteristic of this series of early Cālukya temple is the existence of both the "Northern" and "Southern" froms of tower, side by side. The fromer shows considerable affinities with the towers of Orissan temples, especially of those at Bhuvaneshvar, whereas the latter, with its horizontal or storeyed arrangement and tiers of miniature cells, resembles the form of tower of the Pallava temples in the Tamil country. Consequently these Cālukya temples have been re-garded by FERGUSSON[130] .(and other scholars) as belonging to two distinct styles —the Northern or Indo-Aryan and the Southern or Dravidian. However, COUSENS[131] has pointed out that the difference is mainly confined to the towers and does not apply to the other parts of the temples. He says "Though the two types of towers used in these early temples differ entirely from each other, the rest of the buildings differs in no respect in their other features, and they were probably built by the same people at the same time. The builders of those days seemed to have had no particular reason for selecting the one tower or the other. "

However, the similarity between the early Cālukaya temples of " Southern " form and the temples of the Tamil country, has subsequently been shown to be only super-ficial. JOUVEAU DUBREUIL[132] who first revealed this, regarded the Tamilian temples as belonging to a style quite different from that of the early Cālukya temples of Southern form, and so restricted the meaning of the term " Dravidian " as to confine it to the temples of the Tamil country only. This conclusion of his has been recently confirmed by GRAVELY and RAMACHANDRAN.[133] These scholars have shown that the two series of temples in question differ from each other not only in their decorative detail but in external form as well. It is thus made clear that FERGUSSON confused two really different styles by regarding the Southern form of temple as associated with a single style to which he gave the name " Dravidian."

GRAVELY. and RAMACHANDRAN[134] have further shown that these two sty-les of the Southern form of temple came to be ' differentiated from one another by the time their earliest surviving examples were produced ' and that they ' subsequently diverged still more widely, following different lines of evolution as regards both ex-ternal form and decorative detail.' The most conspicuous differences between the Tamilian and Cālukya towers of Southern form, as have been traced by them, are : (1) Though in tne earliest surviving examples of both the series the crowning mem-ber of the tower is octagonal that of the Tamilian temples has a window-ornament on each face while that of Cālukya temples has it only on altenate faces. (2) While

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130.   HIEA., 2. 96.   132.   Ibid.,
131.   CA., 37-38.   133.   STA.
134.   Ibid.

in later *Tamilian* temples the original *octagonal* shape is mostly retained it is *square*, except the Mallikarjuna at Pattadkal, in all later temples of the *Cālukyas*. (3) The decorative projecting gable which was added to the towers of the *Cālukya* temples at a comparatively early date is a feature not found in *Tamilian* temples. These, with several other differences, cut off the early *Cālukya* temples from the *Tamilian* ones with which they have been hitherto classed under the "*Dravidian*" style. Even the two or three earliest surviving *Cālukya* temples of *Southern* form which resemble those of the Tamil country in having an *octagonal* crowning member have to be ex- cluded from the *Tamilian* series as they are found to differ from them in other features.

Hindu *Śilpa-Śāstras* recognise three main styles of Temple Architecture viz. the *Nāgara, Vesara,*and *Drāviḍa*.[135] The *Nāgara* and *Drāviḍa* have been generallly iden- tified with the *Northern* or *Indo-Aryan* and the *Dravidian* styles respectively while ACHARYA[136] identified the *Vesara* with the *Telugu*. A critical study of relevant passages in the original texts showed GRAVELY and RAMACHANDRAN[137] that these identifications needed reconsideration. They found that the terms *Nāgara* etc. refer to the *vimāna* over the shrine and not to other parts of the structure. Thus the *Nāgara* indicated the *vimāna* which was *quadrangular* throughout, the *Vesara* applied to the *vimāna* which was crowned by a *circular* member above the neck and the *Drāviḍa* stood for the *vimāna* which was crowned by *octagonal* or *hexagonal* member above the neck.[138] In the light of this these scholars suggested new indentifi- cations of these styles. Since *Vesara* refers only to the *circular* part—the *āmalaka* which binds the whole tower, it applies, according to them, to the *Northern* slyle which was hitherto identified with the *Nāgara*. *Drāvida* they identify with that of the *Dravida* country, the earliest existing remains of which are *Pallava*. And as regards the *Nāgara* they found that the early *Cālukya* temples with their *square* crowning members fit the definition of the *Nāgara* style.[139] Hence they concluded that the term *Nāgara* refers to the style which developed in the *Cālukyan* country and which had hitherto been identified with the *Drāvida* to which superficially it bears a close resem- blance. According, therefore, to these identifications, the series of early *Cālukyan* temples will be found to consist of three styles—the *Nāgara, Vesara* and *Drāvida*. But GRAVELY and RAMCHANDRAN are inclined to include even those three early temples with *octagonal* crowns, which alone could be legitimately classed as *Dravidian*, among the *Nāgara* temples " since " they say "it is evident that historically they form the commencement of this *Chālukyan* series, and it is quite uncertain whether they have any direct connection with the *Pallava* series."[140]

The earliest existing *Pallava* Temples are from the reign of Narasimha I, viz., the monolithic temples at Mahabalipuram. Epigraphic evidence points to the exis- tence of structural temple even in the reign of Mahendravarman I, but none of them exists and we do not know what form they had. The three *Cālukya* temples above referred to, which have their tower surmounted by an *octagonal* crowning member

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135. P. K. ACHARYA, *Indian Architecture according to Mānasāra Silpaśastra* (*Archi- tecure,* Volume 2) p. 194 Oxford University Press, 1927).

136 Ibid.   139. Ibid., Pl. II. fig. 2

137. *STA.,* 2.   140. Ibid., 22-26   ·

138. Ibid., 22-26.

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and ornamented by tiers of miniature cells, have been hitherto generally considered as examples of borrawals from the *Pallavas*. But, as pointed out by GRAVELY and RAMCHANDRAN,[141] the chronology of these temples and other circumstantial evidence clearly indicates the reverse course of borrowing and it seems that Narasimhavarman I got acquainted with some of the earliest of these *Cālukya* temples when he occupied Badami for several years after the death of Pulakeśin II[142] and made his monolithic temples after them.

The same authors suggest that the curious *double-arched torana*, springing from the mouths of a pair of *makaras* was borrowed by the *Cālukyas* from the *Pallavas*.[143] The suggestion is based on the fact that it first appears on the Malegitti Shivalaya, which is the latest of the three temples with the *octagonal* crowning member, whereas it was used long before by Mähendravarman I in Shiyamangalam and Dalavanur. So according to them the borrowing must have resulted from the recorded invasion of the *Pallava* kingdom by the *Cālukyas* in Mahendravarman's reign.[144] But it must be pointed out that there is no need to suppose a borrowing from the *Pallavas* in this case also. The *single* and *double* arched *torṇās* springing from the mouths *makaras* were used as ornaments in the cave-architecture of the Deccan at least from the 4th century A.D. The former is found at Karla (4th century[145] A.D.), Ajanta Cave No. 24[146] (550-600 A.D.) and Aurangabad Cave No. 3[147] (c. 700 A.D.) and the latter appears in Ajanta Cave No. 20[148] (450-550 A.D.) and Elura Cave No. 6 (550-600 A.D.[149]). The Cālukya power was firmly established in the northern parts of the Deccan after the defeat and downfall of the *Kaṭaccuris*. The presence of this motif on a *Cālukya* temple which was erected in the second quarter of the 7th century may equally likely have resulted from the growing acquaintance of the *Cālukyas* with the caves of the Deccan. And in view of the close relation that exists between the cave architecture of the Deccan and the series of early *Cālukya* temples it appears more probable that it was borrowed from the Deccan than from the *Pallava* monuments.

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141. Ibid.
142. *HISI.*, 24 ; IA. 9. 99.
143. STA., 22-26.
144. *HISI.*, 22.
149. Ibid., 5. Pls. XIII and XVI ; Also in Ajanta Cave No. . 6 (*CTI.*, 301) Cave No. 1 (CTI.) 324., Cave No. 7 (CTI., 300), in Mahal Cave No. 22 (CTI., 210-211), Kuda Cave No. 6. (*KCTWI.*, No. 6).

145. *CTI.*, Pl. XIV.
146. Ibid., 157 (No. 42).
147. *ASWI* , 3, XI. XLIV.
141. Ibid., 4. Pl. XXXII.

SECTION III

LATE MEDIAEVAL PERIOD

(c. 1000 A. D. to 1350 A. D.)

Structural architecture revived in the Deccan in the 11th century and was fostered throughout the late mediaeval period by the dynasties of the *Śilāhāras* and the *Yādavas*. Of the temples which are known from the records to have been built by the *Cālukyas* of *Kalyāṇa*, not one is situated in the Deccen.[1] Moreover, the few examples of the *Cālukyan* style which have crept into that region appear to have been erected by the *Yādavas* and the *Śilāhāras* during their feudal tenure under the *Cālukyan* suzerainty. There is no positive evidence at present to suppose that the *Cālukyas* of *Kalyāṇa* erected any monuments in the Deccan.

The records[2] mention a number of temples (and other monuments) which were built during the late mediaeval period. Many of them have disappeared, leaving only faint traces of their existence. The earliest references to temple construction in the *Śilāhāra*[3] and *Yādav*[4]*a* records vo back to 997 and 1000 A. D. respectively. On the other hand, in the whole array of existing temples in the Deccan very few bear dated inscriptions, the earliest among which belongs to 1060 A. D.[5] Thus epigraphic evidence being scanty, we are forced to rely mainly on stylistic consideration for fixing their chronology. And stylistic evidence shows that none of them can be placed before 1050 A.D. Late mediaeval architecture, therefore, begins from the middle of the 11th century.

The *Cālukyan* style is represented in the Deccan by the Aeshvar temple at Sinnar in the Nasik District and by those in the Kolhapur State. The former is the most northerly example of that style and belongs to the best period of *Cālukyan* work, i.e. the 11th century. The latter were erected a century later and are situated on the southern border of the Deccan, in the immediate proximity of Karnatak. The architecture of both shows as will be seen, evidence of environmental influence.

§ 20—THE AESHVAR TEMPLE AT SINNAR

Sinnar seems to be a town of great antiquity since it is mentioned in several records under the names of *Sindinagara*,[6] *Sindinera*,[7] *Seuṇapura*,[8] and *Śrinagara*,[9] the earliest mention being found in the Dhulia Copperplates of Ś.701.[10] It was the capital of the *Yādavas* since the time of their rise in the Deccan and continued to be so till about the end of the 12th century when the royal seat was removed to *Devagiri*

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1. See Appendix.
2. Ibid.
3. *LID.*, No. 198 ; See Appendix. No. 54.
4. *LID.*, No. 256 ; See Appendix No. 78.
5. *LID.*, No. 203 ; See Appendix No. 56.
6. *LID.*, Nos. 100, 256 and 257.
7. Ibid., No. 260
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid. No. 261.
10. Ibid., No. 100.

or modern Daulatabad in the Aurangabad district of the Hyderabad State. The Aeshvar Temple (also called ' Avveshvar ') stands just above a small rivulet that runs upon the north-west of the town.

Th temple[11] originally stood on a raised platform and was surrounded by a walled enclosure. The remains, at present, consist of a shrine and two groups of four pillars standing out in front of it.[12]   The pillars still support their beams above them, but it is not known whether they supported one single long hall, or two square ones, one in advance of the other. The whole of the tower is now missing. The temple faces the east.

The exterior walls of the shrine and the antechamber are decorated with pilas-ters all round[13] ond COUSENS[14] thinks that the recesses between them once held images which have been removed. The tops of the wall-pilasters are occupied by little corner lion-brackets and between them, in the running band, are small figures of all sorts, some of which are very indecent. In the base of the shrine, there are three very ornamental niches, one on each side. The lower part of the wing walls seems to have been decorated originally with mythological and other sculptures as is shown by what remains of these on the north side. Among the remaining sculp-tures on the north side COUSENS[15] was able to note a group representing incidents from the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The interior of the shrine is perfectly plain, the centre of the chamber being now occupied by a *linga*.   The antechamber in front of the shrine is quite the size of the shrine itself, and is particularly to be noted for the several *Cālukya* features which it presents.   On the dedicatory block of the shrine-doorway is *Gaja-Lakṣmī*, so very common on the *Cālukya* Temples.   In the temples of the Deccan, the dedicatory block of the doorways of *Śaiva* temples is mostly occupied by *Gaṇeśa*.   Immediately above this is *Viṣṇu Śeṣaśāyin* and above this again is another *Cālukya* feature, i.e., a frieze of figures representing the ' *Saptamātṛkās* ' who were the special guardians of the *Cālukya* princes.   The celing which is flat is divided by deep cross-bars into nine sunk squares, each one of these has a group of figures.   All the nine represent the ' *Aṣṭadikpālas.* '   *Aṣṭadikpāla*-ceiling is not a common feature of the temples in the Deccan, while it is a very favourite ceiling in the *Cālukyan* temples.[16]   The inner faces of the antechamber pilasters bear *Brahmā* and *Viṣṇu* on the south and north respectively while on their outer faces are *dvārapālas*.

The entrance to the antechamber is rendered conspicuous by the ornamental *makara-torṇa*[17] which, as COUSENS[18] says, is ' a most superb piece of carving '

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11.   H. COUSENS, *Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan*, (*MTD*), pp. 39-41. (Archaeological Survey of India, Imperial Series, 1931).
12.   Ibid, Pls. LV, XLIII, and Fig. 9.
13.   Ibid., Pl. XLIII.
14.   Ibid., 40.
15.   Ibid
16.   e.g. in Kont Gudi at Aihole (CA., 35), temple of Kashi Vishwanath at Pattadkal (CA., 72), temple of Harihar at Harihar (CA., 92), temple of Shambulinga at Kundagol (CA.,   97) atc.
17.   *MTD.,* Pl. XLVI.
18.   Ibid, 40.

The central semicircular panel of the *torana* is occupied by a very artistic and vibran group of sculptures representing *Śiva's Tāṇḍava*.

The pillars[19] are of different patterns but all have the *Kīcaka*-brackets above the capitals supporting the beams. It is in this respect mainly that the Aeshvar Temple differs from other *Cālukya* temples, for the *Kīcaka*-bracket is not found in *Cālukya* work. This detail, therefore, seems to have been borrowed from the temples in Gujarat or the earlier temples in the Deccan, such as the Ambarnath[20] in the Thana District where we find this feature in common use. The group of pillars immediately in front of the shrine is octagonal in plan with recessed corners while the next group has the two inner ones, six-sided in plan, and the outer ones square. The shafts of the pillars bear on the upper half several horizontal bands in verticle arrangement of small figures of dancing women and the *avatāras* of *Viṣṇu* while their lower half has large and well-carved figures of dancing women supported by *Kīcakas* under ornamental *toraṇas*. Each of these figures is again flanked by verticle bands of scroll designs.

There is no evidence other than the stylistic one to determine the age of this temple. COUSENS[31] has placed it in the 11th century. Perhaps the occurrence of the *Cālukya* style ' so far north of its natural habitat ' is to be explained by the close alliance between the *Cālukyas* of *Kalyāṇa* and the *Yādavas* of *Seuṇadeśa* during the latter half of the 11th century. Seuṇacandra II of the *Yādavas* had sent a powerful army with his son Parammadeva to help Vikramāditya VI to gain the throne for himself.[22]. This southern expedition may have induced Parammadeva to have a temple built at his capital in the style in which his overlord had built them in his own province. Thus the temple seems to have been built during the reign of Souna-candra II or his son Parammadeva between 1075 A.D. and 1100 A.D. The architecture of the Aeshvar has much in common with especially those *Cālukya* temples which were built during the reign of Vikramāditya VI.

§ 21—TEMPLE AT KHIDRAPUR

The most notable amongst the southern example is the Kopeshvar Temple at Khidrapur[23] about 40 miles to the SE of Kolhapur and abutting on the district of Belgaum. According to FLEET'S identification,[24] Khidrapur represents the mediae-val village of *Koppam* which was the site of a pitched battle between the *Cālukya* king of *Kalyāṇa* Someśvara I, *Āhavamalla* and Rājādhirāja, the *Cola* king.[25]

The temple consists of a *garbhagṛha* with a vestibule and a closed hall or *gūdha-maṇḍapa* with three entrances on the south, east and north and there is a detached hall or *mukha-maṇḍapa* in front of the temple. The whole scheme is surrounded by

19. Ibid., Fig 9 and Pls. XLV and LII,

20. See § 23 below.

21. *MTD.*, 40.

22. *EHD.*, 143 and App. C, 1 (stanza 29); this is mentioned in the Ashvi Copper-plates. *LID.*. No. 261.

23. For a detailed description of this temple see K. K. KUNDANGAR'S article in *JBHS* 5. 142-152

24. J. F. FLEET, *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Preisdency* (*DKD*), P. 241. (Bombay, 1899).

25. *HISI.*, 72 ; *DKD.*, 241.

a court-yard measuring nearly 300 by 250 feet, enclosed by a wall of mud and stone with two entrances on the east and north.

The temple stands on a plinth nearly 5 feet in height which is, however, buried underground. " It is of smooth cornice work rising one over the other and jetting out more and more upwards and downwards from a band of central plain and polished surface. "[26] The original tower over the *garbhagṛha* has completely fallen off and in its place a new one has been constructed in brick and mortar like that on the Mahalakshmi Temple at Kolhapur.

The *garbhagṛha* is a square chamber inside with three smaller chambers in the three side-walls. There are, in the walls, eight pilasters, each with a bracket figure of a dancer on a projected base. These, together with four similar figures in the corners, support the dome above, the ceiling of which has nothing attractive. The door of the *garbhagṛha* is similar to that of the Mahalakshmi and Vithoba Temples at Kolhapur. The door jambs are ornamented with ' *scroll*-and-*bead* ' work. The lintel has no figure in the centre but the architrave above it has a frieze of miniature towers. In the vestibule there is some figure sculpture on the walls while on the ceiling is to be noticed floral ornamentation. Flanking the entrance of the vestibule were the huge figures of *Jaya* and *Vijaya*, of which that of the latter has disappeared.

The hall is, as said before, a *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* with three entrances on the three sides. The floor of the hall is divided into a central nave and a double aisle surrounding it by means of two rows of pillars, an inner and outer ones. The outer row consists of twenty pillars which are of ā pattern which is not much in evidence in the *Cālukya* temples. They consist of square moulded bases, square shafts with corners so cut along the whole height as to effect two receding angles, and square capitals made up of square plates of growing size placed one above the other. The shafts are divided into several horizontal parts of unequal height by narrow ' *cavetto* ' mouldings. These parts are decorated with scrolls, ' *triangular, arabesqeue-plates* ' and small figures depicting scenes from the two Epics. Some of these figures are incomplete and some are only sketched. A somewhat similar pattern of pillars, but more ornate, occurs in the Sarasvati Temple at Gadag[27] and in the porch of the temple at Lakkundi.[28]

The inner row consists of twelve pillars of a type[29] which is common in the later temples in the Deccan[30] and in the neighbouring *Cālukya* temples at Belgaum[31] and Degamve.[32] Of these pillars the four at the corners are bigger ones and are highly ornamented. They have square bases divided into three bold horizontal parts by broad ' *cavetto* ' mouldings. On each face they bear either an ' *arabesque trianguloid plate* ' or a small pilastered panel with an image under a: *toraṇa*. The shafts are composed of square, oblong octagonal and circular parts ornamented with *lozengerosettes*, rows of beads, *Kīrtimukhas*, scrolls and figure-sculpture amoung which occur

26. KUNDANAGAR, *JBHS* 5.145.
27. *CA.*, Pl. CXVIII.
28. Ibid., Pl. LXPIII.
29. See Photo. No. 1.
30. Cf. Pillars in the Kabadamdevi Temple at Mahuli Photo No. 18.
31. *CA.*, Pl. CXXVIII.
32. Ibid., Pl. CXXXI.

a few images of *Hanūmān*. The remaining eight pillars are inserted between these and are less ornamental and slender.   As compared with the pillars of the outer row these are better executed and show more vigour and strength of outline. These twelve inner pillars support a domical ceiling which had a beautiful lotus pendant hanging from its centre. It has now partly fallen but from what remains of it, it appears that it was similar to that found in the Vithoba Temple at Kolhapur.

Among other noteworthy features of the hall are the two pilastered niches in the western wall, and the pierced, screen-windows on either side of the entrances. Both these exhibit a certain amount of *Kadamba* influence. The pierced screens combine the *Hoyasala* and *Kadamba* features by having holes which are square inside and star-shaped outside.

The exterior walls, both of the *garbhagṛha* and the *maṇḍapa*, are elaborate and carefully wrought.[33] The basement is wholly buried underground. Above it, and running round the whole exterior, is a canopied gallery of large images seated on half projecting elephants. The canopy is supported on a series of pilasters, every pair of them forming a section in which is placed an image. The base of the gallery is formed by the surface of bold '*cyma-recta*' moulding while the canopy is also formed by the same but inverted moulding. On the face or faces of each pilaster are figures of dancers, musicians or ascetics in a variety of poses. The elephants which are shown as stepping forward are carved in full relief and the images upon them represent gods and goddesses such as *Śiva, Viṣṇu, Pārvatī, Brahmā, Indra* etc,.

The part above this is the pilastered portion of the walls between a large double '*cyma-recta*' moulding at the base and the overhanging eaves. On the base of every pilaster is a small panel containing an image. The shafts of the pilasters and the alternating spaces between them are covered with images and figures in dancing and other postures. The upper halves of the pilasters are ornamented with various horizontal mouldings.

In each of the three faces of the exterior of the *garbhagrha* is a deep niche with a pilastered doorway and a surmounting tower over a deep projecting eave. All the three niches are empty now, but there is no doubt that originally important deities were enshrined in them. On the frieze of the entablature of every niche are carved five images which vary in each case. There is a miniature tower over each niche which consists of eight storeys of horizontal simulations of the tower itself. There is a vertical tapering band in the centre of every tower running from the base to the top and an ornate '*āmalakaśilā*' as a crowning member.

The original tower of the temple has wholly fallen, but an idea of how it was like can be gathered from the miniature niche-towers described above. It seems to have been of a type represented by the towers of the temple of Tateshvara at the Gokak[34] Falls and the temple of Someshvara at Gadag.[35]

The detached hall is star-shaped in plan and was never completed. It has four entrances in the four principal directions. At the centre of the hall there are twelve pillars somewhat of the type of the outer pillars in the *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* of the main temple. Their shafts are ornamented with miniature towers, geometrical designs and

33. See Photos Nos. 2 and 3.

34. *CA.,* Pl. CXXXV.

35, Ibid., Pl. CXIX.

floral and bead ornamentation. The capitals bear images representing the *aṣṭa-dikpālas* with *Viṣṇu*, *Maheśvara*, *Ravi* and *Soma*. These twelve pillars support the dominal ceiling which is left unfinished. The bottom-ring of the ceiling is ornamented with a string of human figures mostly females.

Surrounding these pillars are two more rows of pillars, the middle one consisting of sixteen and the outermost consisting of thirty-six pillars. The pillars in the last stand on a parapet wall which is five feet high. The pillars in these rows are of the same pattern as that of the slender inner pillars in the *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* and are sparing-ly decorated. The exterior of the parapet-wall is even more plain, having no orna-mentation save a lion-figure at each corner. These lions are very similar to those noticed in the Kamala-Narayan Temple at Degamve. With regard to the pillars COUSENS[36] observed that they have been designed by men who has lost all sense of good proportion and who had not even taken the trouble to follow the lines of the older and better work.

On the whole, the temple has a great deal of pretentious work about it but it was never completed. Moreover, it seems that it was never built at one stretch. it is a comparatively late building in the array of *Cālukya* temples and shows one of the later developments of the style together with the Mahalakshmi Temple at Kolha-pur, with which it has a very great resemblance. The workmanship of the older part, though elaborate and carefully wrought, lacks the finish, delicacy and richness of design which are found in the older work. The figure sculpture suffers from being clumsy and stiff, a defect which is never detected in the latter.

There are several inscriptions on the temple itself[37] and on slabs lying near it. According to one of them the temple existed at the time of the annexation of the Kolhapur region by the *Yādavas*. The *Kadamba* influence, especially exhibited by the lion-figure in the star-shaped *maṇḍapa*, and its affinities, with the *Cālukya* temples of the 12th century indicate its age. Temple building activity was incessant during the reign of Gandarāditya in the 12th century. Gandarāditya's march against the *Kadambas* on behalf of the North Konkan *Śilāhāras*[38] must have acquainted him with the *Kadamba* style of temple-architecture. Thus it seems very likely that the Kopeshvar Temple was constructed during his reign.

Excepting these temples of the *Cālukya* style, the rest of the temples in the Deccan have been found to belong to generally one and the same style which consti-tutes a regional variety of the *Northern* or the so-called '*Indo-Aryan*' style. This "*Deccan Style*" of temple architecture, while sharing some characteristics with the other cognate styles of the neighbouring regions, differs from them in certain points which are its peculiar features. These points of agreement and difference can best be brought out by a study of individual examples of the style which is done in the following pages.

These mediaeval temples, as a glance at the map will show[39], are distributed over a large area comprising almost the whole extent of the Deccan, but have crowded in its central portions. The area covered by these is larger than perhaps any other

36. Ibid., 133.
34. *LID*. Nos. 242, 247 to 255 and 275.
38. Altekar, *IC* 2.423.
39. See Map.

regional variety of the *Northern* or the *Southern* styles, but the number of remains of ornate temples in the Deccan is surprisingly small for such a wide area. Moreover, compared with the wealth of such architectural material that exists in Karnatak, Gujarat, and Central and Southern India, the existing temple remains in the Deccan put forth a very poor show.

Though belonging to the same general style, the Deccan temples fall into several groups each of which, while succeeding chronologically, presents a type of temple-structure which evolved from that of the preceding group and developed into that of the succeeding one. But when we meet with the earliest of these groups we also meet with the fullest development of the style and the highest point of architectural glory in the Deccan. And as we proceed to trace the development of the style through the succeeding groups we become conscious more and more of the fact that we are passing through several stages by which the style fell into complete degeneration.

§ 22 The Earliest Group A (1050 A.D. to 1100 A.D.)

The earliest of these groups consists of three temples : (1) The temple at Ambarnath[40] in the Thana District. and (2,3) Temples Nos. 1 and 5 at Balsane in the West Khandesh District. Of these the former bears a dated inscription of the *Mahāmaṇdaleśvara Māmvāṇirājadeva* of the *Śilāhāras* of North Konkan which fixes the date of the temple at 1060 A.D.[41] The latter two, though they bear no inscription, show the same style as that of the former and are so nearer to it in many respects than any other example of the "*Deccan Style*" than there is no doubt as to their coevality with it. The whole group, therefore, may be placed between 1050 A.D. and 1100 A.D.

§ 23 The Temple of Ambarnath, (1060 A.D.)

Ambarnath is a village in the Thana District about 4 miles south-east of Kalyan. It is not known whether the village had any name in ancient time other than the present one which it derives from the temples of *Śiva* called "*Amvanātha devakula*" in the record.[42] Some scholars suggest its identification with the '*Abāikāvihāra*' in *Kalyāna* mentioned in a Kanheri inscription.[43] If that is correct then the antiquity of the village would go back to the ancient period and mean that the village was a site of Buddhist settlement. But the only antiquarian object in the village at present is the temple of *Śiva* which belongs to the late mediaeval period.

The temple has been built in a picturesque spot upon the bank of a small stream a short distance to the east of the village. Originally the temple was complete in every respect and possessed all the accessories of a Hindu religious establishment. But the original walled enclosure has completely disappeared leaving only the ruins of two carved gateways on the west which formed the main entrance to the temple. Close to it is a stepped tank on the south entered by a carved doorway and surrounded

40. For a full description of the temple see *MTD.*, 13-18, H. D. SANKALIA and A. V. NAIK The Ambarnath Temple, *BDCRI* 169-177.

41. LID, No. 203; also see Appendix No. 56.

42. Ibid.

43. H. LUDERS, A List of Brāhmi Inscriptions from the earliest times to about A.D. 400 (LL), *EI* 10, 1-126, No. 988.

by a ruined wall. Right in front of the temple was a *Nandi-maṇḍapa* no trace of which now remains.

But the temple proper is in good state of preservation except the tower, quite the half of which has fallen. It consists of two parts, the *garbhagṛha* and the *maṇḍapa*, built on a peculiar plan which differs from those of the temples at Balsane. The plan[44] is arrived at by setting two squares of varying dimensions diagonally to one another so that their immediately opposite corners are made to overlap. Or, as described by COUSENS,[45] " in reality it is formed of two squares touching side to side, whose sides have been whittled down to narrow panels by the deep recessing of the corners into a line of angles running straight between the diminished sides." The smaller square is the shrine and the larger is the *maṇḍapa*. The plans of the temples[46] at Balsane are also made up of two such squares, but they are differently arranged. There the smaller square is made to pierce a side of the larger one in the middle. These different arrangements have resulted in different arrangements of the porches as well. At Ambarnath, the porches occupy the three corners of the larger square which forms the *maṇḍapa* while at Balsane the porches of No. 4 and the two side shrines and one porch of No 1 (which here take the place of the porches) project from the middle portion of the three sides of the larger square as the *maṇḍapa*. So far as only the plan of the shrine is concerned, the temple No 4 at Balsane differs from the other two in having the corners at different angles with one another while No. 1, in its turn, differs from the other two in having two shrines of a plan similar to that of the principle one in place of the two side porches. The temples at Balsane have deep vestibules between the *garbhagṛha* and the *maṇḍapu* while the space of the vestibule in the Ambarnath temple has been consumed by the flight of steps that leads to the floor of the *garbhagṛha*.

The *garbhagṛha* which faces the west is a sunken, square (13'-6" × 13'-6")[47] chamber which is reached by a descent of few steps.[48] The whole depth of the ante-chamber being occupied by the flight of steps, the shrine-door has come unusually forward. The interior of the shrine-walls is entirely denuded of ornament. The floor which is sunk below the outside ground level and which is at a depth of some 8' from the level of the *maṇḍapa* floor, is paved and contains in the middle the cult object : the ' *svayambhu liṅga* ' which is only ' projecting lump of natural rock.[49] From the middle of the floor leads out through the north side a channel by which the ' *tīrthodaka* ' was taken to the ' *tīrthakuṇḍa*,' or small cistern outside on the north, just below the image of *Brahmā*.[50] The *tīrthakuṇḍa* is again connected with the rivulet by a slab-drain. There are some traces of pillars in the interior of the shrine and square holes for lamp-posts in each corner. COUSENS[51] conjectured that the shrine chamber had originally two floors, upper and lower, the upper one for a duplicate *liṅga* for a ceremonial purposes. The upper floor, according to him, was on tha same level as that of the *maṇḍapa*. This receives confirmation from a feature which missed COUSENS' observation. There is a small pipe-channel in the south wall, some 6' above the level of the lower floor which leads through the wall to a

44. *MTD.,* Pl. IX.   48. *MTD.,* Pl. IX.
45. Ibid., 14.   49. Ibid., 15.
46. Ibid., Pl. XXI.   50. Ibid., Pl. IX.
47. *IA. 3.* 318.   51. Ibid., 14-15

sort of basin on the south-east outer end.[52]   The ceiling of the shrine is plain except the central portion in the east which has images, geometric patterns and designs.[53]

Next comes the shallow lobby in front of the shrine-door. It has small niches, one on either side[54] but they are now empty. The shrine-door is well carved and ornamented. The threshold has a ' *Kīrtimukha* ' on either side of the central boss while in front of it is a semi-circular stone or the ' *ardhacandraśilā* '. The lintel has a seated figure of *Gaṇeśa*[55] in the centre while the pediment above has been carved with figures of lions and elephants and images of *Śiva* and other deities as also with human figures in various postures.[56] But most of these have been badly damaged. The jambs have neat pilasters and three figures of deities of which the central one represents a form of *Śiva*.[57] A row of *haṁsas* or swans decorates the front of the step.[58]

Then comes the *maṇḍapa* which is closed or ' *gūḍha* '. It consists of a central square which is surrounded by an aisle which again has lobbies on the four sides. This addition of the lobbies has resulted in a cruciform shape of the whole interior. This is not to be found in Temple No. 4 at Balsane. The *maṇḍapa* is entered by three doorways from the three porches. The interior walls of the *maṇḍapa* are quite plain. The porches have no benches or dwarf-walls, which are found in the temples at Balsane. The three doorways that lead to the *maṇḍapa* are similar to the shrine-doorway and have before them the ornamental semicircular low steps or the ' *ardhacandraśilā* '. Gaṇeśa occupies the centre of the lintel of each doorway.

§ 24—PILLARS

There are ten free-standing pillars in the temple, four in the centre of the *maṇḍapa* on each corner of the square, supporting the main ceiling and two in each porch supporting the roof. Then each lobby has carved pilasters in the outer corners and a pair of richly carved three-fourths detached pillars at the inner end. Each porch has, besides the two free-standing pillars, a pair of pilasters.

The pillars of the porches differ greatly from those of the *maṇḍapa*. All the pillars are of three varieties. The four principal ones in the *maṇḍapa* are alike and are nearly square at the base and change into octagons at a little over one-third their height. Their capitals are circular under square abaci, which again are surmounted with dwarfed columns terminating in bracket-capitals supported by ' *Kīcaka* ' figures.[59] The pillars in the main or west, and the south porches are similar and rise from the square to round necks and round capitals whereas those in the north porch break the symmetry by continuing the square plan all the way up. The pilasters imitate more or less the pillars which stand before them. The principal and the three-fourths detached pillars[60]in the *maṇḍapa* are richly decorated from top to bottom with figure-sculptures and ornamental mouldings. The corners of the square parts of these are cut to form two re-entrant angles and the bases are decorated with various mouldings among which the ' *padma* ' or ' *cyma-reversa* ' and the

52. This is marked S on plan I in IA 3. 3.18.
53. *BG* 14. 4.   57. Ibid.
54. *IA* 3. 318, fig. II.   58. Ibid.
55. COUSENS did not notice this image.   29. *MTD.*, Fig. 5.
56. *IA*. 3. 318, fig. XIV.   60. Ibid., Pl. XI.

'*Kumuda*' or '*torus*' are prominent. The circular capitals of the principal pillars are shaped to form a most conventionalised '*pot* and *foliage*' member while the corresponding portions of the detached pillars are moulded in '*cyma recta*' or '*padma*' and '*torus*' or '*Kumuda*'. The dwarf-column over the capitals of the former is not found in the latter. Each face of the square part of the pillars has three images of deities vertically arranged, the lower two about 8" high and the upper one about 2' 6" high, all under miniature *toranas*. Their octagonal parts bear upon each face, in two courses, images of deities and figures of human beings between miniature pilasters and under miniature '*toranas*', each about 1' high and above this is a band of *Kirtimukhas*. The dwarf-column above the capital has on each face an image of a deity about 14" high. Over this immediately comes the four-handed *Kicaka*-figure supporting the bracket. The detached pillars have above the *Kicaka*-brackets each a panel about 2' high in which is an image of a deity between miniature pillars and under a *torana*. Excepting this, they closely imitate the principal pillars in their decoration.

§ 25—THE CEILING

The most conspicuous feature of the temple is the ceilings[61] of the *mandapa* and the porches. Those of the former have a variety of exquisite designs. The finest of these is the central dome which rests upon the heavy beams over the four central pillars. In the centre is a pendant in the shape of an inverted octopetalous half-blown flower to which rises the dome in a series of concentric circles. The lowest circle is decorated with a running scroll whereas the remaining four are scooped out into what seem to be half-blossomed conventional lotuses which COUSENS[62] calls "*half cup-shaped* and *cusped hollows.*" The triangular spaces in the corners between the angle of the beam and the edge of the circle are filled in with *Kirtimukhas* and scroll-work.

The ceilings of the lobbies on the three sides, the west, north and south are covered with flat panels carved with *vermiculated* work in geometric designs. The ceilings of the porches are flat consisting of two panels each also carved with *vermiculated* work in geometric designs. Between the central dome and the shrine doorway are two flat ceiling panels which are decorated with *lotus rosettes* and other flat ornament. That immediately near the dome has a border of beautiful scroll-work and, a rectangular panel at either end bearing a mythological scene such as the *Tāṇḍava* of *Śiva*. The corners in all these ceiling panels, are occupied by *Kirtimukhas*. The ceiling of the aisle on three sides coved downwards from the inner square to the walls and this is decorated with two tiers of ribbing with *lozenge*-shaped *rosettes* between the ribs. The faces of the beams in the hall are decorated with rows of little figures in miniature pillared niches and a string course of these runs round the tops of the walls, just below the covered ceiling.

§—26 EXTERIOR

Coming to the exterior of the temple it will be found that the walls are arranged in alternate projections and recesses, as a result of the multiplicity of angles in the

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61. Ibid., Pl. X.   62. Ibid., 16.

plan being carried up through the walls and the towers. These are again crossed by horizontal lines of deeply cut mouldings. The basement or the *pitha*[63] (properly called *adhisthnaā*) is a series of projecting and receding members. At the bottom is the '*ayma reversa*' or '*padma*'[64] moulding. Over it is a deep neck which may be called '*gala*'. Then comes the ,*torus*' or half-round moulding which may be called ˘*kumuda*.[65] Over this again is a deep neck or '*gala*'. Then comes a broad band of *kirtimukhās*[66] called '*garāspattti*'[67] over which is the '*gajathara*'[68] or a string course of elephants. Here ends the last course are to be found human figures carved between each pair of elephants. Here ends the basement or *pitha* of the temple.

The walls proper or the '*mandovara*'[69] begin from a band of scroll-work. Over this is a square member with the upper corners rounded. This may be called '*upāna*'.[70] It is carved with a number of figures of human beings—among which may be seen scenes from life and amorous couples or '*mithunas*'—and a niche on each face with a miniature canopy over the figures of deities in it. This is surmounted by a pitcher-like member or '*kumbha*'[71] which is plain except the floral pattern in the centre. Over this is the '*padma*' or *ayma-reversa* moulding with a '*toothed*' or saw-like drop-projection and a triangular upward boss on each face. Next is the '*jaṅghā*'[72] or the band of figure panels of the wall. This is adorned with figures of gods and goddesses as also of dancing men and women. The base of the '*jaṅghā*' is a series of four horizontal mouldings and covering āll at the centre it has a small miniature pillared niche containing an image of a single deity under a miniature *torana*. Over this is the half life-size figure either of a deity or of a man or a woman, between two pilasters and under a miniature *torana*. Again over this comes a small panel on the face of a member consisting of several horizontal mouldings. This surmounted by a *cyme-recta* or '*padma*'[73] moulding above which comes the overhanging eave supported by a *kicaka* figure. From here begins

63. COUSENS in *MTD..* 16 and BURGESS in *ASWI* 9. 76 use this word as a Saṁskrt equivalent for the basement. But the proper Sanskrit word according to ACHARYA P. K. is "*adhisthāna.*" see *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture* (*Architecture* 1) P. 17 "Pitha" according to him was used for the pedestal of an idol, the *yoni* part of the Phallus, a ground plan a religious seat, etc, *Architecture*, 1. 349.

64. *Architecture*, 1.337 ; P. K. ACHARYA, *Architecture of Mānasāra, Illustrations.* (*Architecture* 5) sheet No. 2, (Oxford University Press, 1934).

65. *Architecture* 5. sheet No. XXVII, No. 4a.

66. Ibid 1. 132 where ACHARAY calls it as "*kirti-vaktra*". COUSENS in *MTD*. 83 gives "Garasmukha" also as its synonym.

67. By COUSENS in MTD, 16 and 83.

68. This is used by COUSENS in Ibid.

69. This is used by COUSENS in Ibid, 16.

70. ACHARYA, *Architecture*, 1. 98 H. D. SANKALIA in *Architecture of Gujarat* (*AG*) p. 85 (and footnote 5) calls a similar moulding by the word '*bhata*'.

71. Though according to ACHARYA-*Architecture*, 1. 25, 41. it is one of the basement mouldings. See ACHARYA-*Architecture*, 5 Sheet No. XXVII, 9.

72. Used by COUSENS in *MTD*.' 16 and 6 83. '*Jaṅghā*' or the thigh, in architecture is applied to the broad band of sculptures upon the walls of a temple above the basement. But ACHARYA in *Architecture* 1. 206. gives a different meaning.

73. ACHARYA, *Architecture*, 5. Sheet No. XXVII, 2.

the tower or *'vimāna.'* There are three principal niches on the exterior of the *grabhagṛha*—one in the centre of each face in the *'jaṅghā'* and there are other three in the basement or the *'piṭha'* each immediately below the one in the *'jaṅghā'* The niches in the *'piṭha'* are flanked each by ornate pilasters and have projecting eaves over the lintels. Above these, they have each a carved pediment surmounted by a *kalaśa*. Each of the three principal niches is flanked by round pilasters and topped by a projecting eave. The eaves are moulded in *cyma-reversa* or *'padma'*

§ 27—VIMANA

The tower [74] has four vertical bands ornamented with frets running up each of its four faces. The corners between these bands are filled with horizontal tiers of pillar-like ornament obviously a modification of miniature tower or *'vimana'*, which, on account of its being a decorative detail, it has become very difficult to recognise. At the bottom of each vertical band which runs from the top-most cornice of the *'maṇḍovara'* to the *'āmalaka'* is a *caitya*-window ornament inset with an image of a deity. Between the tower and the roof of the *'maṇḍapa'* is an *'antarāla'* and on the north and south sides of it—in continuation of the lower horizontal tiers of the *'vimana'*—are two pillared niches each, one above the other, containing figures of deities. The upper niches are crowned with *caitya*-window ornament.

The *maṇḍapa* has a pyramidal roof consisting of repetitions of an ornament, somewhat *cupola*-shaped resting upon a many-legged stool. This ornament is found in the decoration of the *'vimāna'* also. The fronticepiece of the tower, which rose above the roof of the *maṇḍapa*, seems to have been a fine piece of structure as is indicated by its remains which consist of a *toraṇa* flanked by an exquisite floral ornament.

§ SCULPTURES

The figures in the band called *'jaṅghā'* include those of gods and goddesses and male and female dancers as well. There are in all 70 images of deities in this band of which 30 are goddesses and 40 are gods. Most of the gods and goddesses are representations of various forms of Śiva and Pārvati. Excluding his *avatāras*, Viṣṇu is represented 4 times, in four different aspects. This predominence of Śaiva images is quite in keeping with the Śaiva character of the temple. Besides these, the prinpal niches contain :

(1) East or Back Niche—*Maheśa*[75] (and not Trimurti as COUSENS thinks).
(2) North—Mahākali[76].
(3) South—*Gajahāmūrti* (and not *Nateśvara* as COUSENS[77] thinks).

The south and east niches in the *'piṭha'* are now empty and the north one, below that of Mahākālī, has a figure of *Brahmā*[78] with his consort on his knee. Between the north principal niche and the *caitya*-window ornament at the bottom of the fretted band is

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74. It is recorded in *BG* 14.3 that the height of the tower was 50 feet.
75. *MTD.,* Pl. XI.
76. Ibid., Pl. V.
77. *BDCRI* 1.173
78. *MTD.,* Pl. VI.

Śiva as Yogīśvara and the circular *caitya*-window is *Naṭeśvara.*[79] On the east between the principal niche and the *caitya*-window ornament, is *Pārvatī.* The *antarāla* niches on the north also contain images of which the upper can be recognised as that of *Andhakāsuravadhamūrti.* Among the images on the *jaṅghā*, most noteworthy, are those of *Varāha, Nārasimha, Mahiṣamardinī*[90] and *Kāmadeva.*[81]

§ 28—RESEMBLANCES

The multi-cornered plan resulting in the exterior of alternate projections and recesses is not peculiar to the Ambarnath or the Deccan temples. Instances earlier than or contemporary with the Ambarnath may be cited from Gujarat, Malwa, Rajputana, Orissa and Karnatak.[82] Also one-shrine temples with a *maṇḍapa* and three porches added to it are found in the above mentioned regions.

COUSENS cited the Surya temple at Modhera as having been originally provided with an upper and a lower shrine at Ambarnath.[83] But SANKALIA[84] thinks—with BURGESS—'that the image proper (whose seat is now lying in the pit) was enshrined in the upper cell. And the lower was perhaps meant for storage purposes'. Moreover he points out that there is no way to get into the lower cell, 'except by jumping; unless we suppose that a ladder was used to get down'. But the case is quite different with the Ambarnath Temple. The channels, the basin, the *tirthakuṇḍa*, the traces of pillars and lamp-post referred to above, with the flight of steps leading straight to the lower chamber undoubtedly show that the shrine had two floors both of which held the cult-object. There is thus a great difference between the two temples and the similarity as suggested by COUSENS is only superficial.

As pointed out by COUSENS[65] the pillars in the *maṇḍapa* are somewhat similar in style to those in the temple of Vimala at Abu and the old temple of Somanath at Pattan. In this respect they also resemble those in the temples at Un.[86] But the details of decoration differ. For example, the pillars[87] in the Vimala Temple have no *kīcaka* figure on the brackets while some of them have large figure-brackets which are not found in the Ambarnath. However, they all closely resemble in having an exuberance of carving upon them.

The central ceiling of the Ambarnath closely resembles that of the temple at Somanath[88] (Jami Masjid), but there the number of rings or concentric circles is greater than at Ambarnath whereas the *kīrtimukhas.* occupying the corner-spaces and the scroll-design are absent in it. The 'half *Cup* shared and *cusped*' ornament at both places is strikingly alike, while modifications of it are found in the ceilings of the temples at Abu, Un etc.,[89]

79. COUSENS, Ibid., 17 and Pl. VII.
80. *BDCRI* 1 172.   81. Ibid, Fig. 4.
82. e.g. the Nilkantheshvar Temple at Sunak. *ASWI* 9 Pls. LXXXI-LXXXIII; the triple shrine Temple at Kasara, *ASWI.* pls. LXXXVIII and XI; Chaubera dera No. 1 at Un *PR ASI, WC.,* 1918-19. Pl. XVIII; the Siddhanath Temple at Nemawar, *PR, ASI, WC.,* 1921. Pl. XXVI; the Temples at Kirdu, *PR, ASI, WC.,* 1915. 67. 41.
83. 'MTD., 15.   86. *PR, ASI, WC.,* 1919. Pl. XVIII.
84. *AG,* 85 (and footnote 1).   87. *IT..* No. 46; AAWI., Pl. 35.
85. *MTD.,* 15.   88. *A.,* Fig. 47.
89. Ibid., Figs. 45-46; *AAWI.,* Pls. 36-37.

The mouldings of the *piṭha* evince greater similarity with those of the Gujarat temples[60] than those elsewhere. However, the *piṭha* of the Ambarnath Temple has not the complete series of mouldings which some of the Gujarat examples possess.[61] Here, as pointed out by COUSENS, three mouldings are missing :—

1. *Chhajāh* which should have come in between the *paṭṭa* of *kīrtimukhas* and the " *kumuda* " of *tours* moulding.

2. *Aśvathara* which should have some immediately above the *gajathara*, and

3. *Narathara* which is usually the top-most moulding of the *piṭha*, (which, however, is inserted in the *maṇḍovara* above the band of scroll-work).

The omission of these three mouldings has rendered the *piṭha* disproportionate in comparison with the whole height of the temple. The dwarfish or pigmean appearrance of the *piṭha* does not show to advantage beneath the elegant superstructure. The *maṇḍovara*, here, begins two courses earlier than what it would have done had there been the full complement of the basement mouldings. This happens, as will be seen, because of the insertion of the ' *narathara* ' in it.

It is the ' *vimāna* ' which connects the Ambarnath with the temples of the *Cāluyas* of Badami and *Kalyāṇa*. The earliest vimāna in the northern style in Karnatak, that of the temple of Huchchimalli Gudi,[92] has a vertical band running up each of its four faces with almost a circular *caitya*-window inset a Śaiva deity at its base.[91] And this feature is found on the temples Nos.9, 24 and of Durgā at Aihole,[94] as also on the later temples of Mallikarjun, Papanath, and Galaganath at Pattadkal.[95] The vertical band in these cases is decorated with *caiya*-window ornaments also. The vertical bands of the Ambarnath *vimāna* have also this decoration but the shape of the ornament is so disguised that it can be recognised only upon closer observation. The *Calukya* temples cited above also contain ' *amalakas* ' in their ' *vimānas* ' but they never seem to develop into miniature ' *vimānas* ' or towers rising vertically one above the other as at Ambarnath.

The four vertical bands going up the four faces of the *vimāna*' is a feature also common to the *Haihaya* temples at Amarkantak,[96] the ' *Candella* ' temples at Knajuraho[97] and the *Kesari* temples at Bhuvaneshvar,[98] while it is also shared by the *Calukya* temples at Sandera,[99] Sidhapur[100] and Ruhavi[101] in Gujarat. But all these differ from the ' *vimāna* ' of Ambarnath in many other respects and do not present complete analogies.

But the temples of the *Paramaras* in Malwa have *vimānas* resembling very closely that of the Ambarnath. Of these the most noteworthy are the Udayeṣvar (or

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91. e.g the Temple of somnath at Pattan, *AG.,* 102 ; *MTD.,* 16. *AG,* 75-76.

91. e.g. the Temple of Somnath at Pattan, *AG.,* 102 ; *MTD.,* 16.

92. See § 9 above.

93. Cf. *CA.,* Pls. XII, XIV, XV XVI, IX.

94. Ibid.   98. Ibid., No. 74.

95. Ibidd., Pls. XXXIX (i and iii).   99. *ASWI..* 9. Pl. XCIV.

96 *PR ASI WC.,* 1921 Pl. XIX.   100. *AG.,* Fig. 34.

97. *IT., Nos.* 80 and 82.   101. Ibid., Fig. 33.,

102. *Modern Review,* 1938, plate facing P. 607.

Nilakkanthesvar) at Udayapur,[102] the Siddhanath at Nemawar[103] and the Nilakantheshvar at Un.[104] These, besides having the four vertical bands with almost a circular *caitya*-window at the base inset a *Śaiva* deity have miniature *vimānas* filling up the sections of the main *vimāna*, a feature which, though not fully manifest, is present in a most suitable form in the shape of pillar-like ornament at Ambarnath, and which we find clearly developed at Balsane in the Khandesh and Sinnar in the Nasik district's respectively.

The Ambarnath is connected with the above cited temples by yet another link which is the '*antarāla*' that projects between 'the '*vimāna*' and the roof of the *mandapa*. In his respect its similarity with the *Paramāra* temples[105] is especially noteworthy, though this feature is also shared by some of the *Candella* and *Haihaya* temples.[106]

The remaining temples of the group are, as said above, situated at Balsane, a village on the north bank of the river Burai in the West Khandesh District. Balsane has several mediaeval temples which were built during the 11th and 12th centuries showing that the village was an important religious centre in those days. One of these monuments has a short inscription of Ś.1106 from which we know that a prince named *Kṛṣṇarāja* ruled over the region around Balsane, who must have been a feudal chief under the *Yādavas* of *Seunadeśa*.[107] But the important monuments there have no inscriptions and in the records of the Deccan there is no reference to be found to this place. It is not known, therefore, what its ancient name was or how far back its antiquity goes beyond the 11th century.

Of the temples at Balsane, Nos 1 and 4 belong to the earliest group headed by the Ambernath, in the Thana District. The remaining temples belong to different groups and will be described in their proper places. The similarities and differences which the plans of Nos 1 and 4 show that of the Ambarnath have been brought out above.[108]

§ 30 - TEMPLE NO. 1 TRIPLE SHRINE AT BALSANE

Temple No.1[109] is perhaps the earliest known instance of a triple shrine temple in the Deccan. It consists of a central *mandapa*—facing west--round which, on the north, east, and south are arranged three shrines each having its own vestibule. But the temple is not a ' *Trimūrti-mandira*'. i.e dedicated to the Hindu Trinity representing *Brāhmā, Vishnu* and *Siva*. No doubt the south and east or main shrines were dedicated to *Vishnu* and *Siva* respectively, but the exterior sculptures on the north shrine indicate that the shrine was dedicated to a form of *Pārvatī* and not to *Brahmā*, as might be expected. · The main shrine held

103. *PR, ASI, WC.*, 1921. Pl XXVI.

104. Ibid., 1919. Pl. XIX.

105. E.g. the Udayeshvar Temple at Udayapur, and the Goaleshavar Temple at Un. *PR, ASI, WC.*, 1919. Pl. XXI.

106. *PR, ASI, WC.*, 1919. 45-46.

107. *BISMQ* 22. 2. 65.

108. § 23 above.

109. *MTD.*, 23-34 and Pls. XVI XVII, XX, XXII, XXIII, XXIV ; *PR,ASI, WC.*, 1919. 55-56 and Pl. IV.

the *liṅga* while the two side shrines, which once held images, have retained only the altars or the '*pīṭhas*' for them. The exterior sculptures and the figures of *Gaṇeśa* on the doors of the shrines fully support COUSENS' statement that the temple "has been from the beginning a *Śaiva* temple" and disproves BANARJI'S contention that "originally this was a temple of *Viṣṇu*".

The floor of the main shrine is not sunk and the vestibule in front of the shrine is of full depth. It will be seen that in these respects this temple differs from the Ambarnath and shows on advance over it. Here the floor being on the same level as the rest of the floor of the building, the flight of steps is absent and the vestibule, which is but a shallow room as at Ambarnath assumes here the proper depth which gives it a distinct individuality.

All the doorways[111] are elaborately carved and follow, more or less, the pattern of that of Ambarnath. But here the '*haṁsa*' is absent while the *Kīrti-mukha* instead of occupying the ends of the threshold as at Ambarnath, has been inserted upon the slender pilaster on either side of the doorway. The scroll design runs round the first two frames and in the semi-circles of the second frame are introduced small figures of musicians in various postures. The fifth or last frame is a pile of archers seated on the back of lions. Immediately over the projecting caves is a frieze of five miniature pillared shrines, each enshrining an image of a deity mostly forms of *Siva* and *Pārvatī*—while alternating with these are larger images of goddesses below elephants and lions. Over this again is a similar but smaller frieze containing eight such shrines. But only three of them have images of deities, and the remaining five hold figures of female dancers. Among these images can be recognised those of *Mahiṣāsurmardinī*, *Pārvatī*, *Gaṇeśa* and *Māheśvarī*. The group of larger figures on either jamb comprises an image of some deity flanked by two attendants on either side. The central images on the jambs of the doorway of the north shrine are goddesses, which is a significant fact. Below each of these groups is a frieze of five panels, in a line with the threshold, containing human figures and representations of deities. In front of the threshold is an *ardhacandraśilā* carved in a double-lotus. But in spite of this elaborateness of decoration, the beauty of the whole conception suffers from being slightly unsymmetrical.

The vestibule of the main shrine has a niched recess on either side, but they are empty now. In its centre is a *Nandi* which COUSENS says is not original. There is no separate *Nandi-maṇḍapa* now and there is nothing to indicate that there was one. The vestibules of the side shrines are nothing better than plain cells.

§ 31—PILLARS AND CEILINGS

The *maṇḍapa* is a square hall (17'×17') and has four pillars in the central square supporting the dome above and corresponding pilasters. The principal

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110. When, in February 1942, I visited Balsane for a first hand study of the temples there, I found that BANERJI's account of the temples (in PR, ASI, WC., 1919) is completely misleading and unreal. That of COUSENS is correct.

111. *MTD.*, Pl. XXIV.

pillars, and those of the open porch on the west, are all of one pattern.[112] The principal pillars have square bases and their shafts are also square up to nearly half of their height. Above this they are octagonal and circular. Their capitals are circular and support the *Kīcaka*-brackets above, which in turn support the beams above. The pilasters maintain the square plan all through while the porch pillars imitate closely the principal ones. The corners of the square shafts are all cut ao ss to form two reentering angles. They are all devoid of figure sculpture in their decoration which consists only of fretwork designs. They are simpler in design than those of the Ambarnath.

The ceiling of the central bay is like that of the Ambarnath dome, and has two ascending rings of *cusped* mouldings which terminate at the centre in a *cusped rosette-pendant*. The corner spaces re filled wl h florid *Kīrtimukhas* as at Ambarnath while the ceiling of the aisles is covered down from the beams on the four central pillars to the tops of the walls and is decorated with ribbing in a fashion similar to that of Ambarnath. The ceiling of the porch imitates the hall ceiling. The ceiling of the shrine is less elaborate than that of the hall and the porch. As at Ambarnath, the pilasters along the walls support, above the *Kīcakā*-brackets, beautiful panels about 1'-9" high, each representing a deity under a *toraṇa*.

§ 32—THE 'PITHA' AND 'MANDOVARA'

Coming now to the exterior of the temple, we meet with the same style as that of the Ambarnath, only that here the walls have a richer decoration than at Ambarnath. Says COUSENS[114] " in fact, we have here the style in its fullest development, crystalized into its richest details, and sparkling with light and shade from summit to basement ".

The basement or '*piṭha*' and the walls or '*maṇḍovara*' have the same mouldings as those of the Ambarnath. But here the chief note-worthy points in which the temple differs from the Ambarnath, are the omission of the '*gajathara*' from the *piṭha* and the change of the half-round torus or '*kumuda*' moulding into a wedge-shaped *astragal* with a sharp edge called '*Kaṇi*' or in Sanskrit *antarita*'.[115] There is also an innovation in the *Jaṅghā* in the form of an overhanging eave called '*chajjā*' over the large sculptures which is absent in that of the Ambarnath Temple. The *piṭha* begins with a double plin·h—*upānas* or *bhaṭas* as they are called in Gujarat. Above this is the *cyma-reversa* or '*padma*' moulding bearing along ts surface repressentions of inverted lotus—leafs with the centre lines deeply cut. This may also be called '*jāḍamba*'. Over this is the above-mentioned '*kaṇi*" or *astragal* between two deep recesses and surmounting it is the '*fillet*' or '*paṭṭa* of *kīrtimukhas* called '*garāspaṭṭi*". Here ends the basement. It will be seen that the omission of the '*gajathara*' has reduced the height of the '*piṭha*' still further than that of the Ambarnath-pīṭha.

The '*maṇḍovara*' begins from above the '*garāspaṭṭi*' with a large member which is composed of a *cavetto* moulding called '*karna* with a *laṭṭa* or fillet of

112. Ibid., Pl. XXIII.   114. Ibid., 24.
113. Ibid.   115. *Architecture*, 1.47,

scrolls below, then a square member with the upper corners rounded and separated from the ' *karṇa* ' below by a thin ' *kaṇi* '. It is decorated on each face with a pillared miniature niche containing a representation of a deity and a horizontal band of rhomboids running across its middle. The rounded corners are decorated with a leaf-pattern. The whole may be called ' *upāna* '. As compared with the corresponding member of the Ambarnath '*maṇḍovara*' this is plainer because of the absence of the human figure—'*mithunas*'—and the scenes from life with which the former is encrusted. Then comes the *torus* which may be called '*kumbha*' or '*Kalaśa*' with the saw-like, toothed, drop-projection which the corresponding member of the Ambarnath Temple does not possess. This is decorated with qutrefoil ornaments in the middle. Above this comes the '*padma*' or *cyma reversa* moulding with a *Caitya*-wisdow ornament instead of the triangular plaque decorating it at intervals. This is also called '*Kevala*'. It is decorated on the front with a *paṭṭa* of rhomboids. Then comes a series of three *cyma-reversa* mouldings the lowest of which has again the '*toothed*' drop-projection. Covering these is a small vertical panel, bearing a representation of a deity, just below the larger image in the ' *jaṅghā* ' which immediately follows. The ' *jaṅghā* ' contains panels with figures of gods and goddesses and dancing men and women, inside between ringed pilasters, and below the overhanging eave or ' *chajjā* '. Except above the principal corners, the eave is surmounted by a pyramid of *Caitya*-window ornaments which again is surmounted by a conventional form of the ' *vase* and *foliage* ' ornament which produces a pleasant effect. These last three are absent in the Ambarnath *maṇḍovara*, there the place of the pyramid of *Caitya*-windows being taken by small rectangular panels bearing representations of gods and goddesses, and that of the ' *vase* and *foliage* ' ornament by a capital-like member consisting of several projecting and receding ' *cyma-recta* ' or ' *padma* ' moulding. The ' *chajjā* ' at Ambarnath forms the top-most cornice of the ' *maṇḍovara*.' Over the '*vase*' and *foilage* ornament is a broad *cyma-reversa* moulding with the ' *toothed* ,' dorp-projection and over it is the double cornice—a combination of the *cyma-recta* and *reversa*—from which above begins the '*vimāna*.' There are no *kīcaka* brackets, as at Ambarnath, supporting the exterior eave or cornice. The principal corners of the three shrines have deep, pilastered niches with overhanging ribbed eaves surmounted by very elaborate pediments, consisting of three pillared, miniature niches inset with figures of deities. The niches here are more elaborate than those of the Ambarnath Temple.

In the decoration of the ' *maṇḍovara* ' the most conspicuous detail, however, is the narrow vertical band of scroll-work, introduced in several places. This, together with surface fretwork and lozenge-shaped ornament forms, the main decoration of later temples such as those at Kokamthan[116] Sinnar[117] etc., where we find the image-carving nearly dismissed.

§ 33—SCULPTURES

The number of images of deities—either gods or goddesses—in the *jaṅghā*' is here less than that at Ambarnath, and that of the figures of dancers and musicians,

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116. § 97 below   217. § § 47-48 below.

has become greater. The principal niches have been occupied by deities indicative of the original dedication of the shrines. The vandal has left very few images in tact, still however, it can be seen that *Śaiva* images predominate on the whole exterior. The principal niches hold images as follows : —

(a) East or Main Shrine —

    (1) East or back — *Naṭeśvara* or *Śiva* dancing the *Tāṇḍava*.

    (2) South — *Bhairava.*

    (3) North — *Mahākālī.*

(b) South Shrine—

    (1) South or back — *Narasiṁha.*

    (2) West — *Durgā* (COUSENS did not identify this image as he thought it was very indistinct. But it is not so.)

    (3) East — *Trivikrama.*

(c) North Shrine —

    (1) North or back — *Pārvatī.*

    (2) East — *Mahiṣāsuramardinī.*

    (3) West — fallen away.

§ 34—VIMANAS

Parts of the east or main and the south '*vimānas*' remain, but the north one has entirely disappeared. Though in the same general style as that of the Ambarnath *vimāna*, these show a further development in ornamentation. The pillar like ornament of the fromer, here assumes the form of a miniature '*vimāna*' perched on a pillar-shaft, making this temple more akin to those at Un and at other places in Malwa than to the temple of Ambarnath. These miniature '*vimānas*' closely copy the details of the principal '*vimāna*', though in an ornamental way. Inserted in the spaces between the pilasters are scroll-bands and standing figures of men and women of which the former is not found at Ambarnath. On the other hand the cupola-shaped member which forms a conspicuous ornamental detail of the Ambarnath '*vimāna*'—and *maṇḍapa*-roof is totally wanting in the decoration of the '*vimānas*' of this temple' The *Caitya*-window at Ambarnath is more florid than those here, and the pedestal upon which it stands has a panelled figure of a deity while here it is only decorated with a horizontal band of lozenges. The vertical bands of the Ambarnath '*vimāna*' have an even surface, though each of them is composed of several slabs, whereas here each band is made up of three vertical strips of which the middle one projects a bit forward. As at Ambarnath, each of the *Caitya*-windows has an image inset but most of them have been badly damaged.

The roof of the *maṇḍapa* is a total wreck, but the ruins show that there was an upper chamber over the principal *garbhagṛha*, the purpose of which is unknown. Between the *maṇḍapa*-roof and the *vimānas* of the three shrines were '*antarālas*' as at Ambarnath. The principal '*antarāla*' has four niches on either side inset with figures of deities.

§ 35—TEMPLE NO. 4, BALASANE.

The other example, Temple No. 4,[118] is on the east of the village at a short distance from No. 1. Nearly three-fourths of the shrine have collapsed ¡ and the 'vimāna' and the roof of the maṇḍapa are now no more.

Though of the same general plan as that of Ambarnath, it differs from it, in having, as already said, a star-shaped shrine. From what remains of the shrine-walls, it appears that the exterior of the shrine had the same mouldings as those of the maṇḍadpa exterior. The shrine doorway still stands and shows an identical design with that of No. 1. On the lintel it has a figure of Gaṇeśa 'and the thres-hold has, unlike the temple No. 1, kīrtimukhas on their ends. The shrine faces the east.

The maṇḍapa has four pillars in the central square and corresponding pilasters which are very similar, both in style and design, to those in the maṇḍapa of No. 1. and therefore, need not be described here. On the west, the maṇḍapa has two niches, one on either side of the way to the vestibule. The ceiling-patterns are also very similar to those of Temple No. 1. only that the coved ceiling is much broader and thus required additional support in the form of struts which rise at an angle from the capitals of the central pillars. The three porches on the three sides of the maṇḍapa had originally side-benches with back-rests but now they are missing. The 'vase and foliage' ornament as well as the Kīrtimukha-paṭṭa or the 'garāspaṭṭī' are omitted here, and the place of the former is taken by a capital-like ornament of several horizontal mouldings, while the latter has been replaced by' a band of rosettes and lozenge-shaped flowers, the former being not unlike the heraldic rose.' The figure-panels on the 'jaṅgha' have become broader than those of Ambarnath or those of Temple No. 1 and accommodate two or even three figures between pilasters and under niched pediments and toraṇas. Excepting these, the exterior of the maṇḍapa is in close similarity with the exterior of the Temple No. 1.

The question of the dedication of the temple cannot be easily settled as nothing remains of the shrine which would have given us a clue. But since it faces the east and has figures of Gaṇeśa on its lintels it appears that it was a Śaiva temple from the beginning.

§ 36—INFLUENCES

The existence of close similarities between the temples of the first group on the one hand, and those of Gujarat and Malwa on the other, as well as between the Ambarnath and the Balsane temple leads us to the question of influences.

Through the political designs of its rulers, the Deccan was constantly brought into close contact with Gujarat and Malwa, especially with the latter, during the 10th and 11th centuries. The attitude of the Silāhāras of North Konkan. which was for the most part friendly towards the Paramāras was mainly responsible for the clashes between the latter and the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa. The Yādavas remained all the while friendly assistants of the Cālukyas and took active part in their campaigns against the Paramāras.

The close architectural affinity between the Deccan and Gujarat—Malwa seems to find its explanation in these political events.

An analysis of the architecture of the Deccan Temples of the first group has shown that they resemble mainly :

(1) the *Paramāra* Temples in the respect of the tower or *vimāna*, and

(2) the *Calukya* Temples of Gujarat so far as their walls and basements are concerned.

The type of *vimāna* as that of the Ambarnath and Balsane temples is, outside the Deccan only to be found in Malwa and therefore may be taken as a characteristic only peculiar to them. We know that most of the *Paramāra* temples cited above are older than Ambarnath and the other temples of that group[119] The Siddhanath temple at Nemawar is placed on stylistic consideration even in the tenth century[120] an antiquity at which none of the Deccan temples can aspire. It is recorded that Bhoja built many temples in Malwa,[121] and in view of the style of the existing *Paramāra* temples, there is every reason to suppose that their style could not have been different. On the other hand, we do not know what style the pre-Ambarnath temples of the Deccan, which are mentioned in the records,[122] were built in, as none of them is known to exist now. If they were in the *Cālukya* style then the type of their *vimāna* would have been different from that of Ambarnath. All available evidence, therefore, points to the conclusion that the Deccan owes the type of *vimāna* of its early temples to the *Paramāra* temples of Malwa.

The points of resemblance with the *Caulukya* temples of Gujarat being mainly confined to the decoration of the *piṭha, maṇḍovara* and the pillars and ceilings it is reasonable to assume that the earlier *Caulukya* temples may have influenced the Deccan Temples of the first group to a certain extent.

Whether the temples at Balsane derived their style and form and ornamentation from the Ambarnath or independently and directly from the *Paramāra* and *Caulukya* temples cannot be said definitely. *Stylistically* they seem to be later than the Ambarnath temple and it is possible that the first alternative is correct.

§ 37—TEMPLE AT VAGHILI (106, A.D.)

To this period also belonged the temple of *Krṣṇa* at Vaghli[123] in the East Khandesh District. But the name however, is its modern qualification, which it acquired from the Mahānubhāvas who, in a later date, oppropriated it for their use. It was according to the inscription[124], which is built in the walls inside, dedicated originally to *Siva* under the name of *Siddheśanātha* or *Siddheśvara*. It was built, in § 991 at the latest (1069 A. D.) by Govindaraja (and his wife), a *Maurya* feudatory of the *Mahāmaṇḍalanātha* Seuṇa of the *Yādavas*. To the temple were attached a *sattra* or a charitable feeding hall and a well.[125]

118. *MTD.*, 24-25 and Pls. XVIII and XXI.

119. D. C. GANRULI, *A History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, pp. 254-74.

120. *PR, ASI, WC.*, 1921. 98.

121. see the Udayapur Prasasti, *EI* 1. 236.

122. see Appendix Nos. 1, 28, 54, 55., LID., No. 227 mentions that Jhanja built 12 temples of Siva.

123. *MTD.*, 31.

124. *LID.*, 259 ; see also Appendix. 79.

125. Ibid.

Most of the original structure has disappeared, and what little remains of it being encased in mud-walls, does not help us in knowing what its original plan was. It appears that the temple had an open *maṇḍapa* with a bench running round the three sides. There were four pillars in the central square supporting the roof, helped by those around the sides. The pillars[126] are noteworthy for two things : (1) their simplicity of form and design and (2) their capitals. Their shafts rise from square bases and retain the square plan up to more than one-third their height. Above this they become octagonal, then circular being moulded in a sharp *kaṇi* on the upper and lower sides of a fillet. This is surmounted by a drum-like member from which rises again the shaft-portion composed of several diminishing rings. This portion has on each face a triangular facet with a miniature *Caitya*-window at the base. The capital above consists of two, 'cushion' members, the larger over the smaller one, and above them is a projecting square plate with leaf-pendents at each corner. This is surmounted by four brackets supporting the beams above. Under each bracket is a well carved *kīcaka* figure. The side-pillars closely imitate the principal ones upto the capital but they differ upwards in having plain roll-brackets carved with a pendant, inverted cobra-head. It is perhaps here that we find the ' cobra-bracket ', introduced in the Mediaeval Temple Architecture of the Deccan for the first time. The type of pillar and the cobra-bracket become characteristic features, as will be shown below, of the later temples of the Deccan. In comparison, however, with the Ambarnath and Balsane temples, the whole architecture of this temple-- the pillars, interior walls and ceilings-- is so simple and plain as to suggest that Deccan Architecture had begun to lose its artistic splendour at least in some localities at the time when efforts were being made to carry it to the climax of perfection in other regions.

The ceiling, which otherwise is quite plain, has a remarkable piece of sculptures presenting in bold relief *Kṛṣṇa (Govinda)* and the *Gopīs*.[127] We meet with the same theme again in the Jogeshvar Temple at Devlana in the Nasik District.[128]

Beside the temple remains are the ruins of a rectangular step-well built of huge blocks of stone. This undoubtedly is the well referred to in the above record. The charitable feeding hall must have been built near these remains and the mound to the right of this well may disclose the ruins of the 'Sattra' if properly excavated.

§ 38—TEMPLES OF THE SECOND GROUP "B" (1100-1150 A.D.)

The temples of the *Second Group* show the style as it developed in the first half of the 12th century. They are all situated in the districts of Kandesh and Nasik and were within the confines of the *Seuṇadeśa*[129] of the records for which reason they may be said to form a geographical unit.[130]

Though being built on the same general plan, they are here resolved into two sub-groups, viz. (1) Large Type,and (2) Small Type for the sake of convenience,

126. *MTD.,* Pl. XXXVI.
127. Ibid.
128. § 77 below.
129. *LID.,* Nos. 261 and 339.
130. See Map.

But in the respect of exterior decoration the temples present three varieties—the first two being found in the former group while the last coincides with the latter. The temples are distributed as follows :—

1. LARGE TYPE :

  1st Variety—
    1. Gondeshvar Temple at Sinnar in the Nasik District.[131]
    2. Maheshvar Temple at Patne in the East Khandesh District.[132]
  2nd Variety—
    1. Mahadeva Temple at Jhodga in the Nasik District.[133]
    2, 3. Temples of Larshmi and Narayan at Methi in the West Khandesh District.[134]

2. SMALL TYPE :

  3rd Variety—
    1 Hindi Temples Nos. 8, 9 and 12 at Anjaneri[135] in the Nasik District.
    2. Jain Temples Nos. 1–6 at the same[136] place.

The Jain Temples at Anjaneri, though they belong chronologically and architecturally to this group, are treated separately with other Jain temples in the Deccan, in order to bring out the distinct architeatural requirements of that creed.

Fortunately two temples of this group bear dated inscriptions which besides fixing the latest dates of the construction of the respective temples, help up in determining the age of the entiie group and the relative chronology among themselves. The first of these is found in the Maheshvar Temple at Patne,[137] the slab which bears it is built into the wall of the antechamber. It records the consecration of a temple of Śiva (The modern Maheshvar Temple) in Ś 1073 (1153 A. D.) and further states that it was begun by *Indrāja* of the *Nikumbha-vaṁśa* (family) completed after his death by his son.*Govana* who, together with his mother *Śrīdevī*, made grants to it. The other is on a slab, which is built in the Jain Temple No. 2 at Anjaneri[138], which records certain grants to temple of *Candraprabha* (the present Temple No. 2) in Ś. 1063 (or 1142 A. D.) by *Seuṇacandra*, a prince of a minor branch of the *Yādavas*. Stylistically, the Gondeshvar Temple at Sinnar seems to be the earliest of this group and between it and the Jain Temple No. 2. at Anjaneri are to be placed the Hindu Temples No. 8, 9, and 12 at Anjaneri. The temples at Jhodga and Methi may have been begun at the time when the Maheshvara Temple at Patna was halp-finished and completed a few years after it.

With the temples of the first group they are connected by such features as the *vimāna*, the exterior walls, and in some cases, the pillars as well. But there are certain points which will be brought out below, in which they differ from the former and hence deserve to be grouped separately.

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131. *MTD.*, 36-39. and Pls. XLII-LII.
132. *Ibid.*, 27-29 and Pls. XXV-XXXII.
133. Ibid., 41-43 and Pls. LIII-LVI.
134. A short layman's account of these temples appeared in the *Samśodhak* 6. 214.
135. *MTD.*, 46-47 and Pls. LVII and LIX.
136. §§ 112 and 113 below.
137. *LID.*, No. 263 ; Appendix No. 80.
138. Ibid., No. 262.

Fortunately, three temples—one from each of the three varieties—covering the two sub groups still possess their twoers in a better state of preservation, those of remaining temp'es having disappeared completely. The tower of the Gondeshvar Temple at Sinnar[139] has lost its own finial and had, till recently, been capped with an incogruous Muhammadan dome in brick and mortar (added at a subseqvent date) which has been now removed. The four surrounding shrines (for thiꞩ is a 'pancnyatana') also have preserved their towers excepting the finials in some cases[140] The tower of the Mahadeva Temple at Jhodga[141] is all but complete and shows the finial in a perfect state of preservation from which it is possible to know what topped the tower of the former temple. Temple No. 9[142] at Anjaneri also would have preserved its tower undisturbed had not the growth of rank vegetation destroyed its shape. However, sufficient remains of it to show original design. That of No. 8[143] is also half-preserved and shows that it was quite identical with that of No. 9

Of these the towers of the subordinate shrines of the Gondeshvara Temple are alike and differ considerably from those of the remaining temples. Thus we get the following two distinct types of the tower :

    1.   represented by those of subordinate shrine of the Gondeshvar Temple and

    2.   represented by those of the temples of Gondeshvar (main shrine), Mahadeva at Jhodga and the temples Nos 9 and 8 at Anjaneri.

To take the latter first. we find it akin to that of the First Group, especially to the tower of the Temple No 1 at Balsane. But in spite of this general likeness are to be discened some minor changes, decorative and not structural, introduced in keeping with the development of the style in general. The pillar-shaped member supporting the miniature tower becomes less in height in the tower of the Gondeshvar and the spaces between them, which are occupied by human figures at Balsane, are filled with lozenge-shaped rosettes. The fretted vartical bands have become, narrower than those of the Ambarnath or Balsane examples and are topped by *kirti mukhas* in bold relief The *Caitya*-window ornament at the base of the vertical band has, at Sinnar and Anjaneri, a figure of a deity inset, like those at Ambarnath and Balsane, but at Jhodga the figure is replaced by a representation of a *kalaśa* or a pitcher. Then again, the *Caitya*-window which retains its horse-shoe shape at Sinnar and Anjaneri, develops at Johdga into a trefoil, the lower tympanum of which is filled with a miniature pillared niche containing an image of a deity. The appex of the *Caitya*-window at Sinnar and Anjaneri has no *kirtimukha* which is ound at Jhodga. The former temples resemble in this respect the Ambarnath and the latter the Temple No 1 at Balsane. Again, like the Ambarnath *Caitya*-fwindow, the Sinnar-Anjaneri ones are florid whereas that of the Jhodga temple is extremely simple as that of the Balsane temple No. 1. The pedestal of the *Caitya*-

139. *MTD.*, Pls. XLVIII-XLIX.

140. Ibid., Pls. XLII, XLIV.

141. Ibid. Pls. LIII-LIV.

142. Ibid., Pl. LVII.

143. Ibid.

window ornment has, at Jhodga and Anjaneri, a niche or an oblong panel containing a figure while that at Sinnar has a series of small panels carved with animal and human figures. The finial of the Jhodga tower has a carved circular rim and radiating spokes on the upper and lower sides.

The towers of the subordinate shrines of the Gondeshwar are, as said before, alike and present a type which is not found elsewhere in Deccan or outside. While preserving the tapering and slightly curvilinear outline, the towers carry up the projections of the walls below almost to the finial or ' *amala_śilā,* ' naturally the places of the vertical bands are taken up by prominent projections which are but upward continuations of the principal vertical projections on the sides of the shrine. A semblance, however, of the usual vertical band is created by decorating them, at the bases, with arched scrolls of arabesque to take the place of the *Caitya*-window ornament. The spaces between these, corresponding with those in the other tower which are filled with rows of miniature towers, are not distinguished from the principal projections by a different ornamentation but the whole surface of the tower is decorated with horizontal and vertical lines of small repetitions of the ornament that occupies the place of the *Caitya*-window ornament. The four principal projections are topped by bold *kirtimukhas* as the vertical bands of the tower of the Jhodga Temple.

§ 39—THE EXTERIOR

With regrd to the exteriors, these and the temples of the First Group (Amqarnath·Balsane) are remarkably alike, the style and general disposition of the mouldings being the same. It is however the *maṇḍovara*-decoration that mainly distinguishes them from those of the First Group, and also divides them in three classes (or varieties) as follows :

1. those profusely decorated but with few images and an abundance of lozenge-shaped ornament, little pilasters or arabesque.
   (a) The Gondeshvar Temple[144] at Sinnar.
   (b) The Maheshvar Temple[145] at Patne.

2. those with a profusion of image-sculpture but of an inferior workmanship as compared with that of Ambarnath or Balsane Temples NO. 1 and 4.
   (a) the Mahadev Temple at Jhodga[146]
   (b) the Lakhshmi-Narayān Temples at Methi[147]

3. those with a complete absence of image–sculpture in the *maṇḍovara*, excepting the images in the principal niches, and decorated with pilasters and lozenge-shaped rosettes ·:
   (a) Temples Nos. 8, 9, 12, at Anianeir[148] (and also
   (b) the Jain Temples Nos. (1-6)[149]

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144. Ibid., Pls. XLVIII. XLIX.
145. Ibid., Pls. XXV and XXX.
146. Ibid. Pls. LIII-LIV.
147. For a general view of this temple see Photo No. 4.
148. *MTD.*, Pls. LVII-LIX.
149. Ibid., LVIII.

§ 4 40—THE BASEMENT

The basement moúldings of the temples of the first variety—Sinnar and Patne— are quire plain excepting the .elephant-course or the " *gajathara* " which is ' holder and far more effective ' than that of Ambarnath, Those of tha remaining temples, save the Methi temples, omit even the ' *gajathara* , and are plain. The basements of the Jhodga temple and Anjaneri No, 12 have plain triangular facets which do not constitute decoration artistically. However, Temples Nos. 8 and 9 at Anjaneri show some regard for decoration of the ' *piṭha* ' by inserting string-courses of plain lozenges along the lower mouldings, Curiously, the Methi temples of *Lakṣmī* and *Nārāyaṇa* retain the three courses viz the ' *gajathara* ', the *kīrtimukha-thara* ' or the *garāspaṭṭi* ' , and the ' *narathara*' .

§ 41—THE PILLARS

The pillars of these temples are of several type. but in their decoration occur same common ornamental *motifs*. Except those in the Gondeshvar Temple[159]. the Mahadev Temple at Ambegaon, and those in the corner of the porch of the Mahadeva Temple at Jhodga[161], all are entirely devoid of figure–sculpture upon them. The ' *vase* and *foliage* ' motif which is seen in the capitals of the central pillars of the Ambarnath is in this group seen in its most conventionalized form decorating the shafts of the pillars at Jhodga, Methi and Anjaneri.[162] Triangular plates plain or carved with arabesque designs—is a common motif in these pillars occuring on the shafts and replacing the image-panels, on the bases. In this respect the four central pillars of the Gondeshvar differ from the rest as their bases have, like those of the Ambarnath central pillars, image instead of the triangular plates. Triangular plates had already been introduced before, on the shafts and bases at Balsane and Vaghli, in the former place they are carved with arabsesque design or in half-rosette whereas in the latter they are elongated by stretching the appex and left plain, Another common motif is the ' *circle* ' and *rhombus* ' design which occurs on the shafts of all these pillars. As this does not appear on the pillars of Ambarnath and Balsane temples of the First Group, it seens to be an innovation of this period. The *kirtimukha*, as a pillar–decoration, is seen in the Ambarnath and Temple No 4 at Balsane of the First Group and here it becomes more popular in the pillar-decoration in all the temples excepting the Mahadeva Temple at Jhodga and the Methi temples. On the pillars of the Gondeshvar, besides the above mentioned motifs, are to be seen cunning variations and combinations of the arabesque designs, *kīrtimukha* and the conventional ' *makara* ' The pillars in the porch of the Mahadev Temple at Jhodga have an uncommon ' *bead-string* ' and lotus " motif in which a full-blown half-lotus of double course of petals is inset a semi-circle with a beaded border flanked by elongated drooping leaves of the lotus.

At Jhodga and Methi both the roil and *kicāka* brackets are found while at Sinnar, Patrk[163] and Anjeneri only the roll brackets are applied to support the beams, those at the first place having double rolls. The rolls at Jhodga, Sinnar, Pathe

150. Ibid., Pls. LI, LII.   152., Ibid., Pls. LXI.
151. Ibid., Pl. LVI.   153. Ibid., Pl. XXX.

and Anjeri are decorated with a cobra-head while those at Methi are quite plain. There are plain rolls also at Patne and Anjaneri.

§ 42—LARGE TYPE : FIRST VARIETY—GONDESHVAR TEMPLE, SINNAR

Now the individual examples. The temple of Gondeshvara stands outside the town of Sinnar on the north-east. Local tradition has it that a Gavli Chief Rav Govind built this temple, and that its ancient name was ' *Govindeśvara.* ' Cousens[154] conjectitured that , it is possible it may be named after Govindaraja, one of the *Yadava* Princes who ruled about the beginning of the 12th century.

§ 43—A 'PANCAYATANA' TEMPLE

As said above, it is a ' *pañcāyatana*[155] or a group of five temples—one principal and four subordinate—and as is indicated by the principal cult-object, which is a *liṅga*, it was a ' *Śiva-pañcāyatana.*' The whole group stands upon a rectangular platform, the centre being occupied by the main building and the four corners by the four smaller temples. Before the main entrance of the main temple stands a magnificent *Nandī-maṇḍapa* now containing a *Nandī* of comparatively later workmanship. The whole group was originally surrounded by a wall enclosing a spacious court-yard with two entrances on the south and the east. The wall has now been mostly destroyed.

§ 44—ORIENTATION AND DEDICATION

The main temple faces the east and was dedicated to *Śiva*. Of the surrounding shrines those which occupy the south-west and the north-west corners also face the east while those on the south-east and north-east corners face the west. According to the *Śāstras*[156] the four surrounding shrines, beginning from the one on the south-east to that on the north-east of a *Sivapañcāyatana* should be dedicated to *Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Devī (Pārvatī)* and *Viṣṇu* respectively. But here, judging from the sculptures which remain upon them :

1. the shrine on the south-east is dedicated to *Viṣṇu.*
2. the shrine on the south-west is dedicated to *Gaṇeśa.*
3. the shrine on the north-west is dedicated to *Pārvatī*, and
4. the shrine on the north-east is dedicated to *Sūrya*, which shows that *Sūrya* and *Viṣṇu* take the position allotted to the other by the *Śāstras*.

§ 45—THE PLATFORM

The rectangular platform is about 112 feet broad and 154 feet long, and including the two plain courses of masonry at its base, it is 7 feet high. Above the plain courses are two rather flat , *padma* ' or *cyma reversa* mouldings, one above the other and then comes the sharp-edged '*Kaṇi* ' between two deep receding fillets. This is surmounted dy the '*padma*' or *cyma reversa* moulding again, Over this and between deep receding fillets is the ' *garāspatti* ' or the row of *kīrtimukhas* and

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154. Ibid., 36.
155. Ibid., Pl. XLVII.
156. P. V. KANE, *History of Dharmasāstra*, 2. 2. 716-719. (Poona, [Volume I] 1930-1941, [Volume II] 1942).

lastly comes the running band of scroll design.[157] At each cardinal point the plat-
form had a flight of steps of which that on the south remains in somewhat better
condition. The whole surface of the platform has been evenly paved with slabs of
stone.

§ 46—THE MAIN TEMPLE : PLAN

The plan of the main temple is practically the same as that of Ambarnath
only that the porches in the former are deeper and have had walls forming benches
in the inside which did not exist in the other.

§ 47 – EXTERIOR

The exteriors of the *garbhagrha* and the *gūdha-maṇḍapa*[158] are quite similar
and have the same mouldings. The '*pitha*' or the basement begins with a '*pādma*'
or *cyma reversa* moulding upon a plain broad face followed by the sharp '*kani*'
moulding between two deep receding fillets. Over this is again the *cyma reversa*
moulding with a plain broad face and the '*saw-like*', '*toothed*', drop-projection.
This is followed by the broad and bold elephant-band or the '*gajathara*' surmounted
by a *cyma reversa* moulding at which terminates the '*pitha*.'

The '*mandovara*' begins with a band, of rhomboidal and circular rosettes,
placed alternately, which is joined to the upper rectangular moulding '*upāna*' by a
cavetto or '*karna*' moulding. A thin but sharp '*kani*' intervenes between the
'*karna*' and the '*upāna*' moulding and from it to near the upper sides, the '*upāna*'
is fitted with small rectangular panels containing figures or rosette-lozenges between
pilasters and under arabesque tops ar *Caitya*-window ornaments. Through the
middle of the '*upāna*' runs a horizontal band of lozenges crossing these panels.
The '*upāna*' is surmounted by a *torus* of '*Kumuda*' moulding between two deep
receding fillets and that is followed by the *cyma reversa* moulding with the *saw-
like, toothed,* drop-projection. Then begins the '*jaṅghā*' in which the images are
replaced by pilasters and lozenge-rosettes and small human figures, and a band of
kirtimukhas. An eave, moulded in *cyma reversa*, tops the '*jaṅghā*' from which
upward begins the tower, which has been already described.

In the '*jaṅghā*', around the shrine on the three faces, are the principal niches
which are now empty. The niches are deep and balconied and are surmounted by
canopies consisting of a projecting eave and a high and elaborate pediment. The
back or west niche has fallen away. Below the north or principal niche and just
above the '*gajathara*' is an ornamental gargoyle[160] through which the '*tirthodaka*'
from the shrines passed out into the '*tirth-kuṇḍa*' below. As observed by COUSENS[160]
'it is a particularly fine piece of work' in the form of the conventional *makara* of
the shape as of that found in the decoration of the pillars in the *maṇḍapa*.

§ 48—EXTERIOR OF THE WALLS OF THE PORCHES

The three porches had originally dwarf side-walls[161] forming benches in the
inside but most of these have been badly damaged. Their exteriors[162] had mould-

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157. *MTD.*, Pl. LII.
158. Ibid., Pls. XLIV, XLVIII.
159. See Photo No. 5.
162. See Photos Nos. 6 and 7.

160. *MTD.*, 37.
161. Ibid., Pl. LI.
161a. Ibid., Pl. XLIV.

ings and decoration which are different from those of the rest of the temple extsrior. Above the course of rhomboil and circular rosettes they have a series of tall pilasters whose rectangular bases are carved with a horizontal band of plain lozenges and above it an arabesque triangular facet. Between each pair of pilasters is inserted a standing or dancing female figure. Above the pilasters is a band of running scroll-work. The walls then slope outward to form a back-rest of the benches and this part is divided in a horizontal series of several panels by means of small pilasters. These panels contain scenes from the *Rāmāyana*, female dancing figures, *mithunas*, or the different manfestations of the various gods and goddesses. The exuberance of figure sculpture here seems to have been designed to counterbalaune its paucity on the *mandovara* porper. But the figures have been very poorly carved and fail in their appeal to the spectator.

§ 49—THE MANDAPA-AND PORCH-ROOFS

In the pyramidal roofs of the *mandapa* and the porches[163] the earlier '*cupola-shaped*' ornament is seen modified so as to assume the appearance of a pillared pavilion, the repetitions of which form the main substance of these superstructures. Between the *mandapa* roof and the '*vimāna*' is the '*antarāla*' having two niches one over the other, on each side and these are surmounted by a pediment which is topped by a *Caitya*-window ornament having a *kirtimukha* at its appex.

§ 50—EXTERIOR SCULPTURES

The exterior, as compared with that of Ambarnath and Balsane Temple No. 1 and 4, has less of image sculpture especially of gods and goddesses. The *aitarāla*-niches on the north have *Śiva* (in the upper) and *Bhairava* (in the lower, while the upper niche on the south contains *Śiva* dancing the *tāndava*. The lower niche is now empty. The empty principal niches have '*Gaja-Lakṣmī*' on their lintels. Below the principal niche on the south is a large panel containing an image of *Brāhmī* while the corresponding panel on the north above the gargoyle has an image of *Vaisanvaś*. In the '*janghā*' the only representation of a god is to be found on a projection of the wall between the north principal niche and the Norte Porch It is an image of *Muralidhara*.

§ 51—THE INTERIOR

The interior of the *garbhagrha* ia plain and the floor, unlike that of the shrine of the Ambarnath, is on the same level as hall-floor. In the middle of it is a large *linga*.

The antechamber is nearly of the same dimensions as those of the shrine and has in the sidewalls each a deep niche which once held images. The shrine doorway simulates, in nearly every respect, the main doorway of the *mandapa*.

The hall is a '*gudha-mandapa*' and inside it measures 22 feet each side. Four central pillars support the central dome of the ceiling and upon them and the corresponding walls and pilasters rests the whole weight of the hall-roof. The pillars[164] are 9 feet 6 inches in height anq ard very elaborately carved, the decoration on which has already been described above. Their general plan, all the way

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163. *MTD.*, Pl. XLVIII,　　　164. Ibid., Pl. LI,

up, is a square with recessed corners and theri shaft, base and capital are divided up by horizontal mouldings. The pilasters and walls are much plainer in design, all the elaborate work in the interior being confined to the four pillars. On the west, on either side of the entrance to the ante-chamber, is a large framed niche which now is empty.

Resting on the central pillars is the main dome of the ceiling[165] rising to a height of nearly 20 feet which is precisely like those of the porches and the ante-chamber. A deep projecting cornice round the beams keeps the inside very dark and gloomy The side ceilings rise from the side-walls to the central square in four tiers of *cusped* mouldings. *Kirtimukhas* and florid arabesque fill up the corners of the ceilings.

§ 52—THE PORCHES

Each of the three porches has two pillars and two pilasters of the same general plan and design as those of the *maṇḍapa*. To them were attached ornamental figure-brackets, bearing, those of the pillars females and those of the pilasters lions of griffins. But out of those 12 female and 6 animal brackets, only five and three respectively remain to-day.

The ceilings above are neat and chaste and consist of rings of *cusped* ornaments diminishing in size as they go upwards and finally terminating in a oentral pedant. Under the lowest circular ring is an octagonal band containing various mytho·logical scenes such as the *Samudra-manthna* etc. The corner spaces oft he ceilings are filled up with *Kirtimukhas* and:florid arabesque.

§ 53—DOORWAYS

On the lintels of the doorways is *Gaṇeśa*, The main or east doorway of the *maṇḍapa*[166] is not so elaborate as that of Temple No, 1 at Balsane. The pilasters have the same mouldings as those of the doorway in the latter temple but they are simple and plain except the *kirtimukha* that occupies·the place which is occupied in the Balsane example by the ' *vase* and *foliage* ' ornament. The jamb-sculptures include four-hundred representations of deities in the principal positions flanked by female attendants. But the spaces below these which in the Balsane example are filled up with figures of deities and dancing men and women, are here decorated with *lozenge-rosettes* and dwarfs. In the decoration of the frames the only motifs employed are the *running scroll* and the *rhomboidal* and *circular rosettes* running around the three sides. Over the projecting eave is a frieze of sculptures containing five miniature pillared niches enshrining images of *Devīs* and between these are introduced images of gods among whom *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Gaṇeśa* can be easily recognised. Threshold is a plain slab with a semi-circular boss in the middle which COUSENS[167] takes to he a later addition.

The doorways of the side-proches are still plainer and whatever carving is upon them is comparatively shallow.

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165. Ibid., Pl. XLIX.   167. Ibid., 38.
166. Ibid., Pl. L.

§ 54—NANDI-MANDAPA

The *Nandi-maṇḍapa*[168] faces the west i.e. the main temple and has four pillars of the same pattern and design as those in the porches of the main temple. The *piṭha* or the basement or the *maṇḍapa* begins from a plain rectangular plinth over which comes a plain *padma* or *cyma-reversa* moulding. This is followed by a *kaṇi* between two receeding fillets and this is again surmounted by a flattish *cyma-reversa* moulding with the *saw-like, toothed* projection. The dwarf-wall around the three sides of the pavilion is carved on the exterior. The decoration consists of a horizontal series of pilasters standing on a horizontal band of *scroll-work*. In the spaces between the pilasters are placed small dancing figures in various postures. The pillars supporting the roof had, like tho'e of the porches of the main temple, ornamental figure-brackets in addition to the small *kicaka* ones. They bore representations of women in different standing attitudes. The eave above projects forward to protect the lower structure from rain-water. The roof is quite similar to that of the *maṇḍapa* and the porches of the main temple.

§ 55—THE SUBORDINATE TEMPLES

Architecturally the subordinate temples belong to the third variety and the small type represented by the temples at Anjaneri. But undoubtedly they form part of the original scheme and hence rank chronologically with this group. All the four temples are of the same plan and design and each of them consists of a *garbhagrha*, a shallow ante-chamber and an open porch-like ' *asdha-maṇḍapa* ' approached from the front by a flight of steps [169].

The *garbhagrhas* are square chambers and contain against the back-wall altars for images of the deities to which they were dedicated. Their doorways are sculptured after the pattern of those of the *maṇḍapa* of the main temple. The lintels have *Gaṇeśa* upon them. The open *maṇḍapas* have two pillars and two pilasters each with *kicaka*-brackets supporting the beams over them. They all simulate those of the porches of the main temple but have had on figure-brackets like them. There were dwarf-walls on either side of the *maṇḍapas* which served as benches with backrest in the interior. Their exteriors were decorated in the same fashion as that of the dwarf-walls of the porches of the *maṇḍapa* of the main temple.

The exteriors of these temples have the same mouldings as those of exterior of the main temple, but except the images in the principal niches, their walls are devoid of any figure sculptures, their place being taken by *lozenge-rosettes, fretwork* designs and *pilasters*. The basements are also comparatively plain, the only decoration upon them being the band of *running scroll-work* on the topmost moulding. The images in the principal niches of these temples repesent *Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Pārvatī, Mahākālī* and *Mahiṣa-mardinī*.

The roofs of the *maṇḍapas* are pyramidal and have the simple decoration of *lozenge-rosettes* and *fretwork* designs and are crowned by *cupola*-shaped ornaments. The ' *antarālas* ' have also those *lozenge-rosettes* as decoration. These are topped

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168. Ibid., Pls. XLV and XLVIII.
169. Ibid., Pls. XLVII and XLIV ; also see Photoes Nos. 8 and 9.

by ornaments simulating those which take the positions of the *Caitya*-windows on the tower.

§ 56—MĀHESHVAR TEMPLE AT PATNE, (1153 A. D.)

The other temple of the same variety as the Gondeshvar's is the one at Patne[170] in the East Khandesh District. Patne or *Paṭṭana* seems to have been a town of consequence in the mediaeval period as indicated by the thickly scattered ruins which consist of remains of temples, tanks, wells, *maṭhas*, stone-walls and lofty bastions An inscription [171] on the enclosing wall of the Ai Bhavni Temple at this place records the foundation at Patne of a college by *Cāṅgadeva*, grandson of the famous astronomer *Bhāskarācārya* and chief astrologer of the *Yādava* king *Sighana*, for the studay of ' *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* ' and other works of his grandfather and relations. It is generally supposed that ' *Bijjalabīḍa*,' the place where *Bhāskarācārya* lived and composed his works is either the same as Patne or must have been very near to it [172]. Be it as it may, it is certain that it was one of the most important religious and educational centres in those days and that it formed one of the chief towns of the country of 1600 villages over which the members of the *Nikumbha* family ruled as feudatories of the *Yādavas.*[173]

§ 57—PLAN

The largest and most important of the temples at Patne is the Maheshvar Temple which, according to the inscription referred to above, was completed before 1153 A.D. The temple consists of the usual parts—shrine, *maṇḍapa* and porch—but the hall has been an open one and the shrine-plan is star-shaped, being formed on the basis of a circular star of twenty-eight angles or points.[174] Two points are absorbed on each of the north, west and south sides in forming the central panels, and eight have had to make way for the antechamber and entrance. The shrine faces the east.

But inside, the shrine is a square chamber containing in the middle of the floor a *liṅga* and in the centre of the back-wall a pillared niche to hold an image. The shrine doorway[175] is neatly decorated and has *Gaṇeśa* on the lintel. Above the cornice is a frieze of small niches which contain the ' *Sapta-mātṛkas* ' and *Śiva* and *Gaṇeśa*. On the threshold are *kīrtimukhas* on either side of the boss in the centre- The pilasters on the jambs are more akin to those of the doorways of the Temple No. 1 at Balsanme than those of the doorways of Gondeshvar at Sinnar. The ' *vase* and *foliage* ' motif occurs here on the shafts, occupying the same position as it does on the Balsane doorway. The jamb-sculptures have been badly damaged but it is clear from what remains of them that they were similar to those of the Balsane and Sinnar examples.

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170. About ten miles to the south-west of Chalisgaon, E. Khandesh District.

171. *LID.,* No. 271.

172. *Mahārāṣṭriya Jñanakoṣa,* (ed. by S. V. KETKAR), 5. 311.

173. The memory of these feudatory rulers is still preserved in the name ' Nikumbhe ' of a small village of 194 dwelling houses in Dhulia taluka of the West Khandesh District.

174. *MTD.,* Pl. XXVIII.

175. Ibid., Pl. XXIX,

The open *maṇḍapa* has four central pillars and sixteen marginal ones which stand upon a dwarf-wall which encloses the hall and support the eaves above. They are of three varieties[176] though their general style and pattern is the same. One of these varieties has a square base and a square shaft which becomes circular just a little below the capital. The round capital has '*cobra-heads* or *nāga-śirṣakas* upon the roll-brackets. The second has octagonal bands in the middle of the shaft and its roll-brackets are quite plain. The third is similar to the first but has a slender and ornamental false-bracket over the round capital. The decoration of pillars consists mainly of *scroll* and *arabesque* designs and *kīrtimukhas* and circular and rhombodidal rosettes.

The antechamber between the *garbhagrha* and the *maṇḍapa* is quite plain except the inscribed slab which is built into the south-wall. In the entrance to the antechamber are two slender pillars, between the pilasters in the walls, of the third variety described above.

§ 58—THE EXTERIOR

The exterior of the shrine[177] has the usual horizontal mouldings. The *pītha* or the besement ends with the *gajathara* or the elephant-band. The *kīrtimukha* is absent in the mouldings of the *pītha*. The *maṇḍovara* beings with *kumbha*, or rectangular member, bearing a panelled image of a deity. The *jaṅghā* is profusely decorated with arbesque and fretwork designs, pilasters and *lozenge-rosettes*. Little human figures are introduced here and there in small panels but they do not attract the visitors' attention. Below the top-most cornice of the *mandovara* is a projecting eave or *chhajjā* moulded in the *padma* or *cyma reversa* type. The tower has completely disappeared.

The basement of the *maṇḍapa*[178] is for the most part, similar to the basement of the shrine. But on the lowest flat band or *paṭṭa* are *kīrtimukhas* arranged in a horizontal row round the *maṇḍapa*. The dwarf-wall round the sides of the *maṇḍapa* is decorated on the outside in a manner as that of the porches and the *Nandi-maṇḍapa* of the Gondeshvar Temple at Sinnar. It begins above the *gajathara* with a horizontal band of *kīrtimukhas*. Above it comes the row of pilasters alternating with vertical bands of scroll-design. Between the superstructures of these pilasters are carved lions and elephants. In some places the vertical scroll-bands are seen replaced by male and famale figures. This whole member is called the '*vedi*' and is said to correspond to the *jaṅghā* of the *maṇḍovara*. Above this is the member called '*kakṣāsana*' which slopes outwards and is decorated with a band of panels separated by tiny pilasters. The panels contain a variety of scenes and sculptures, erotic scenes, animal representations dancers etc. These are bordered on the upper and lower sides by a band of running scroll. This part looks like the *vedikā* of the Buddhist caves.

§ 59—THE PRINCIPAL NICHES.

The principal niches[179] thought not so deep as those of the Gondeshvar at Sinnar, are like the latter canopied and project a litte forward. The west or back-nich is

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176. Ibid., Pl. XXX.

177. Ibid.; also see Photo No. 10.

178. *MTD.*, Pl. XXX.

179. See Photo No. 11.

empty but the south and north niches contain images of *Bhairava* and *Mahākālī* respectively. Inside the *maṇḍapa* are loose images of *Sūrya*, *Śiva*, *Pārvatī*, and *Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa* which may have occupied the niches in the walls of the *maṇḍapa* and the ante-chamber.

§ 60—LARGE TYPE : SECOND VARIETY : TEMPLE OF MAHADEVA AT JHODGA

The second variety of the Large Type is illustrated well by the temples at Jhodga and Methi. To take the former first :

Jhodga[180] has no inscriptions.' Nor is it refered to in any records of the Deccan. But there are two temples at this place of which the larger one is the temple of Mahadev which belongs to the present group. The temple stands out in the open, without any surroundings, at the foot of a small hill to the west of the town.

The temple, as it stands at present, consists of three shrines—one principal and two subordinate—around the three sides of a *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* or enclosed hall and a long porch in front of the *maṇḍapa* forming the main entrance to the temple interior.[181] There was something like a *Nandi maṇḍapa* in front of the porch, but of it only a roughly raised platform now remains.

But the side shrines do not appear to have been in the original plan. They are of later and inferior workmanship and their exteriors do not preserve the lines of mouldings which run round the older work. Thus only the main shrine, hall and porch are of original construction and very probably there were porches too in the places of the side-shrines in the original plan. The main shrine faces the west.

§ 61 — THE INTERIOR

The interior of the temple is comparatively simple and plain. The main *garbhagṛha* is a square chamber measuring 8' each way and has its floor on the same level as that of the hall. In the centre of the back-wall is a deep framed niche which once contained an image of *Pārvatī*. In the centre of the floor is the large *liṅga* which formed the main cult-object. The shrine-doorway is fairly well decorated and follows the pattern of those of the Gondeshvar Temple at Sinnar. On the lintel is the usual image of *Gaṇeśa*.

The antechamber is only a narrow passage to the *garbhagṛha*, but is noteworthy for its ceiling which is rectangular and which rises in diminishing rectangles. The mouldings of the ceiling simulate, to a certain extent, those of the hall-ceiling.

The *maṇḍapi* is the most conspicuous peculiarity of the temple. It has no framed doorway, the entrance being the whole width between the pilasters in front, and there are no intermediate pillars to support the domical ceiling above. It is a square hall measuring 19 feet each way with pilasters flanking the entrances to the porches and the antechamber. The eight pillars which are seen at the main entrance and the side entrances and the ante-chamber are later additions and do not match the pilasters. In the east and west walls, there are deep niches which are now empty.

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180. Seventy-five miles to the north-east of Nasik and sixteen miles to the south-west of Dhulia and on the border of the West Khandesh District.

181. *MTD.*, Pl. LV.

The walls of the *mandapa* are quite plain and whatever decoration there is has been spent on the pilasters as at Sinnar.

The *mandapa* is covered with one large domical ceiling which rises in a se-ries of thirteen concentric circles of mouldings and ends at the appex in a pendant. Introduced about half-way up are eight bracket-figures of dancing women and musi-cians which have been badly damaged.

§ 62—THE EXTERIOR

The exterior walls of the temple[182] have almost the same mouldings as those of the previous temples and hence need not be described in detail. The *pitha* or basement is proportionately high and matches well with the tower above. But it is severely plain, The only decorated part of the *mandovara*, and in fact of the whole exterior except the tower, is the '*Jangha*' which is encrusted with image sculpture. But the corresponding part of the *mandapa* exterior is devoid of figure sculpture, being decorated wirh *geometric* designs and *arabesque* patterns. The figures in the '*Jangha*' round the *garbhagrha* consits of *mithunas*, pairs of musicians and dancers, warriors with round and rectangular shields and images of deities such as *Mahisasuramardini Mahakali, dikpalas* etc.

The principal niches have, over the eaves, ' *Gaja-Laksmi* ' as at Sinnar (those, of the Gondeshvar Temple) and contain ;

1. The North niche — *Siva* dancing the *Tandava*.
2, The South niche — *Bhairava*.

The East or back-nich is empty. Above these principal niches and on the base of tne tower[183] are smaller framed niches which contained the *diktalakas* or the regents of the points of the compass which they face. Thus the niche on the south contains an image of *Yama* and that on the east has *Indra*. both seated on their ' *vahanas* '. That on the north, though now empty, must have held the image of *Kubera*.

The ' *antarala* ' also has niches on either side.[184] three on the south and there on the :north :topped by a '*Caitya*-window of the shape similar to that of the *Caiyta*-windows at the bases of the four central vertical bands of the tower. All these niches still contain: seated or standing representations of deities but being too high and indistinct, they could not be identified.

The face of the *antarala*[185] is carved into an elaborate arrangement of *kirti-mukhas* and *orched scroll* of *arabesque*. On either side of this is a miniature turret decorated with an ornament composed of small projecting squares in a large square panel. Iu the centre and below the *kirtimuha* is an ornamental niche which contains an image of *Siva* as *Yogisvara*. Below this whole is a series of panels separated by pilasters and protected by an overhanging eave. All the panels had large images which have been badly mutilated. But their general outlines and other traces show, as pointed out by COUSENS[186], that the central panel had *Siva*

182. Ibid., Pls. LIII, LIV ; see also Photoes Nos. 12 and 13.
183. MTD., Pl. LIII.
184. Ibid.
185. Ibid, Pl. LVI.
186. Ibid., 42.

dancing the *Tāṇḍva*, that on his left had *Kṛṣṇa* (as *Muralīdhara* or *Veṇugopāla*) and that on the right of *Śiva* had *Brahmā*. We have thus the triad of gods flanked on either side by a female *cauri*-bearer.

The tower of the temple[187] is all but complete and helps to show the development of the tower-style in the first half of the twelfth century. This has been described above.

The porch[188] has dwarf-walls on either side which serve as benches in the interior. Their exterior decoration is similar to that of the porches of the Gondeshvar Temple at Sinnar or the dwarf-wall of the *maṇḍapa* of the Maheshvar Temple at Patne. But the pilasters here are broader, on account of which the little female figures on the spaces between them do not attract our attention. On the whole these are more simple and plain than those of the previous temples.

Upon the rough raised platform is a mutilated *Nandi* which seems to be the original one. In the side-shrines are '*piṇḍis*' as cult-objects.

§ 63—THE LAKSMINARAYAN TEMPLE AT METHI

Other temples of the same variety are found at Methi, a small village in the Sindkhed Taluka of the W. Khandesh District. There are also other temples which on account of their style seem to be later and consequently fall in the subsequent groups. Only the temples of *Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa*, as they are now called, need engage our attention here.[189]

The temples in question are situated on the north of the village and are built side by side as the temples of Vithoba and Rakhamai at Shrigonde in the Ahmednagar District. The temples of *Lakṣmī*[190] stands on the proper left of the temple of *Nārāyaṇa*.

There is a long inscription[191] on a beam of the temple of *Nārāyaṇa* which records the grant of a village '*Kurukavālaka*' to twenty-six Brahmins and some donations to the temple of '*Bhadra-Hari*' in S. 1176 (1254 A. D.) '*Bhadra-Hari*' being another name of *Viṣṇu*, it is evident that the temple mentioned in the record is no other than temple of *Nārāyaṇa*. The granted village still exists under the name of '*Kurkavādi*' in the same Taluka and at a distance of some 10 miles from Methi. But the date of the grant, as is shown by the style of the temples, in at least a hundred years later than the date of the temples in question.

The style of the two temples is exactly alike and there are, besides, many similarities between them, to suggest that they were simultaneously erected. Both the temples face the east.

§ 64—PLANS

The plans of these temples, though they consist of the same usual parts, are different. That of the temple of *Nārāyaṇa* is closely similar to the plan of the

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187. Ibid., Pl. LIII.   188. Ibid.

189. These temples are here being brought to the notice of scholars for the first time. They appear to have been neglected by the Archaeological Department. A short note giving a layman's description of these temples appeared in the *Saṁśodhaka* 6. 214 to which the author owes his knowledge of the existence of these temples.

190. See Photo No. 4.

Maheshvar Temple at Patne whereas that of the temple of *Laksmī* is, to a certain extent, similar to the plan of the temple of Madadev at Jhodga. The former consists of a shrine, an antechamber and a cross shaped open *maṇḍapa*, like that of the Maheshvar Temple at Patne, and there is a pillared povillion in front of the temple which originally contained an image of *Garuḍa* and hence may be called '*Garuḍa mannḍapa* The latter is composed of a shrine, an ante-chamber and a closed octagonal hall or *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* with one porch in the front which formed the main entrance to the temple. The plan of the shrines of both is star-shaped. Tee towers and *maṇḍapa*-roofs of both have disappeared, and the ceilings of the *maṇḍapa* of the latter temple have fallen in, exposing the whole interior to the sun.

§ 65—THE INTERIOR : GARBHAGRHAS : CULT-IMAGES

Inside, the shrines are square and have their floor on the same level as that of the halls. But their interior is severely plain. Fortunately, both the *garbhagrhas* still contain their cult-images. That of the temple of *Nārāyaṇa* has a standing image of *Viṣṇu* in the form of *Hari* on an inverted lotus-petal (the '*pitha*' is moulded in '*padma*' or '*cyma-reversa*'). The image proper is exquisitely carved in the round in the middle of a beautiful '*prabhāmaṇḍala*' with a very ornamental *toraṇa* above. On either side of the '*prabhāmaṇḍala*' are carved small representations of the ten *avatāras* of *Viṣṇu*. The imge is slightly damaged but the broken portions lie nearby. The whole height of the image is 4 feet. That in the shrine of the *Lakmī* Temple is an image of *Laksmī* on a similar *piṭha* and under a similar '*prabhāmaṇḍala*.

The carved shrine-doorway[192] of both the temples are alike and have the same sculptures upon them. They are less elaborate than those of the temples described previously. On the lintels are small images of *Garuḍa* in the human form but on the doorway of the *Lakṣmī* Temple is another small panel, just above that of *Garuḍa*, in which is a seated representation of *Laksmī*. Over the projecting eaves is a series of nine miniature niches which contain nine four hundrd deities which judging from their *āyudhas* seem to have been representations of the Nine *Durgās*, On the threshold, flanking the ornamental central boss, on either side is a *kīrtimukha*. On the jambs on each side are group-sculptures consisting of representations of some of the twenty-four forms of *Viṣṇu* and female *cauri*-bearers. The pilasters on either side have the '*vase* and *foliage*' ornament below the capitals. The frames are decorated with human figures and scroll-bands.

§ 66—ANTE-CHAMBERS AND MANDAPAS

The open *maṇḍapa* of the temple of *Nārāyaṇa* is cruciform in plan and its west wing has been treated as a separate compartment forming an antechamber before the *garbhagrha*. It has a deep, pillared niche in each of the side-walls and the north-niche has an iffiage of *Varāha*, the south-niche has that of *Narasimha*.[195]

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191. *LID.*, No. 309.   192. See Photo No. 14.
193. See Photo No. 4.
194. On the Nasik-Tryambak Road, some sixteen miles from Nasik.
195. *LID.*, No. 262.

In the centre of the *maṇḍapa* are four pillars supporting the principal beams above, and in the west-wall are four pilasters one at each end and two flanking the entrance to the antechamber. Besides these, there were fourteen pillars along the parapet wall that runs round the sides of the *maṇḍapa*. The southern wing of the *maṇḍapa* has fallen (and is in recent times converted into an entrance with a fright of steps in front) with the two pillars at that front and now only twelve pillars remain. The pillars and pilastesr are comparatively plain and so is the whole interior of the *maṇḍapa*. The central pillars, however, have beautiful '*vase* and *foliage* ornament in their shafts. Other pillars are very simple and even rough and have only square members instead of the '*vase* and *foliage*' ornament. The central ceiling and those of the wings are alike and flat and are decorated with *kīrtimukhas* in the corner faces and horizontal rows of lozenges.

The antechamber of the temple of *Lakṣmī* has also a framed niche in each of the sides walls, but it cannot be said which images they hold as the images in them are badly mutilated.

The *maṇḍapa* is octagonal and closed and has no pillars in the central space. In front of each corner, at a distance of two feet, is a pillar, and all the pillars taken together mark the outline of an enclosed octagon. The pillars are similar to those in the central square of the temple of *nārāyaṇa*. The main entrance is on the east, but the southern and northern sides of the *maṇḍapa* are left open, perhaps to admit sufficient light inside. Except these, the walls on other sides have niches and on the west, on either side of the entrance to the antechamber, is also a niche. These and the two in the side walls of the antechamber make ten niches in all, hence one is templed to conclude that they contained the ten *avatāras* of *Viṣṇu*. There are images in some of these but they are so badly damaged as to baffle all atempts at their identification.

The only porch of the temple, on the east of the *maṇḍapa*, has completely disappeared and with it the main doorway also. Huge carved slabs and jamb sculptures lie on the dishevelled platform of the porch.

§ 67—THE EXTERIOR : THE PITHA AND MANDOVARA

Th- temples stand on high platforms and their basement or *pītha* has the same mouldings as those of the basement of the temples at Jhodga and Patne.[196] But, as said above, we have here the three prominent courses, the *garāspaṭṭi* or the band of *kīrtimukhas*, the '*gajathara*' or the band of elephants and the '*narathara*' or the row of human figures in their usual sequence.

The '*jaṅghā*' of the walls of both the temples bears large figures consisting of dancing men and women and in the case of the temple of *Nārāyaṇa*, various forms of *Viṣṇu* and in the case of the temple of *Lakṣmī* various representations of the same goddess. In each case there are five niches in the exterior, three on the three principal faces of the shrine and two on the walls of the antechamber. The sculptures in these and in the '*jaṅghā*' are purely *Vaiṣṇava* and the writer could not find a single *Śaiva* image. This is quite unique, since in other *Vaiṣṇava* temples we

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196. *EHD.*, 145.

do get Śaiva images as we do Vaiṣṇava on Śaiva temples, though they are assigned to subordinate positions. The principal niches of the Nārayaṇa Temple contain images of Viṣṇu whereas thoses of the Lakṣmī Temple hold images of Lakṣmī

§ 68—SMALL-TYPE, THIRD VARIETY: ANJANERI TEMPLES

The small type temples are all situated a Anjaneri[194], now a small village in the the Nasik District. The village has numerous remains of mediaeval monuments: temples, maṭhas and tanks, and still many more are hidden in the mounds which lie scattered over the fields. The inscription in the temple of Candraprabha (No. 2) [195] also mentions shops and it is quite possible that excavation of some of these mounds may reveal the remains of civil architecture of the period in question To judge from the inscription it appears that Anjaneri was the chief place of a small district ruled over by a minor branch of Yādavas who werh dependant on the main branch[196]

There are remains of at least sixteen temples which are all scattered over an area of about half a square mile in the plain just below tne village which is situated on the eastern slope of the northern spur of Anjaneri or Ajani Hill. Besides being the headquarters of a petty kingdom Anjaneri seems to have been an important religious centre of the three prominent sects of those days of the Jains, the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas. Of these temples, at least two belonged to the Vaiṣṇavas, eight to the Jains and the rest to the Śaivas. On the hill there are some Jain caves and local tradition connects the name of the hill with Añjanī, the mother of Hanūmān, the monkey chief of the Rāmāyaṇa.[197]

§ 69—TEMPLES NOS. 8, 9, 12

Temples Nos. 8, 9 and 12[198] are all built on the same plan and consisted of the shrine, hall and a porch in front. But the temples have been badly ruined. and the halls and porches of all have disappeared. Their shrines and antechambers, with the towers in the case of Nos. 8 and 9 have only remained. On the exterior their basements and the platforms below, have been much disturbed.

§ 70—ORIENTATION AND INTERIORS

Of these Nos. 8 and 9[199] were dedicated to Viṣṇu, and No. 12 to Śiva. Nos. 8 and 9 face the north and east respectively, and are built at a distance of about 30 yards from each other. Their garbhagrhas are plain and square and have altars for images against their back-walls. The image of Garuḍa, which is carved on the dado of these, shows that they supported image of Viṣṇu Over the shrine door of No. 8 are Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā, Viṣṇu being in the middle. On the dedicatory blocks are images of Garuḍa. The jambs contain the usual sculptures but the central images represent forms of Viṣṇu. The pilasters above these are carved into several panels containing " mithunas " and figures of dancers. The pilasters, flanking the entrance to the antechamber, have at the bottom large panels representing some

197,   BC.
198.   MTD., 46 and Pls. LVII and LIX.
199.   COUSEN, in Ibid., 46, mistook it for, a Śaiva shrine.

of the twenty-four forms of *Viṣṇu.* The doorway of No. 9 is similarly carved and has *Garuḍa* upon the dedicatory block."[200]

No. 12 faces the east and has *Gaṇeśa* or the lintel of the shrine-door. But the shrine has lost ' *liṅga,* ' which seems to have been the original cult-object, and instead holds an altar with an image of *Garuḍa* on its dado. The temple, there-fore, seems to have been appropriated later on by the *Vaiṣṇavas.*

§ 71—THE EXTERIORS

The exterior decoration of these temples follows closely that of the Gondeshvar at Sinnar, but they have no figure-sculptures upon them except the images in the principal niches. They have the same mouldings as the exteriors of the Gondeshvar at Sinnar and the Maheshvar Temple at Patne. Nos. 8 and 9 have on the topmost mouldings of their basements a running band of plain lozenges, each of which is carved in a small rectangular division. Then on the rectangular or ' *kumbha* ' mould-ing at the bottom of the *maṇḍovara* ' they have a tiny niche on each face, which, instead of holding an image, has a *lozenge-rosette.* The ' *jaṅghā* ' portion of the ' *maṇḍovara* ' is decorated with large *lozenge-rosettes* and *arabesque* designs on the projections, and the recesses have tall slender pilasters.

No. 12 has also the same decoration but on the rectangular ' *kumbha* ' mould-ing it has only triangular plates carved with arabesque designs and the basement mouldings have been left completely plain.

The principal niches of these temples have lost the depth which those of the previously described temples have. They have become mere spaces in frames. The images in them are as follows :

No 8 :—

1. East niche — *Varāha.*
2. West niche — *Vāmana.*
3. Back or South niche — *Narasimha.*

Those of No. 9 are too indistinct and could not be identified.

No. 12 :—

1. West or back niche — *Śiva* dancing the *Tāṇḍava.*
2. North niche — *Mahākāl.*
3. South niche — *Gaṇeśa.*

The towers of Nos. 8 and 9 still remain but that of the former is much shatterred. That of No. 12 is half-fallen and the remaining portion is quite plain. These have already been described.

§ 72—OTHER EXAMPLES

Other examples belonging to this group, which owing to their worst state of preservation cannot be described in detail, are to be found at Ambegaon[201] in the Nasik District and at Garkhed[202] and Laling[203] in the East snd West Khandesh districts

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200. *Gaṇeśa* according to COUSENS, which is a mistake.
201. Thirteen miles to the west of Dindori in the Dindori taluka.
202. Eleven miles to the south of Bhusaval in Bhusaval taluka.
203. Six miles to the south of Dhulia taluka.

respectively. Of the temple at Garkhed[204] only portions of the plinth and walls of the back-side of the *garbhagṛha* remain. These ruins show that the walls were richly sculptured like those of the Gondeshvar at Sinnar and the Maheshvar at Patne and that the basement had the same mouldings and carvings as those of the basement of the latter temple at Patne.

The temple of Mahadev at Laling[205] situated to the south of the village by the road-side and is practically hidden behind the modern buildrngs. It faces the east. The temple seems to have been a small edifice, of which only the shrine and the ante-chamber remain.

The shrine is a square chamber with the original *liṅga* still in tact in the centre of the floor which is not sunk. The shrine-door was wall-carved but has been badly damaged. On the lintel is, instead of *Gaṇeśa*, a *kirtimukha* which is an innovation only peculiar to this temple. As at Methi, the antechambar has a niche in each of the side-walls, but they are empty. The west wall of the *maṇḍapa* has also a niche in each of its side portions.

The exterior appears to have had image-sculpture like the temples at Jhodga and Methi. Among the mutilated images stands, on the south side of the shrine, an image of *Gaṇeśa* with two attendants. The basement mouldings are similar to those of the temples at Anjaneri.

The temple of Mahadeva at Ambegaon[206] originally consisted of the shrine, the antechamber and a closed or *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* all, though still standing, have been damaged at some parts. The tower has completely fallen down. The temple faces the east.

Inside the *garbhagṛha* is the usual ' *liṅga* ' while in each side-wall of the ante chamber is a niche of which that on the south has an image of *Umā-Maheśvara*. The shrine-doorway has been well-carved after the pauern of that in the Gondeshvar Temple, but the long frize of sculptures over the lintel depicts scenes from life and other themes such as wrestling and has no images. The lintel has ' *Gaṇeśa* ' in the centre.

The four principal pillars are of the same general design as those in the Maheshvar Temple at Patne and have images of deities on the four faces of their bases and *kirtimukhas* decorate their shafts. Above their capitals are ' *kīcaka* ' brackets supporting the beams.

The basement or the *pīṭha*, however, does not show the usual "*tharas*' or courses, their place being taken by bands of *lozenges* as at Anjaneri. The ' *maṇḍovara* ' has human figures and *arabesque* designs in the ' *jaṅghā*,' the figure-sculpture being of the same quality as that of the Mahadeva Temple at Jhodga. The principal niches are empty.

§ 73—TEMPLES OF THE THIRD GROUP, (C. 1150-1200 A.D.)

We have seen that the tendency to minimise the exterior image-sculpture with an increasing use of arabesque and geometric designs as also slender ornamental pilasters instead, became manifest first in the beginning of the 12th century at Sinnar

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204. Only noticed in *MTD.*, 35.
205. Only noticed in *MTD.*, 35.

and was carried to its extreme end within the succeeding fifty years at Anjaneri where all the temples are devoid of the former being exclusively decorated with the latter. But exterior image-sculpture was not completely abandoned as its existence— though of an inferior variety—on the contemporary temples an Jhodga and Methi suggests. Thus while maintaining affinity with the earlier ornate temples of the *First Group*, the temgles of the *Second Group*, by evolving a new and less expensive method of exterior ornamentation created a type of temple architecture, which we find, became more popular and widespread in the next group of temples or in the succeeding half of the 12th century. However, the temples of the *Third Group* do not completely fall off from those of the *First Group* as link with them is maintained through some temples bearing images in the ' *jaṅghā* ' portion of their exteriors. So, like those of the *Second Group*, the temples of the *Third Group* are also divisible into such broad sub-groups as :

(1)   those which take up the new type which evolved in the *Second Group* and

(2)   those which maintain connection with those of the *First Group*; to mention :

the former is represented by

1.   Temples Nos. 2, 3 and 5 at Balsane ⎫ West Khandesh District.
2.   Temples at Methi ⎭

3.   Temple of Mahadeva at Sangameshvar ⎫
4.   Temple of Mudhai Devi at Vaghli   ⎪
5.   Temple of Shambhu at Dighi   ⎬ East Khandesh District.
6.   Temple of Bhavani at Patne   ⎭

7.   Temple of Jogeshvar at Devlane ⎫ Nasik District.
8.   The Small temple at Jhodga ⎭

and the latter by

1.   Temple of Changdeva at Changdeva, E. Khandesh District.

2.   Temple of Bhavani at Tahakari   ⎫
3.   Temple of Lakshmi-Narayan at Pedgaon   ⎬ Ahmednagar District.
4.   Temples at Harischandragad   ⎭

5.   Temple of Bhuleshwar near Yawat.   ⎫
6.   Temple of Kukdeshvar at Pur,   ⎬ Poona District.
7.   Temple of Jabreshvar at Phaltan in the Phaltan State ⎭

The chief characteristics common to all these temples, and demarcating them from those of the pieceding two groups, are the less complexity of the outlines of their general plans and the reduced height of their basements. The number of vertical projections and recesses has become less and in some cases this angulated planning is even completely abandoned. The basement gradually loses its distinctive character of a prominent architectural and decorative feature and is in some instances reduced to its purely structural or utilitarian form as a plainly massoned and slightly raised plinth.

It is mainly the style of the Balsane and Sangameshvar Temples that is found to persist in the temples of the former sub-group while those of the latter sub-group are found to follow closely the style of the Changdeva Temple. In the Balsane Sangame-

shvar group, as will be shown below we get a proto-type of the temples which consti-
tute the class to which the term '*Hemādpantī*' is geneally applied in the Deccan
and which mark the last phase of the Mediaeval Architecture. These are described
in the 5th[206] and 6th[207] groups below.

However, inspite of:the above mentioned demarcating characteristics, the temples
maintain the homogenetic character with those of the earlier groups by exhibiting re-
semblance in varying degrees with them which is mainly confined to such interior
features as the pillars, ceilings, doorways etc.

Unfortunately, none of these temples, except the temple at Tahakari, has retained
its original tower. The towers of the temple at Tahakari[208] (for it is a three-shrined
temple) are partly fallen, but what remains of them is sufficient to show how the
whole looked like when complete. Being built in brick they mark a new phase in
the architecture of the Deccan. Excepting in the ancient temples at Ter, brick does
not seem to have been used in the Deccan in Temple Architecture. This introduction
of brick appears to have become popular with the temple-builders of the 13th and
14th centuries since several temples of the later groups possess brick-built towers.

The use of stone in the construction of the tower seeme to have been purposely
avoided to reduce the weight of the superstructure of the building. The walls' of the shr-
ine, upon which mainly rests the weight of the tower, are here less in thickness than what
the whole width of the shrine would have required to support a stony super-structure.
This is not the case with the earlier temples having stone-towers. The following
table clearly brings out this difference :

Temple	Thickness of the walls	Width of the shrine
1. Temple No.1 at Balsane	8 feet	25 feet
2. Gondeshvar Temple at Sinnar	9 feet	29 feet
3. Mahadeva Temple at Jhodga	7 feet	23 feet
4· Temple of Bhavani at Tahakari	7 feet	30 feet

It is evident from the above that in the last example while the width of the shrine
has incrased the thickness of walls is not proportionately increased. And this
will be found, upon closer examination, to be characteristic of realy all the temples
of this group and to be applicable also to their component parts so that it becomes
the chief structural difference between these and the temples of the earlier groups.

The bricks of the towers have been moulded so as to produce the requierd shape
which is, on the whole, similar to the towers of the earlier temples. But the decorative
miniature replicas of the tower have been extremely conventionalized to look like
square blocks. The *Caitya*-window ornament with the inset *kalaśa* is retained at
the base of the vertical band but the surface decoration of the bands has been abandoned.
And the outline of the whole tower is made to simulate a pyramidal tower with

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206. A short description of this temple cocurs in *BG* 16. 416. Several photographs of this
temple are included in the album (Nos. 4237, 8412, 8416, 8418) of the Western Circle at
Poona, of the Archaeological Department of India. They have not been published so far.

207. See § 98 below

208. See § 103 below

209. *MTD.*, Pl. LXIV.

straight lines rather than the usual curvilinear tapering tower. All this suggests a considerable deterioration in the style which had already been aparent in the preceding period at Sinnar and Anjaneri.

According to their plan, the temples of each of the sub-groups' further fall into several groups as follows :

The first sub-group :

(a) One-shrine temples :—
Balsane Temples Nos. 2 and 3 [210], Temples at Sangameshvar. [211] Vaghli,[212] Dighi,[213] Methi and Jhodga.[214]

(b) Triple-shrine temples :—
A temple at Methi, and the Jogeshvar Temple at Devlane[215]

(c) Many-shrine temples :—
Balsane Temple No. 5.[216]

The second sub-group :—

(a) One-shrine temples :—
Temples at Changdev,[217] Pedgaon,[218] Harischandragad,[219] Yawat,[220] Pur[221] and Phaltan.

(b) Triple-shrine Temple at Tarhakari[222] (Bhavani Temple).

Theas are described below in the order stated above.

§ 74—THE FIRST SUB-GROUP : ONE SHRINE TEMPLES, BALSANE NOS. 2 AND 3

Of this group, the temple No. 2 at Balsane is perhaps the oldest. It originally consisted of a shrine, a closed hall or gūdha-maṇḍapa and a porch in front of the maṇḍapa. The porch has completetly disappeared, only its basement remains. The ceiling and roof of the maṇḍapa are also no more.[223] There does not seem to have been any doorway between the porch and the maṇḍapa and the entrance to the latter was perhaps the whole width between the pilasters. The shrine is square inside and is like that of No. 4,[224] built on the star-shaped plan. In the centre of its floor, which is on the same level as that of the hall, is a huge liṅga while in the large, framed niche in the back-wall is a broken standing image, which, as COUSENS says, " was probably an

210. Ibid., 25-26. and Pls. XIX and XX
211. Ibid., 31-32 and Pls. XXVI, XXIV and XXXVII.
212. Ibid, 30-31 and Pls. XXXIII, XXXVI.
213. PR, ASI, WC., 1919-1920. 75-77 and Plates.
214. Only noticed in MTD., 43.
215. MTD., 47 and Pls. LXII-LXIII ; BG 16. 432.
216. MTD., 26 and Pl. XXI.
217. Ibid., 32-33 and Pls. XXXVIII- XXXIX and XL.
218. Ibid., 56-57 and Pls. LXXVI-LXXVIII, LXXX-LXXXIV ; BG 17. 732 ; PR, ASI, WC.. 1899. 20.
219. BG. 17. 719.
220. BDCRI 4. 1-29 and Plates.
221. BG. 18. 3. 425 ; BDCRI 2. 218-224.
222. MTD., 55-56 and Pls. LXXI, LXXIII, LXXIV, LXXV.
223. Ibid., Pl. XIX.
224. See § 34 above.

image of *pārvatī* in one of her forms.[225] The shrine-doorway is extremely plain, the usual images on the jambs are absent and except the triangular fret-work-plates on the pilasters there is no ornamentation.   On the lintel, in a very small panel, is *Gaṇeśa* and over the projecting dave is a frieze containing *rosette-lozenges*, instead of figūres, of which the alternate three are placed in miniature pillared pavilions.   The shrine *faces* the west.

The hall-roof has fallen but the·four central pillars and the beams above are still in their places.   The pillars[226] are practically made up of the same parts as those of the Ambarnath pillars but it is interesting to see the change in their decoration brought about by nearly hundred years since the erection of the latter temple.   The figure-panels on the base have been replaced by triangular plates and the images on the lower part of the shaft have been omitted to leave the:surface quite plain.   The two hands of sculpture above this are replaced by fret-work panels while the *kīrti-mukha* ·band and the triangular ornamental plates above have been retained.   The shaft is surmounted by an almost identical capital and *kīcaka-brackets*.   Thus, again we have evidence of the tendency to minimise labour and expense by abandoning figure sculpture wherever possible.   The pillars are similarly decorated but they·have no *kicaka* figures on the brackets.

There is a framed niche with an ornamental pediment:in the centre of. each side-walls of the *maṇḍpa*, and though they are empty now, it appears that they held the principal images which in other temples (especially the older ones) occupied the ex-terior principal niches.   There are no niches on the exterior of this temple.

The exterior is practically free of figure carving.   The ' *piṭha* ' or the basement consists of only three tiered, plain masonry while above·it the '*maṇḍovara*' has the same mouldings as those of the earlier temples of the *Second Group* only that much of its sur-face is left plain.   The square moulding at the bottom of the ' *maṇḍovara*' has a niche on its face but unlike those of the earlier temples it has a plain lozenge inset.   *Arabe-sque* and *geometric* designs occupy the upper part of the vertical:projections of the wall and the recesses are filled in with slender pilasters.   This is all that decorates the exterior.

Temple No. 3 is a mere wreck[227] and is built opposite the last facing the east.   Its style is precisely the same and the remains show that its plan was also the same as that of No. 2.   However, the exterior is more plain·

But among the debris inside are the remains of the ceiling which are noteworthy. The fallen blocks show that the ceiling was a fire piece of workmanship adorned with the *cusped* ornament like those of the Ambarnath and Balsane No. 1 and the corner spaces were filled with florid *kīrtimukhas*[228] Similar must have been the ceiling of No. 2. The four central pillars must have been similar to those in No. 2. and like the latter the sidewalls also contain niches which are empty.   The shrine-doorway is well carved and has *Gaṇeśa* on the lintel.

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225. *MTD.,* 25.
226. Ibid., Pl. XIX.
227. Ibid., Pl. XX.
228. See Photo No. 15.

§ 75—TEMPLES AT SANGAMESHWAR AND VAGHLI

The temples at Sangameshvar[229] and Vaghli[230] are built on very similar plans and seem to have been simultaneously erected, perhaps a few years after the above described temples at Balsane. The former is now called the temple of *mahādeva* and is situated upon a high knoll near the junction of two streams, facing the east. The latter is now dedicated to Mudhai Devi and stands on the north bank of the 'Tittur river upon an artificial mound about a mile to the SW of the village. It also faces the east.

Like the Temple No. 2 at Balsane both these temples consist of a shrine, a hall and a porch in front of the hall. But the porch of the temple at Vaghli has been much damaged and only the front pillars remain.[231] The temple at Sangameshvar has a quaint, elongated porch which is also damaged at the front end.[232] The pillars and pilasters [233] in the porch are decorated, with surface ornament similar to that on the exterior of the temple and excepting this they are plainer than those in the Temple No. 2 at Balsane. But those in the Vaghli temple[234]—both of the porch and the *maṇḍapa*—are more decorated with conventional lotus-petals, geometric designs, the ' *vase* and *foliage* ' ornament similar in shape to that on the pillars in the *Nārāyaṇa* Temple at Methi, and the triangular ornament. However, the lower half of the shaft, at both these places, is left entirely plain and the bases are adorned with an *arbesque triangular plate* on each face.

The hall of the Sangameshvar Temple is remarkable for the absence of pillars in it. The interior walls are quite plain and there are plain recesses upon either side which according to COUSENS do not seem to have been used as shrines. Between the porch and the hall was a bench. the hall of the Vaghli temple has four pillars in the middle andis likewise very plain.

The whole space of the Sangameshvar hall was covered by a large dome, now fallen. But the base and one ring of the ceiling mouldings remain to show that it rested upon a polygon of sixteen equal sides. The ceiling in the *maṇḍapa* of the Vaghli[235] temple is square in plan and rises as hollow truncated pyramid with the sides decorated with series of horizontal concave mouldings and has five *rosette* pendants hanging from the top. Quite similar is the ceiling of the porch.

Both the temples have an antechamber between the *maaṇḍpa* anb the *garbhagṛha* There is nothing important in that of the Sangameshvar Temple except the ceiling which is quite peculiar on account of its oval design which a very rare feature. The *rosette* pendant hanging from its center is also *oval*.[236] The antechamber of the other temple has a framed niche on either side, but the images they once held have disappeared. The ceiling above is similar to that of the hall, only that it has only one central *rosette* pendant of five as in the latter case.

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229. Fifteen miles to the north-east Chalisgaon, E. Khandesh District.
230. Seven miles to the north-east of Chalisgaon.
231. *MTD.*, Pls. XXXIII and XXXIV.
232. Ibid., Pls. XXXVI and XXXIV.
233. Ibid., Pls. XXXVII.   235. Ibid., Pl. XXXV.
234. Ibid., Pl. XXXV.   236. Ibid., Pl. XXXVII.

The shrine of the Sangameshvar temple has a recess in the back-wall and a *linga* in the centre of the floor which is on the same leavel as that of the hall. The shrine of the other temple has at present a red-bedaubed slab bearing an image of *Umā-Maheśvara* but it was not the original cult-object. The walls are plain, there is no niche or recess in the back-wall, no *linga* in the centre of the floor which is not sunk. But COUSBNS noted some flanking posts of the back of a throne, carved with small standing images of *Sūrya* in small niches, lying in the shrine. As there is other evidence pointing to the original dedication of the temple to *Sūrya*, it is possible that these posts are the remains of an image of that deity which was the original cult-object,

The shrine-doorways of both the temples are carved but that of the Sangameshvar Temple is more so. It is sculptured after the style of that of Gondeshvar at Sinnar and Maheshvar at Patne, but is more squat and clumsy in execution. Unlike that of Balsane No. 2 it has human figures in the miniature pavillions in the frieze above the lintel. Also the jambs have the usual sculptures of deities and attendants and the pilasters have the '*vase* and *foliage*' ornament. The frames have rows of lions and elephants, rhombuses and human figures. Upon the lintel is *Gaṇeśa* and on the threshold, on either side of the central ornamental boss, is a *kīrtimukha*.

The doorway of the temple, though having *Gaṇeśa* on the lintel, shows futher evidence of the temple having been originally dedicated to *Sūrya*. It has immediately above *Gaṇeśa*, a seated figure of *Sūrya*, but much corroded and bedaubed. Above it is a frize of nine panels each containing a deity. Owing to their corroded state they could not be identified but it is possible that they represented the '*navagrakas*' Except these, there is nothing on the doorway by way of ornamentation.

The exteriors of both have almost similar mouldings but that of the Sangameshvar Temple[237] has more decoration than the other one, consisting of three running bands of *geometric* designs and ornamental pilasters in the recesses, The temple at Vaghlj[238] has only two decorative bands, one of *kīrtimukhas* and the other of *geometric* and *arabesque* ornaments, the ornamental pilasters being absent. However, in the latter case the exterior is made attractive by adding, in the place of deep niches, three oblong panels bearing important images on the three principal faces of the shrine, of which that on the backwall has an image of *Sūrya*. This conclusively proves that the temple was, as said above, dedicated to that deity. On the north and south faces are *Mahākālī* and *Gaṇeśa*, respectively.

The *maṇḍapa*-walls of the above temple are finished off quite plainly and so do not match with the shrine-walls. COUSENS[239] conjectured that there was an outer corridor with sloping cornice and '*vedī*' around it, Lying in the temple were two large corner blocks which he considers to be part the *vedī*.' They may well have belonged to the parapet-wall of the *maṇḍapa* as carved on them are images of *Sūrya* each nearly a foot high.

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237. Ibid., Pls. XXXVI-XXXVII.
238. Ibid., Pl. XXXV ; see Photo No. 6.
239. *MTD.*, 30.

§ 76—TEMPLES AT JHODGA, METHI AND DIGHI

Of the rest of the one-shrine temples of teis sub-group, only the temple at Dighi[240] is worth noticing here. Those at Jhodga and Methi are architecturally insignificant and very small. The temple at Dighi lies outside the city-walls and consists of a shrine, a hall and a porch in front, all in a good state of preservation. Between the hall and the shrine is an antechamber with a separate doorway which is an unusual feature in the Deccan temples. The temple faces the east.

The porch is very small and has four pillars[241] supporting the roof. There is a 'bench around the inside from which, at the corners, rise these pillars. The pillars are of one design and have *kirtimukhas* in square panels on all four faces of the shafts in the middle. They support, each, a cross-shaped capital, each arm of which has a four-armed squatting *kicaka*.

The ceiling of the porch is noteworthy as it is a trabeate dome, finely carved in the interior with graceful pendentives in the style of the smaller domes over the cloister in Vimala Sat's temple at Dilwara on Mt. Abu.

But the chief interest of the temple lies in the *mandapa* which has a fine ceiling dome and twelve elaborately carved pillars. The pillars are arranged in a square by ranging four on each side. They are of two kinds : one consisting of the four corner-pillars and the other consisting of the remaining eight pillars. The pillars of the first kind bear plain cross-shaped capitals and support beams which carry short length of triangular pieces of the flat roofs at the corners. Those of the second support a massive octagonal frame on which rests the ceiling-dome. Each of these supports a cross-shaped capital also, but placed on each is a square block supporting the frame and bearing a divine figure on its face.[242]. Counting from the south and clockwise we have (1) *Vaisnavi* (2) *Nāgi* (3) *Māheśvari* (4) *Vāruṇi* (5) *Gaṇeśa* (6) *Garuḍa* (7) *Kubera* and (8) a headless *Devi*. The shafts of all are decorated with bands of plain *lozenges* and *kirtimukhas*. The bracket-capitals of the eight pillars have figures of four-handed *kicakas*.

The octagonal frame at the base of the ceiling dome is, on the inner side, orna-mented wite ' *halt-diamond* and *arabesques*'. Over this is another sixteen-sided frame the stone-slabs of which are smaller than those of the frame below. Its inner face has a band of crude *kirtimukhas* alternating with lion-heads.[243]. The rest, above this frame, is a trabeate dome consisting of plain concentric rings of stone laid over each other. At the top is a flat cap which bears a mass ot very beautiful *arabesque* work in relief.

Fitted into the four corners of the sixteen sided frame were four brackets bearing

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240. Ten miles to the south-east of Nagardevle station on the G. I. P. Railway and six miles due east of Kajgaon station in E. Khandesh District ; about two miles from the frontiers of the Hyderabad State.

241. One of these has been replaced by another brought from some neighbouring struc-ture. It has a ' *vase* and foliage ' member in the place of the square part bearing ' *kirti* ' *mukha's* panels.

242. List of Photographs in the office of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, Poona (*LP, ASI, WC.,*), No. 4979.

243. Ibid., No. 4984.

figure-sculpture. Only two of these are in their position now and have figure of dancing females upon them, each standing upon a *kicaka* figure, [244]

The vestibule is distinguished by the well-carved doorway. Each of its jambs is composed of three separate pieces placed vertically. The outer of these is orna-mented with a long pilaster and a band of *lozenge rosettes.* The middle one has a well-proportioned, round, pillar in relief against a plain surface while the innermost piece is decorated with what may be called a '*winding vine-leaf*' pattern which is continued overhead on the lintel. In the centre of the lintel is a small square panel in relief, conatining a small figure of *Gaṇeśa.* The upper part of the lintel contains a frieze of sculpture divided into five small panels—three larger and two smaller—the latter being sunk between the larger ones. All of these bear scenes from life such as dancing wresting etc.

The ceiling above is of a single slab and has in the centre a large lotus in relief which bears in its calyx a '*gandharva*' figuring flying to the left with a gārland in hands. Along the four sides runs a band of *haṁsas.*

The shrine doorway[245] is also well-carved. The decoration on it consists of a band of *scrolls* which is continued overhead upon the lintel, a pilaster having the '*pot* and *foliage*' ornament, and a band of plain *lozenges* which stops near the lintel. The centre of the lintel has the figure of *Gaṇeśa* while above it is a frieze of six panels representing scenes from life and soldiers. The shrine itself is a plain square chamber and has in the centre of the floor a small *linga.* There was also an image of *Pārvatī*, on a pedestal behind the *linga* of which some fragments are lying on the floor

The exterior of the temple is, like that of No. 3 at Balsane, plainer than the other specimens of this group and there is nothing interesting except the two niches in the two side-walls of the font of the *maṇḍapa.* This seems to be a modification of the system of three principal niches, as placed in these are the most important images on the temple. The niche in the south-wall contains *Śiva,* dancing the *Tāṇḍava* and that in the north-wall has a four-handed image of *mahākālī.*[246] It should be noted that this system of two niches became more prevalent in the later temples of the 13th cenury of which good examples are found in the Satara District.[247]

§ 77—THE TRIPLE-SHRINED TEMPLES AT METHI AND DEVLANE

The triple-shrined temples at Devlane[248] and Methi are built on the same plan consisting of a hall or *maṇḍapa* around the three sides of which are arranged the three shrines. Both have a small porch in front through which the *maṇḍapa* is entered. But between them are some structural differences which are noted below.

As pointed out by COUSENS[249] the three shrines of the temple at Devlane have been rebuilt at some later date in a very plain manner. But the few courses of the original

244. Ibid., Nos. 4981, 4983 and 4984.
245. Ibid., No. 4978.
246. Ibid., No. 4986.
247. See § 100 below.
248. *MTD.,* 47 and Pls. LXII-LXIII.
249. Ibid., 47.

basement, which remain below the later work, show that the temple was elaborately
decorated. The *maṇḍapa* is nearly half-open at the front and has a dwarf of parapet
wall on either side in continuatioh of that of the porch. The principal shrine faces
the east [250]

The principal shrine in a square chamber and encloses nearly double the area
enclosed by those of the side-shrines. In the back-wall is an empty, deep niche and
in the centre of the floor is a *liṅga*. The side-shrines have alters for images and no
niches in the walls. The doorways are all similar, only that the principal one is
rather more elaborately carved. On the lintels of all are figures of *Gaṇeśa*.

The antechambers of the side-shrines are mere shallow recesses, but that of the
principal shrine is deeper. All are quite plain.

Coming to the *maṇḍapa* one notices the absence of pillars in the middle, its
roof being supported on the pillars in the front, the pilasters and the beams placed
across the corners. The eaves and front corners of the *maṇḍapa* rest on the
dwarf-pillars which stand upon the low parapet-wall. The pillars and pilasters[251]
are more ornate than those in the one-shrine temples described above and are
somewhat similar to those at Anjaneri. They have red-brackets with *kīcaka*
figures or cobra-heads upon the rolls and *arabesque* facets on the four faces
of their bases. In the decoration of the shafts, however, the pilasters differ from the
pillars. The former have *kīrtimukas*, *arabesque* designs and ' *haṁsas* ' upon them
whereas the latter have the ' *vase* and *foliage* ' ornament, plain triangular plates and
plain ' *ring* ' mouldings.

But the chief interest of the temple lies in the decoration of the upper part of
the *maṇḍapa* interior. The inner faces of the beams, all round the ceiling are decorated
with two bands, the lower consists of the running *scroll*-design and the upper consists
of a row of the ' *bead-string* and *lotus* ' ornament[252] exactly similar to what has been
noticed in the decoration of the pillars in the Mahadeva Temple at Jhodga. The
ceiling has a central circular panel, depicting, like the one in the temple at Vaghli,
Kṛṣṇa and the *gopis*.[253] Another panel of three medallions has in the central one
a design of *Nāgas* whose rope-like tails are intertwined and knotted in a most compli-
cated manner.[254]

The porch in front has four pillars which are very similar to the central pair in
the front of the *maṇḍapa* But their brackets have, instead of the *kīcaka* figures,
amorous couples in various attitudes. The parapet-wall forms in the inside, both of
the porch and the *maṇḍapa*, a bench with a sloping back-rest.

The most prominent part of the exterior is the basement on account of the
broad band which has a row of *haṁsas* all round the temple. This is an innovation
as, so far, the *haṁsa* is very rarely found on the basement. The usual mouldings
and the various ' *tharas* ' are absent here except the ' *padma* ' or the *cyma recta* at
the bottom of the basement. But even this is not easily recognisable. Above the
row of *haṁsas* is a string course of plain *lozenges* above which begins the parapet-wall.

The parapet-wall is composed of two distinct parts : one is a broad horizontal

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250. Ibid., Pl. LXII.   252. Ibid.
251. Ibid., Pl. LXIII.   253. Ibid., Pl. LXV.
254. Ibid.

band of pilaster-like members with female figures in the alternative recesses and above it is the other which consists of a horizontal of small panels containing obscene and humorous representations.

The facade of the porch is exquisitely decorated. In addition to the above, it has on either side of the entrance a niche containing an image of Śiva, while the beams above have been decorated with the 'bead-string and lotus' ornaments and running scroll design. The plain walls of the shrine show among the prominent horizontal courses of masonry some *geometric tracery* which is quite shallow and does not match with the older decoration.

Fragment of two *Nandīs* lie in front of the temple but it is difficult to say which of these is the original one.

The temple at Methi has a closed hall or *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* which with the four central pillars is quite plain in the interior. The principal shrine contains a *liṅga* and the side ones have altars for images. Lying in the latter are some images of *Pārvatī* and *Viṣṇu* which may have occupied the shrines as cult-objects. The pillars in the *maṇḍapa* as well as those of the porch (which are only two) consist of square bases and round, octagonal and square shafts supporting round capitals and brackets, all these parts being quite plain. The porch had parapet walls and benches on either side but they have disappeared.

The exterior of the temple is perfectly devoid of figure-sculpture. But it has been richly moulded and decorated with *geometric, arabesque* and *scroll* designs of chaste and effective workmanship and is closely similar to the exterior of the temple at Sangameshvar. The walls of the side shrines have been badly damaged.

In front of the temple and facing the main shrine is a large *Nandi* which seems to be the original one. But there is no indication of any pavilion or *maṇḍapa* wherefore it appears that it stood, as it is now, in the open upon only a slightly raised pedestal.

§ 78—TEN-SHRINED TEMPLE AT BALSANE

Mainly on account of its plan the Temple No. 5 at Balsane[255] constitues a class by itself. But in every other respect it closely resembles the Temple No. 2 at the same place and there is nothing new or striking in its details.

The plan, however, is quite unique and consists of a main shrine facing north, an antechamber, a closed hall or *gūḍha maṇḍapa* and finally a verandah-porch in the front. Around the sides of the *maṇḍapa* is a series of ten small shrines, each of which is fitted with a carved doorway and an altar for an image against the back-wall. The verandah-porch has also a shrine at each end. The antechamber has a niche in each of the side-walls and the wall of verandah-porch has also a niche on either side of the entrance to the *maṇḍapa*. The ceiling of the hall is supported on four central pillars and eight corresponding pilasters. The verandah-porch was originally open in the front, its roof being supported on two pillars. Taken as a whole the plan of the temple is well proportioned and perfectly symmetrical and, what is more striking is that, in its arrangement of the shrines and the open verandah-

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255. Ibid. 26 and Pl. XXI.

porch in front it represents a structural analogy to the excavated Buddhist Mahayan *Vihāras* of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. and is more akin to the plans of the *Vihāras* Nos. 15, 16, 17, 18 and 29 at Ajanta[256].

As to the original dedication of the temple COUSENS[257] remarks that it was very likely *Vaiṣṇava,* the mainshrine containing an image of *Viṣṇu* and the ten smaller one's round the hall, the ten *avatāras* of that deity'. As pointed out by him the temple could not possibly have been dedicated to *Śiva* since the temple faces the north. In the main-shrine, at present, is an image said to be of *Kalkin* which may be one of the ten *avatāras* which occupied the surrounding shrines. The doorways of these shrines, though simple and plain, have sculptured pediments consisting of the lintel and above it a frieze of projecting miniature pavillions containing small seated images of deities. The images on the lintels are small and rough and they are seated in the attitude in which *Gaṇeśa* is usually shown. But we have instances from other temples in the Deccan where we find *Garuḍa* shown in this attitude also. I could recognize the image on the lintel of the north-west shrine doorway as that of *Garuḍa* and feel certain that others also were designed to represent him. Thus all available evidence seems to suggest that the temple was originally dedicated to the worship of *Viṣṇu* and his ten manifestations.

§ 79—THE SECOND SUB-GROUP : ONE–SHRINE TEMPLES : THE CHANGDEV TEMPLE

Of the one-shrine temples of the second sub-group only three–those at Changdev, Pedgaon and Yawat are notewoothy and therefore they will be described in greater detail and only the important and interesting features of the rest will be noticed.

The temple at Changdev,[258] which is the largest of the whole group, does not appear to have had any porches even in the original plan. Moreover it is not clear whether the temple was originally finished or not. The roof of the hall has disappeared carrying with it several pillars also. The walls of the hall are also badly damaged and only one or two courses of their moulded masonry remain on the basement. In later times the missing portions of the temple have been supplied in a very clumsy manner with brick and mortar. As it is, therefore, only the shrine and the antechamber of the temple are of interest from our point of view. And these original parts show that the temple must have been a fine building in those days. It stands near the junction of the Purna and the Tapti and faces the east.

The magnificence of the temple can be imagined from the following measurements; the hall is 43 feet square inside, and including the walls its depth is about 63 feet. The antechamber is 16 feet wide and 12 feet deep and the shrine is of the same size as that of the latter. The whole length of the temple measures 97 feet.

The plan[259] shows that there were sixteen pillars in the hall, which were arranged in four groups, but they are all now dilapidated or gone. The antechamber has two pillars and pilasters in the front which are quite simple and plain except for the roughly carved '*kīrtimukha* and *bell-pendant*' ornament on the middle portion of

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256. Cf. *CTI.*, Pls. XXXII-XXXIII.
257. *MTD.*, 26.
258. Ibid., 32-33 and Pls XXXVIII and XI.
259. Ibid., Pl. XL.

the shaft.   The capitals of the pilasters support ' *kicaka* ' brackets but those of the pillars only plain square blocks whose corners are cut to produce recessed angles[260] As in the Sangameshvar Temple, the antechamber has a small oval dome but not quite so decorated.   The shrine is a plain chamber with a raised platform in the rear half on which is an altar for an image.   At present there is an image on it very much disfigured by the red paint—which is said to be that of Changdev.

Coming out from this uninteresting interior, the visitor is pleased to behold the imagery on the shrine-walls.   The *Jaṅghā*, which contains these sculptures, is not, however, crowded with images as is the case with the earlier etemples of Ambarneth and Jhodga but is sculptured with less images on the background of *arabesque tracery* and *scroll-bands* which effectively gives prominence to the figures in bold relief.   Also the figure-sculpture is not without some quality and in fact we notice some, though temporary, revival of artistic merit since the modelling here is better than that at Jhodga.

The walls have the usual mouldings[261] but the usual basement-bands or *tharas* have been replaced by a band of *scroll* design and *lozenges*.   This is surmounted by a *padma* or *cyma-reversa* moulding.   Above this begins the *maṇḍovara* from a thin and sharp *kaṇi* moulding.   The portion between this and the *jaṅghā* has from below, a rectangular member, then the torus or *kumuda* and the *padma* or *cyma-reversa*, with the *toothed, saw-lika drop-projection*.   The jaṅghā may be said to begin with the triangular plated *padma* above this,   The figures in the *jaṅghā* are not placed in niches or under pillared *toraṇas* as in the earlier temples. Most of these are female figures, all two-handed but some with *makutas*, and the only male ones occupy the principal panels one on each face of the shrine.   Curiously enough, there are only three or four images on the *jaṅghā* which occupy less important places and represent different forms of *Viṣṇu*.   The topmost cornice of the walls is a *padma* or *cyma-reversa* moulding with the *toothed saw-like drop-projection* and below that is the same moulding—but broad, heavy and projecting forward—which may be called the *chhajjā*.   This is supported on a series of bracket-like members having small figures of *kicakas* and below this is the *karṇa* or the *cavetto* moulding.

The central panels on the three principal faces of the shrine-walls have a group of sculptures consisting of a two-handed make figure and a female attendant on either side of him,   These, according to COUSENS, ' may well represent *Kṛṣṇa* and his *gopis*.' Thus the different forms of *Viṣṇu* in the *jaṅghā* and these figures show that the temple was dedicated to *Viṣṇu*.[262]

§ 80—LAKSMI-NARAYAN TEMPLE AT PEDGAON

The temple of Laksmi-Narayan at Pedgaon[263] had three porches but all of them have disappeared.   As compared with the preceding temple, this is a much smaller

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260. Ibid., Pl. XXXVIII.
261. Ibid., Pl. XL.
262. And there is an image of *Garuḍa* in the human form now lying in the temple. This may have originally occupied the pavillion or *piṭha* in front of the temple.
263. Eight miles to the south of Shrigonde in the Ahmednagar District on the bank of the Bhima at the junction of that and the Saraswati rivers.   See footnote No. 218, above.

edifice measuring about 54 by 35 feet in all when complete. It is most profusely decorated, both within and without, and bears in the *jaṅghā* portion of its exterior a thickly covered band of image-sculpture. The temple faces the west.

The three doorways of the *maṇḍapa*[264] are all richly wrought and are of the same pattern and design. But they are all simple and plain above the lintels. The frieze of sculptures over the eaves is replaced by a row of projecting square panels containing plain *lozenges*. The jambs have the usual figures of four-handed deities and female attendants and the frames are decorated on the three sides with *scroll*-design, human figures, lions and elephants and slender pilasters having in the middle of the shaft the 'vaese and foliage' ornament. The central boss of the threshold has an *arabesque* design and on either side of it is a bold *kīrtimukha*.

The *maṇḍpa* is enclosed by serforated pcreen walls[265] which is an innovation since in the early temples these are absent, The device is a sort of compromise between the closed and open hall systems, as while it secures the protection of the interior like the former, it allows more light and air into it like the latter. the perforated panelling is very plain consisting of square divisions containing pierced squares arranged in different geometric designs and does not stand comparison with rich perforated screens found in the *Calukyan* temples, such as the Trikutesvar Temple at Gadag. Nor do they appear to have been popular in the Deccan as they are found in only a few temples besides this one, such as the temples at ꞉Kokamthan, Mahuli and Limpangaon.

Around the three sides of the *maṇḍapa* is a broad bench and there are only four pillars supporting the roof above. The pillars and the corresponding pilasters[266] are well carved and fall off from the type of those in the other contemporary temples described above. They belong to a different type which shows a reversion to the earlier practice of embellishing the lower part of the shafts and the bases with figure-sculpture as in the temples at Ambarnath, Balsane, ahd Sinnar. Their bases have, instead of the triangular *arabesque* plates, oblong panels bearing images of deities and the lower parts of the shafts have large images of gods and goddesses. Similarly, the octagonal parts of the pillars have small figure-panels one on each face. The pilasters have *arabesque* besigns, *lozenge* rows, *kīrtimukhas* and oblong panels depicting scenes from life. But the most conspicuous is the ' *vase* ånd *soliage* ' ornament on the pillars. The vase is rather mâsked by an ornamental ribbing of lotus-buds and stalks which are bound around it by a narrow band or fillet. The foliage, very much conventionalized hangs over the lip of the jar or pot and forms four corners upon which rests a thin square slab. The capitals of the pillars and pilasters are circular and spuare respectively, and support ' *kicaka* ' brackets above- The two pillars of the south porch which still stand in their position are of a different type and have triangular plates on their square bases and their lower shafts are quite platin. On the square block in their shafts are found ornamental struts or supports which may have held figure-brackets like those in the porches of the Gondeshvar Temple at Sinnar.

The antechamber is rather narrow and uninteresting. The shrine doorway is

264. *MTD.*, LXXXII.
265. Ibid., Pla. LXXXI and LXXVIII.
266. Ibid., Pls. LXXXIII and LXXVIII.

similar to those of the *maṇḍapa* and has on the lintel an image of *Garuḍa*. The shrine is a plain chamber and has a mutilated image of *Lakṣmi·Nārāyaṇa*, nearly 5 feet high.

The exterior walls of the shrine[267] have the same mouldings as those of the 'temple of Changadeva but they are predominantly overlaid with figure-sculpture of bewildering variety. The basement mouldings are thickly coveread with human and animal figures which include figures of horses, a rare feature on the basement of the Deccan temples. The *aśvathara* is here met for the first time in the temple Architecture of the Deccan. Below this is the *gajathara* but unlike that on the basement of the temples at Ambarnath, Balsane and Sinnar, the elephants are carved either as following each other, in a line or fighting each with the other so that the spectator gets their side view only.

The horizontal row of the rectangular members of the *maṇḍovara*—the *kumbha* moulding—bears countless figures depicting duels, dancing scenes in the royal plaace and from life of the common people. Interspersed in these are large and small panels bearing images of gods and goddesses mostly *Vaiṣṇava*. Among these may be noticed *Buddha*, *Lakṣmi*, and some of the twenty four forms of *Viṣṇu* as well as other images of this ten *avatāras*. In the little figurs at least eight representaticns of *Hanumān*, in different postures could be detected. A continuous row of *haṁsas* cuts across the series of rectangular members broken only by the intervening panels. Each of the figures in the '*jaṅghā*' is nearly 3 feet high and stands out boldly from the wall, though not so delicately modelled as in the earlier temples. Here also are to be found representations of various forms of *Viṣṇu* and other gods and goddesses as also figures of: male and female daners and musicians. The portion above the '*jaṅghā*' is plain and rather coarse.

The temple has been dedicated since its erection to *Viṣṇu* and so the principal niches also contain *Vaiṣṇava*. images. The niches on the south and north contain *Varāha* and *Vāmana* respectively and that on the east has a mutilated image which cannot be recognised.

The basement-mouldings of the *maṇḍapa*[268] are similar to those of the shrine. But above this, the walls are differently moulded. From the basement to nearly half of their height they have a horizontal series of small pilasters and the recessed spaces between them are filled with *rosette lozenges*. At the bottom and covering their bases runs a band of small panels containing images of gods and goddesses. The alternate recesses are filled with figures of ascetics devotees, dancers and attendants The triangular spaces between the tops of these pilasters have bold, projecting *kirti mukhas* and above this is a broad horizontal band of plain *lozenges*. The upper half of the walls is filled with the above mentioned perforated panels. The walls are surmounted by a heavy eave which is moulded in *cyma reversa*, apparently to protect them from rain.

§ 81—THE BHULESHVAR TEMPLE NEAR YAWAT

The Bhuleshvar Temple, described in great detail by the writer elsewhere[269] is, owing to its adjuncts, a unique temple in the Deccan. It is on account of this

267. Ibid., Pls. LXXXI, LXXVII, LXXVI, LXXXIV.
268. Ibid., Pls. LXXVI and LXXXI.
269. A.V. NAIK, The Bhuleshvar Temple near Yavat, BDCRI 4. 2. 1-29. The account of the temple given above is a summary of this article.

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that it should be considered as forming a class by itself. The temple proper con-
sists of the usual parts of a Hindu temple, the *garbhagrha* the *maṇḍapa* and the
detached *Nandi-maṇḍapa* opposite the last. There were no porches but the *maṇḍapa*
had three entrances of which that on the north has been closed in later time. Sur-
rounding the temple, on three sides, is a *prākāra* with a structure of two *aṅkaṇas*
running all round. It is this last feature that contributes to the unique character
of the temple, The whole edifice stands on a considerably raised platform and
owing to its situation is visible fram a distance of at list ten miles. In the times.
of the *Peshvas* of Poona, the temple was repaired and a two-storyed *nagārkhānā*
and the tower, both built in brick and pilaster were added to it. Also the eastern
half of the *prākāra* and the court was roofed over in which the original roof of
the *Nandi-maṇḍapa* was also embedded. However, these additions and repairs have
not disturbed the original plan and structure of the temple.

§ 82—THE PRAKARA

The *prākāra*, or the rectangular enclosure consists of a long verandah supported
by twenty-five pilasters and behind it a series of alternate cells or *devakulīkas* and open
recesses, both opening into the verandah but not symmetrically arranged. Originally
the latter were provided with grille-windows but now some of these have been
completely closed. A few of the western and northern *aevakulikās* still retain the
original images, though in a badly mutilated state, while the rest are empty or contain
only original pedestals. It is very inter sting (and a unique instance in the temples
of the Deccan) to note that the doorways of these *devakulikās* bear upon their
lintels the images of *Bhairava*, instead of the images of of *Gaṇeśa*.

§ 83—THE PRAKARA SCULPTURES

Facing the exterior of the ante-chamber and the shrine, on three sides, are large
panels of image-sculpture fitted over the cornice of the open part of the colonnade.
They are arranged symmetrically on both sides viz. on the south and the north each
having four panels while on the west are fitted only two. Each of these ten panels
contains three figures in the semi-circular space that has been left out on the panel
by the surrounding *toraṇa*-decoration. The *toraṇa* which is similar to those from
the Navalinga Temple at Kultanura and the Kappe Chennigareya Temple at Belur,
consists of a *kīrtimukha* in the centre of the upper side of the panel and a conven-
tional *makara* in each of the lower corners. From the *kīrtimukha* emanates on
either side a creeper which after taking three circular convolutions merges in the open
jaws of the *makara* below. The creeper and the convolutions are further adorned
with small figures of ascetics and birds and *lotus-bud* pendants.

The ten panels in all contain thirty figures of which twenty are easily recogni-
zable on account of their *vāhanas* which are shown below on the dado of the
' *pīṭha* '. An analytical study of these images has revealed that they represent the
mātṛkās but not in the usual way. Here the *mātṛkās* are shown severally but col-

lectively they represent the seven *mātṛkās* and the female forms of *Gaṇeśa* and *Vīrabhadra* which is quite unique.

§ 84—THE TEMPLE PROPER

' The *garbhagṛha*, which faces the east, is a square chamber and contains in the centre a stone *liṅga* with the *yoni* which forms the chief object of worship. The inner surface of the walls of the *garbhagṛha* is quite plain. The floor of the *garbhagṛha*, which is reached by a flight of three steps, is considerably lower than that of the antechamber. The latter is also slightly lower than the *maṇḍapa*-floor. The antechamber is a narrow passage and forms the real entrance to the shrine, for there is on doorway between it and the *garbhagṛha* in the real sense of the term. What is, is a simple entrance with a figure of *Gaṇeśa* on the top. But the entrance to the antechamber is very elaborate and ornamented. On either side of the entrance is a carved pilaster having on it a panel of *kīrtimukha* and above it a row of finely carved *haṁsas*. Between these two pilasters is a pair of slender pillars each having at a height of about 7 feet, a projecting figure of a *dvārapāla* completely carved in the round. On the threshold are two *kīrtimukhas* one on either side, instead of one at the centre. The *sabhā-maṇḍapa* is a square hall supported on four principal pillars and surrounded by a dwarf-wall on three sides *viz.* south, east and north. The dwarf-wall is provided with benches in the interior on either side of the entrance.

The pillars inside the *maṇḍapa* are not much different from those of the *prākāra*. Those of the latter have above the capitals, roll-brackets with a cobra-head or '*nāgaśirṣaka*, upon each roll while those of the former have square brackets supported by four-handed, little, fat *kīcaka* figures. This excepted, all the pillars and pilasters follow a general pattern, which consists of a square base and a shaft which is partly square, octagonal and round. The square part of the shaft is followed by a broad octagonal band which is again followed by circular and octagonal bands alternately. This if surmounted by a series of deeply cut, recessed parts alternating with projections and crowned by a square block which has a triangular plate on each face. Above this begins again the octagonal shaft which becomes round at a short distance. This is surmounted by a round capital supporting '*kīcaka*' or *nāgaśirṣaka*' brackets. All the pillars, including those of the '*prākāra*' are decorated with *haṁsas* and rows of beads.

The three doorways differ only in the respect of jamb-sculptures which represent various forms of *Śiva* In other respets they are extremely similar and well-decorated. Each has a figure of *Gaṇeśa* on the lintel and a *kīrtimukha* on either side of the threshold. The frames of the doorways are decorated with human figures, lions and elephants, and pilasters.

§ 85—THE EXTERIOR

The exterior walls of the shrine[370] and the antechamber are very simple and have less mouldings than other examples of this group. The *pīṭha* is very low and quite plain The *maṇḍovara* begins from a sharp *kaṇi* moulding which has a

370. Ibid., Fig. 6.

greater projection than on any temples described above.   The rectangular *kumbha* moulding has become elongated, so much so that it loses its characteristic shape A plains fillet runs across the middle of this and each member has an oblong panel re·presenting female dancers and goddesses among whom *Brāhmī Mahiṣāsuramardinī* and *Lakṣmī* can be readily recognized.

The *jaṅghā* of the band of large figures has but a few images of, deities and a preponderance of human figures-male and female dancers and musicians.   The prin·cipal niches on the three faces are empty.   The sculptures on the whole are better executed and show to great advantage beside that on the temple at Jhodga, testifying again to the temporary revival of the art of modelling.

Excepting these, the exterior is quite free from overloading of ornamentation and the plain surface left out acts as pleasing foil behind the image sculpture.

Running round the whole temple is an eave over the top-most cornice of the walls.   It is adorned with a running band of *haṁsas* completely carved in the round.

Externally, the dwarf-wall of the *maṇḍapa* differs from those of the temples described above.   The series of pilasters and inset sculptures is.absent here. Instead, we find, that each section of the dwarf-wall is further divided into two horizontal sections, the upper being devoted to scenes from the *Rāmāaṇa* or the *Mihābrārata*[271] and the lower bearing animal sculptures—lions and elephants—in place of the base·ment *tharas*. On the south-west and north-west corners of the *maṇḍapa* is a deep, pillared niche which originally contained an image.   Below each niche is a panel bearing an image of *Pārvatī*.   The north portion of the west-wall has a group of three figures representing a dancing concert while on the south portion is a quaint, interesting·sculpture consisting of three male figures joined at the hips.

The *Nandi·maṇḍapa* is a a square structure with four principal pillars at the corners and two slender pillars inserted on each side at regular intervals between two corner pillars.   The original *Nandi* is still in tact and faces the shrine.

§ 85—TEMPLE AT PUR, POONA

Situated in a very picturesque spot at the source of the river Kukdi at Pur,[272] is a much ruined temple which is called by the villagers by the name of ' *Kukḍeśvara* ' which is of apparent meaning.   The sadly ruinous state of the edifice, with a portion of if casually piled up by the devotees under a tin shade, does not admit of any syste·matic approach to the study of its architecture.

The temple[273] was a very small building, about 40 feet long by 18 feet broad and does not appear to have had porches either in the front or on the side of the *māṇḍ·apa*. The original plan, therefore, seems to have comprised the shrine and the hall with vestibule between the two.

The *garbhagṛha* is square inside with its floor on a lower level than that of the *maṇḍapa*, as in the temple of Ambarnath, and contain a *liṅga* on a *yonipīṭha* as the cult-object.   It faces the west.

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271. Ibid., Figs. 3 and 5.
272. A small village about twelve miles to the west of Junnar, Poona District.
273. *BDCRI* 2.218-224·

The shrine doorway is well decorated and is conspicuous for the two bands of sculptures over the lintel, one representing five *devīs* and the other, over it, representing the the *navagrahas*.

The vestibule is 6 feet deep by 7 feet broad and has in the front two pillars with corresponding pilasters. There is a niche of each side-wall, that on the left has an image of *Gaṇeśa* and that on the right has one representing a form of *Pārvatī*.

The ceiling above is domical and, as in the Ambarnath Temple, rises in three diminishing concentric rings of the *cusped* moulding to a central pendant which is carved in the hanging *lotus*-pattern.. The octagonal frame at its bottom has its inner face carved into forty little female figures which according to INDRAJI[274] represent the 'Yoginīs'

The hall is a *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* and measures 13½ feet. by 12½ feet The roof is supported on, besides the walls, four pillars and the corresponding pilasters all being of a uniform type having a square base and a shaft which is square, octagonal and round from below upwards. The capital is carved into a circular vase with drooping ornamental leaves at the four corners and supporting a square plate above. This is again surmounted by four brackets with '*Kīcaka*' figures upon their lower surfaces.

In each of the sidewalls. like the antechamber, is a niche in the space between the pilasters. The south niche contains an image of *Śiva-Pārvatī* while the north niche has *Kālī*. In the north-east corner are loose images of *Śiva*, *Pārvatī* and *Viṣṇu-* The ceiling above is an enlarged |copy of that of the antechamber.

The doorway of the *maṇḍapa*, which is the only entrance to the interior of the temple is, though not profusely decorated, well-carved. Besides the sculptures on the jambs it is decorated with *kīrtimukhas* and *lozenges* and slender pilasters with the '*pot* and *foliage*' ornament. The threshold has a *kīrtimukha* on either side of the central boss and the latter has a *scroll* design upon it. On the lintel is a figure of *Gaṇeśa* which is also found in the corresponding position on the shrine-doorway.

§ 86—THE EXTERIOR

The striking feature of the exterior is its basement. Though not so profusely decorated as that of the Ambarnath or even as that of the Pedgaon (Laksmi Narayana) Temple, it is also not wholly plain as that of the Changeḍeva or Tahakari Temples. Moreover, it shows two of the basement '*tharsa*' which are usually noticed on the temples of the earlier groups, thus establishing with them a link missed by many other examples of this group. The four mouldings of the basement are decorated from below and respectively, with a runing *scroll* desing a string course of *haṁsa*, *nara-thara* or row of human figures and '*kīrtimukha-thara* or a *garāspaṭṭī*'.

Like that of the Changdev Temple, the *jaṅghā* is decorated with *arabesque* designs and image-sculpture but both are rather sparingly used. In the image-sculpture the figures of dancers and the *mithunas* are conspicuously absent, the whole of it comprising images of deities. On the walls could be counted thirteen images of which twelve are *Śaiva* and one *Vaiṣṇava*. The former include an image of *Gaṇapati*, five images of *Śiva* and four of *Pārvatī* and one is that of *Kālī*. The

274. GB., 18.3.425.

principal niches, round the exterior of the shrine, contain *Śiva* dancing the *Tāṇḍava* in the back-or east-niche and *Cāmuṇḍa* in the the north niche. The southern niche is covered up with rafters.

The tower of the temple is fallen and its ornamented slabs are scattered over the ground around. Some of these have been built into the flanks of the temple when it was reconstructed by the local devotees for their use. The tower was con- structed in stone and not in brick, as that of the temple at Tahakari. The slabs built in the flanks belonged to the vertical bands which ran up the four faces of the tower. The carvings upon them show that the bands were decorated in a manner similar to that in which the vertical bands of the tower of the Jhodga temple were decorated. These bands had *Caitya*-window oraments inset with a *kalaśa* at the base. Three of these very ornaments are now to be found in the northern flank of the temple. From these remains it could be gathered that the tower closely followed the Sinnar- Jhodga-type and being built in stone falls off from the series of other temples of this group which had brick towers.

Lying on all sides of the temple are loose images and fragments of sculptures which originally belonged to this temple. To the north-west of the temple is a small ruined shrine which has two quaint figures flanking its doorway. They are skeleton- like figures and face each other. INDRAJI thought that they represented *Bhairava*, but SANKALIA has shown, after comparing them with other figures of *Bhairava*, that they represent ' *Piśācas*.' However, the latter holds, with INDRAJI, that the shrine was dedicated to *Bhairava*.

§ 87—TEMPLES AT HARISCHANDRAGAD AND PHALTAN

The temples at Harischandragad and Phaltan are similarly well-sculptured and decorated, But owing to their damaged condition they could not be studied in details. Besides figures-sculpture, the *haṁsas* and the ornamental *Caitya*-window form the conspicuous features of their exterior decoration[275] while their doorways[276] are well-carved and follow the pattern of those of the Temple near Yawat and the Laksmi- Narayan temple at Pedgaon. Their ceilings are also noteworthy inasmuch as they still ratain the triangular corner-slabs with florid *kīrtimukhas* on them.[277]

§ 88—THE TRIPLE-SHRINED TEMPLE AT TARAKARI

The three-shriued temple at Tarakari[278] is at present known as the temple of Bhavani and as incographic and other evidence suggests. it was originally dedicat- ed to *Mahālakṣmī* whose image is still standing in the original position in the princi- pal-shrine. The prinpical shrine is larger than the side shrines, all three being arranged around the three sides of the square *maṇḍapa*. In plan,[279] there is nothng different from the earliest triple-shrine temple at Balsane. But in other respects, especially in the ornamentation of the various parts, the two are far removed from each other

275.   *LP,ASI,WC.,* Nos. 8327 and 8329.
276.   Ibid., No, 8330.
277.   Ibid., No. 8331.
278.   *MTD,,* 55-56 and Pls. LXXI, LXXIII, LXXIV, LXXV.
279.   Ibid.; Pl. LXXI.

Each of the three shrines is prefaced by a vestibule, that of the main shrine being noteworthy on account of its domical ceiling. The principal shrine only has a carved doorway, the other two are entered through the spaces between the screens which project from the sides. The lintel of the main doorway has an image of a *Devī* in the centre. The side shrines have altars for images which are now lost.

The porch and the *mandapa* are noteworthy particularly for the pillars and the fine ceilings. There are twelve pillars in the square of the *mandapa* namely four principal corner-ones and eight smaller introduced as supports between them as the span of the beams is larger between the corner pillars. The porch has fourteen pillars somewhat similarly arranged. As compared with the pillars in the Laksmi-Narayan Temple at Pedgaon, all the pillars[280] in this temple are rather plain and bear upon them *arabesque* and *scroll* designs and ornamental triangular facets. The capitals are all round and those of the four principal pillars support ' *kīcaka* ' brackets. The *kīrtimukha* appears only on the pillars of the porch.

The ceilings[281] of the *mandapa* and the porch are of the same pattern but that of the *mandapa* is particularly fine, it being most elaborately chiselled. Like that of the Ambarnath temple, it is almost hemispherical and rises in the usual manner by concentric rings of *cusped* mouldings to a central pendent. The octagonal frames below are decorated with figures of soldiers, *kīrtimukhas*, miniature pavillions containing images of gods and goddesses and single figures of attendants. From each of the eight corners rises a pile of bracket-figures consisting of, from below, a *kīcaka*, then a conventional lion, then again a *kīcaka* and lastly a large figure of a female dancer or musician. The ceiling of the porch also had six such figure-brackets of which only four are remaining.

The faces of the beams over the pillars are decorated with *kīrtimukhas* and running *scroll*-designs.

§ 89—THE EXTERIOR

The exterior[282] of the walls have the same mouldings as those of the temple of Laksmi-Narayan at Pedgaon and the Bhuleshvar temple. But only the main shirne and its antechamber have image sculpture upon them and only the principal shrine has niches on the three faces. The walls of the *mandapa* and the side shrines have only the surface ornament upon them consisting of a band of *kīrtimukhas* and below it a string course of *arabesque* designs. The side portions of the rear wall of the *mandapa* have ornamental pilasters, like the earlier temples such as those at Balsane, in the recesses.

The figures on the main shrine and antechamber exterior are mostly female dancers and musicians and are all fixed in the recesses. The projections are decorated with *kīrtimukhas* and *arabesque* designs as those of the side-shrine-exterior. The principal niches of the main-shrine boldly project forward. They are deep and have ornamental free-standing pillars and pilasters which support highly ornate pediments abode. The pediments consist of miniature pavillions containing images of

280. Ibid, Pl. LXXIII.
281. Ibid, Pl. LXXV.
282. Ibid., Pl. LXXIV,

gods and goddesses. Like the Gondeshvar Temple at Sinnar, the principal shrine has
a ' *makara*' gargoyle but not so very exquisite as that of the former temple.

The open side of the *maṇḍapa* and the porch are enclosed by a dwarf of parapet
wall[283] which forms in the inside a bench with a back-rest. The exterior of the
dwarf-wall is, like that of the porch of the triple-shrined temple at Balsane, composed
of two parts, the lower and the upper. The former consists of a horizontal series of
pilasters upon a band of *lozenge-rosettes*. The bases of the pilasters have pillared
recesses, each containing a figure of a dancer or a musician. The tops of the pilasters
consist of a series of diminishing members rising from an *arabesque* flower. The
triangular spaces between the tops are filled with elephant-heads while the spaces
between the shafts and bases have human figures and *lozenge-rosettes* respectively.

The upper part is the exterior of the sloping portion of the wall. Running
along its upper edge is a graceful *scroll*-band while below is a series of oblong divi-
sions separated by pairs of pillars. The divisions bear human figures as well as
images of gods and goddesses.

§ 90—TEMPLE OF THE·FOURTH ROUP : D

With the latest examples of the *Third Group* the history of Temple Architecture
of the Deccan is brought down to the close of the 12th century. The temples of the
next of the *Fourth Group* trace it further down to the end of the first half of the 13th.

Since, as will be shown below, almost all the temples of this group are found to
adhere to the type set out by the Balsané (Nos. 2, 3, 5) Sangameshvar temples it
appears that the more ornate type with image sculpture upon the exterior as that
of the second sub-group of the preceding group was completely abandoned by the
architects towards the close of the 12th century. Henceforth image-sculpture, which
becomes less and less in the subsequent groups, is found confined to the interior only,
the exterior decoration being composed, like that of the Balsane-Sangameshvar tem-
ples, mainly of *arabesque* designs, *lozenge* ornaments and *kīrtimukhas*. The only
exception to this are the image in the principal niches round the temple exterior,
which a few examples of this group are fonnd to possess.

Though copying the Balsane-Sangameshvar type, the exterior decoration of the
temples of the *Fourth Group* is neither so deeply cut nor so proportionately distri-
buted as in the former group. Moreover, we miss more of the decorative motifs such
as the *ornamental pilasters* and the *vertical scroll bands* (with one exception) which
are so such in evidence on the exteriors of the temples of the former group. Most
of the decorated surface of the exterior is generally to be found covered up by the
lozenge-pattern which is mostly plain. And as we proceed with the individual exam-
ples of the group we notice a gradually increasing tendency to minimise even this
surface ornamentation so that when we approach the latest temples we meet with
exteriors whereupon the decoration is extremely less and shallow, being only chalked
out or completely absent.

That the temple-architecture in the Deccan lost its exterior charm by the middle
of the 13th century seems to receive confirmation also from epigraphic evdience,

283. Ibid., Pl. LXXIII,

The externally plain temple of *Kalleśvara* at Mànjarde in the Satara District was completed in Ś. 1172 or 1250 A.D. and we find that all the subsquent temples in the Deccan are completly devoid of external ornamentation. These are described in 5th and the 6th groups.

With a few exceptions, the exterior walls of the temples are rather sparingly moulded and in the latey examples is to be noticed a strong inclinalion to discard faceted walling and a greater preference of flat surfaces. This is especially apparent in the treatment of the hall or *maṇḍapa* which in later examples is a most uninteresting structure externally.

Only three temples, those at Kokamthan, Ratanvadi and Singhanpur still retain their towers.[294] All the three follow the Sinnar-Jhodga type and, unlike that of the temple at Tahakari, do not show the cubical modification of the or.namental miniature towers. The ornamental replicas in each case show a faithful simulation in outline of the main tower. At Ratanvadi and Singhanpur the finials are still in their position and so the *kīrtimukhas* topping the four vertical bands have been preserved. The *Caitya*-window ornaments of the three towers have the inset *kalaśa* like that at Jhodga. but the ornament itself has lost its floral character and become simple. The surface decoration of the bands has at Ratanvadi crystallised into a graceful and symmetrical vermiculated design which shows to much advantage on the foil of the plain flanks the towers at Kokamthan and Singhanpur are built brick whereas that at Ratanvadi is of stone.

The doorways, pillars, and ceilings are generally well-carved and ornamented but some of the details which were frequently met with in the temples of the previous groups are here quite àbsent or very rare. The frieze of sculpture over the lintel is mostly replaced by a row of plain *lozenges*. The number of door-frames has also become less. As regards the pillars a greater preference of corba-brackets over '*kicaka*' ones is noticeable in many temples, especially in the later ones, The *cusped* ornament disappears from the ceilings excepting a few/ instances where they are domical but mostly the ceilings are *trabeated* into *rhomboidal* shape or left quite flat. However, in the carved instances is to be noticed a variety of figure-sculpture both human and animal.

In the plans is to be noticed a further step in simplification. The shrine mostly retains its angulated outline but not so the hall, its outline is in most cases a square of un-broken stranight lines. However, we get the same variety of planning as in the preceding groups viz. one-shrines-temples, three-shrine-temples ond double-shrine-temples also which were not in evidence before :

(a) *One-shrine temples of this group are situated at* :—

  1. Akola, Ratanvadi, Pedgaon. Mandavgaon and Ghotan in the Ahmednagar District,
  2. Mahuli, Singhanpur, Kikli, Deur' Manjarde, Visapur, Avarde, and Mahableshwar in the Satara District,
  3. Purandar in the Poona District,
  4. Sholapur in the Sholapur District,
  5. Nagansur in the Akkalkot State and

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284. Ibid., Pls. LXVIII, LXX and XCII.

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6. Bahal in the East Khandesh District.
(b) *A Two-shrined Temple* is found .only at Ganjibhoyre in the Ahmednagar
      District, whereas
(c) *Three-shrined temples are situated at*:
      1. Kokamthan, Kumbhari and Ghotan in the Ahmednagar District :
      2. Kikli:in the Satara District and
      3. Nagansur in the Akkalkot State.

Besides these, epigraphic evidence shows that several temples were erected at
Pulunja, Ambe, Mardi and several other places during this period. But these have
been completely raised to the ground and only fragments of their parts and sculptures
lie about in the respective villages.

It is impossibe to describe all the above enumerated temples in great detail.
Neither are many of them of any artistic or architectural merit. Therefore, similar
temples have been grouped together and described collectively, noting only the inter-
esting points and similarities and differences.

§ 91—ONE-SHRINE TEMPLES AT AKOLA, RATANVADI, AND PEDGAON

At Akola, Ratanvadi and Pedgaon, the temples are dedicated to *Siva* and their
shrines contain the *linga* as cult-object. At Akola the temple is named after *Sid-
dhesvara*, at Ratanvadi after *Amrtesvara* and at Pedgaon after ' *Balesvara.* '

A Akola, the temple[285] faces the west and consists of a *mandapa*, a porch on
the west (forming the main entrance) an antechamber before the shrine and the
shrine. There is a porch also before, the eastern or back-door of the shrine. On
the north and south sides of the hall, and forming wings to it, are porch-like exten-
sions but having no exit. A low dwarf-wall runs on all sides of the wings of the
mandapa from which rise dwarf-pillars supporting the over-hanging cornice above
and leaving the space between the wall and the cornice open.[286]

The plan of the temple at Ratanvadi[287] is very nearly the same as that of the
temple at Akola and like it has a back-entrance into the shrine. But, instead of the
porch-like wings of the hall, we notice here shallow recesses in which are perforated
windows.

The temple of Baleshvar at Pedgaon[288] is, except the shrine, only a heap
of ruins, but that the *mandapa* had only one porch at the entrance on the east is
quite clear from its remains.

The shrine-floor at Akola is at a lower level than that of the floor of the *manda-
pa* whereas at Ratanvadi and Pedgaon it is on the same level as that of the rest of
the building.

The doorways of the shrine at Akola[289] and Ratanvadi, both at the front and
back, are well-decorated and are of the same pattern. All have a figure of *Ganesa*
on the dedicatory block. On either side of the antechamber at Akola is a framed
niche.

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285. Ibid., 53-54 ; *BG.*, 17. 712.
286. *MTD.*, Pls. LXXI and LXX.
287. Ibid., 55 and Pl. LXX ; *BG·*, 17. 735-36.
288. *BG.*, 17. 732 ; *MTD·*, Pls. LXXIV and LXXIX.
289. *MTD.*, Pl. LXXII.

Except the ceiling of the eastern porch the whole of the roofing of the Akola temple is of later work from the beams upwards. Also the entrance doorway to the hall on the west together with its porch have been entirely rebuilt. At Ratanvadi the entire roof of the *maṇḍapa* has disappeared leaving the inner lining or shell of the ceiling.

The pillars and pilasters in the halls of both temples are highly ornate and are particularly noteworthy for the fine carving upon them. The hall of the Akola temple has four large pillars and six smaller ones placed between them as well as two pillars in the middle of each wing. These with the pilasters in the walls originally supported the roof but, later on, five new roughly shaped columns had to be inserted to support the cracked beams.

The pillars[290] have square bases of four horizontal mouldings and their shafts are square, then octagonal and then round. They have circular capitals supporting ' *kicaka* ' brackets. A small panel containing an image is fitted on each face of the square bases. The square part of the shafts has also a large panel of image sculpture on each face. The octagonal part above this has two or three horizontal bands of figure-sculpture consisting of human figures and images of gods and goddesses. Above this is the ' *pot* and *foliage* ' ornament in a conventional form as that in the Lakṣmi-Narayan Temple at Pedgaon. The pilasters are simple square shafts on square bases bearing *arabesque* designs and *kirtimukhas*. Their capitals support rolls-brackets with cobra-heads upon them.

The pillars and pilaters[291] in the temple at Ratanvadi are of a similar pattern and design and have similar decoration upon them. They are perhaps more ornate than those of the temple at Akola. The ruins of the temple at Pedgaon show that the pillars[292], which supported the roof of the *maṇḍapa*, were simple, and though of the same pattern as those in the temples at Akola and Ratanwadi, they were devoid of figure sculpture except on their square bases which had a small panelled image on each face. Their shafts were decorated with *lozonge* hands, *geometric* and *arabesque* designs.

From what remains of it, the ceiling of the hall of the temple at Akola seems to have been highly ornate like that of the hall of the Ratanvadi temple. The four architraves, which formed the first course of the former are excellently carved. They bear representaions of mythological episodes such as the ' *Samudra-manthana* ' and scenes from life and battle as well as images of deities. The ceiling of the latter temple[293] is complete and shows like that of the temple at Tahakari, figure-brackets of musicians and dancers inside the dome as well as the big *kirtimukhas* ocupying the corner spaces.

Coming to the exterior, we find that all the three temples were decorated in the same manner but there is slight difference to be noticed in the details. The basements of the Akola[294] and Ratanvadi[295] temples have exclusively plain *lozenges* in two

290. Ibid., Pl. LXXIII and 33 (fig. 77).
291. *LP,ASI,WC.*, No. 9797.
292. Ibid., No. 7393 ; *MTD.*, Pl. LXXIII
293. *LP,ASI,WC.*, No. 6362.
294. *MTD.*, Pls. LXX and LXXIII.
295. Ibid., Pl. LXX ; *LP,ASI, WC.*, No. 8352.

or three rows and the oblong panels on the broad faces of the rectangular mouldings also contain larger plain *lozenges* whereas the basement mouldings of the Pedgaon temple[296] are quite plain but the oblong panels are topped by miniature towers and contain small images of deities between miniature pillars. The *torus* or *kumuda* mould-ing at Akola bears *beaded* designs but it is devoid of any ornamentation at the other two places. The *maṇḍovara* of the Akola temple has three bands of, from above, *kirtimukhas*, *arabesque* designs and *rosette-lozenges* respectively while the *maṇḍo-vara* of the Pedgaon temple has a band of plain *lozenges* at the top and two bands of *arabesque* designs below it. The Ratanvadi temple has only two bands, the upper is of plain *lozenges* and the lower is of *arabesque* designs.

Round the outside of the parapet-walls of the wings of the Akola *maṇḍapa* are little figures in recesses between miniature pilasters. These figures testify to the degradation to which the modeller's art had reached in this period. The figures are extremely crude and have large-heads and goggle-eyes. The pierced windows of the Ratanvadi *maṇḍapa* are framed like a niche on the outside.

On either face of the shrine, the temples at Akola and Ratanvadi, had a niche bearing the principal exterior images. But those at Ratanvadi are now empty. The south niche of the Akola shrine has an image of ' *Śiva* dancing the *Tāṇḍava* while in the north niche is an image of *Mahākalī*.

Both at Akola and Ratanvadi the *Nandi* is placed in front of the back-door which is an unusual thing to be found in the mediaeval temples of the Deccan.

§ 92—TEMPLES AT MANDAVGAON, GHOTAN, AND NAGANSUR

The plans of the temples at Mandavgaon, Ghotan and Nagansur are of the same type consisting of a shrine, an antechamber and a hall with three porches on its three sides. In their exterior decoration also these temples resemble one another to a striking degree.

Unfortunately none of these temples has escaped the hand of time or of the vandal, all being damaged in a more or less degree. Of the four one-shrine templesat Ghotan[297] only one, that of Kashivishveshvar is somewhat better preserved. The temple at Mandavgaon[298] is perhaps in the best state of preservation among the whole group and of the three one-shrine temples at Nagansur[299] only the halls re-main which are joined together at a subsequent date to form a single temple.

All the four temples at Ghotan have been, since their erection, dedicated to *Śiva* and are at present known by the names of *Kāśivišvešvara*, *Jaṭāśaṃkara*, *Mahādeva* and *Mallikārjuna*. In the shrines of all the *linga* occupies the place of cult-object though in some images of *Śiva* are found in the niches in the back-walls.

The three temples at Nagansur are in sad ruinous condition wherefore all indications of their original dedication have been lost. Their halls have been joined together to form a common shrine for *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva* and in the interior can still be seen an image of *Viṣṇu* and a huge *Śiva-liṅga*. It is, therefore, possible that the

296. *MTD.*, Pls. LXXIX and LXXIV ; *LP, ASI, WC.,* No 7392.

297. *PR. ASI, WC.,* 1920-21, 71-72.

298. Ibid., 1899.20 ; *BG.,* 17.727

299. *PR, ASI, WC.,* 1918-1919.59.

temples were dedicated to *Viṣṇu* and *Śiva* but we cannot now know how three temples were divided between the the two deities.

The temple at Mandavgaon is now dedicated to the worship of a *Devī*. But there is strong evidence to prove that it was a *Vaiṣṇava* temple originally. In the shrine is a life-size image of *Lakṣmī Nārayaṇa* on the original later and there is no *liṅga* on the floor. The door-lintels have indistinct representation of *Garuḍa* and in front of the main entrance is a pillared pavillion with no *Nandi* in the vecinity. It was therefore intended to contain an image of *Garuda*

The temples of *Kāśiviśveśvara* at Ghotan and *Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa* at Mandavgaon being better preserved are here described in some detail so ås to give some idea of the type to which all the temples of this group belong.

The shrine of the temple at Mandavgaon is square inside and has its floor on a slightly lower level than that of the hall-floor which is an unusual feature in a *Vaiṣṇava* temple. The shrine door-way is well-carved and has an image of *Garuḍa* on the lintel. The antechamber is an uninteresting, narrow room forming only a passage from the shrine to the hall. The hall has four pillars and corresponding pilasters, the former being in square, octagonal and round sections on square bases. They support round capitals and '*cobra-brackets*' while the pilasters have various figures on the brackets. The ceiling is flat and plain.

The side porches of the *maṇḍapa* have disappeared while the front porch which rests on two pillars and two pilasters seems to have lost its parapet-wall. The three entrance doorways are carved but not so richly as that of the shrine. They have the flanking pilasters but the '*pot* and *foliage*' ornament is conspicuously absent, its place being taken up by a plain square block.

The exterior walls[300] and the basement of the temple have the same mouldings as those of the temples of Bhuleshvar near Yawat and Changdev but the whole surface is quite plain except two string-courses of plain *lozenges*, one on the basement and the other on the *maṇḍovara*. When in the sun, the exterior is dominated by strong horizontal lines of dark shade which is characteristic of nearly all the temples of this and the subsequent groups. There are no niches on the exterior.

The square shrine chamber of the *Kāśiviśveśvara*. Temple at Ghotan contains a *liṅga* in the centre of the floor and an image of *Śiva* in the niche in the back-wall The roof above is trabeated to the *lotus-pendent* above.

The doorway to the shrine is very elaborately carved. There is an elegant pilaster in front of each jamb with a niche at the bottom. A human figurs stands inside each niche with an attendant figurine on each side. A boss in the centre of the lintel contains a figure of *Gaṇeśa* over which is a projecting eave or roof-shaped upper part of the lintel. In the centre of this projection there are two little parrots kissing each other. The frieze over this contains several panels each of which contains a plain *lozenge*.

The shrine doorways in the temples of Jatashankar [301] and Mahadev[302] at the same place are similarly carved and have a figure of *Gaṇeśa* in the centre of the lintel.

300. *MTD.,* Pl. LXXXV.   302. Ibid., No. 5192.
301. *LP, ASI, WC.,* No. 5190.

, In front of the antechamber are two pillars supporting bracket-capitals. The arms of the brackets have on their lower parts figures of *kīcakas*, lions and elephants. Otherwise they are quite plain.

In the hall proper there have beee no pillars, its roof rests on the six pilasters of the three porches and the two pillars described above.

Of the three porches only the steps and portions of the walls remain. ⸱In appears from these ruins that the front or principal porch was slightly larger than those on the spires and was supported on four small pillars of which one, is still in position.

The exterior of the temple is like that of the temple at Mandavgaon, décorated with string courses of plain lozenges. The remains of the temples of Jatashankar[303] and Mahadev[304] show that they also were similary decorated. Only the temple of Mallikarjun[305] had a plain pilastered exterior.

§ 93—TEMPLES AT MAHULI, SINGHANPUR, PURANDAR AND SHOLAPUR

The temples at Mahuli[306] Singhanpur,[307] Purandar and (perhaps) Sholapur[308] being extremely similar to each other are here grouped together to form the third sub-group of the *Fourth Group* of the Deccan Temples.

They are all characterised by elaborate exteriors and prominent niches but very little of ornamentation on them, Their plans are also alike and do not differ from thoss of the temples described above.

The Singhanpur temple still preserves its tower,[309] the rest have been deprived of theirs. However, the Mahuli temple seems to have had a brick-tower as above the top-most cornice of the shrine-walls there still remains the brick foundation of a tower. That of the Singhanpur temple has been described above.

The temple at Sholapur had long been buried under the fort-wall and bastion and when it was rescued it could be recovered only in a ruinous condition. Its detailed description therefore, is not possible. The temple at Singhanpur is known by the name of *Amṛteśvara* and is quite uninteresting both externally and internally.

The temple at Mahuli has a square shrine which contains a *liṅga* in the middle of its floor, which is on the same level as that of the *maṇḍapa*. The shrine faces the east. The shrine-doorway is rather plain and has a figure of *Gaṇeśa* on the lintel.

The vestibule is 9 feet wide and 5 feet deep and is noteworthy especially for the elaborate screens which separate it from the hall. They are fine pierced stone work very elaborately cut in *lozenges* of a sort of *tooth-pattern* which is exceedingly elegant and striking.[310] The doorway is simple and has *Gaṇeśa* on the lintel. ·

The hall, which is a *gūḍha-maṇḍapa*, has two entrances, one on the south and the other on the east. ·The doorways are comparatively plain, though they have

303. Ibid.,· Nos. 5188, 5189.
304. Ibid., No. 5191.
305. Ibid., No. 5193.
306. *BG.*, 19.515.
307. Ibid., 586 ; *MTD.*, 61.
308. *AR, ASI.*, 1926-27.
309. See § 90 above.
310. See Photo No. 17 ; *LP. ASI, WC.*, No. 8459.

the ornamental pilasters. But the door-frames are left quite plain and the jamb sculptures are absent. That on the east has a plain lintel but the south one has figure of *Gaṇaśa* on the lintel and a frieze of miniature pavillions over it.

On either side of the entrance to the antechamber is a niche facing the east. But they are now empty. There are four principal free-standing pillars[311] in the middle of the floor and these, with the corresponding pilasters, support the roof above. They are all of the same pattern consisting of a square base and a shaft moulded in square, round and octagonal sections. The capital above is round and supports on a square plate four brackets with cobra-heads carved upon the rolls.

The horizontal sectons of the central pillars are decorated with *floral* and *beaded* patterns among which occurs a pleasant design showing a lamp in the middle with floral desings on the flanks. Scroll and *kīrtimukhas* decorate the pilasters The drawings possess much artistic merit but they are not deep engraved on account of which they do not appeal to the casua observer. Had they been cut deeper, the lines of shade and light would have done much to reveal their inherent artistic merit and thus the interior would have been endowed with an additional charm.

The roof above is flat and is divided by cross-beams into nine compartments which are cut in the *lozenge* pattern. Under the four central beams forming the central square is a raised and round platform called the ' *raṅga-śilā* ' as it served as a stage for the performance of religious dancing and similar functions.

- The basement of the temple is nearly 3 feet high and the whole height is covered by a string course of rosette pattern. The mouldings of the walls are beautifully wrought, the stones being poinied in *beaded* and *tooth*-work. Small panels containing *rosettes* decorated the *torus* mouldings at regular intervals while triangular facets bearing faint *arabesque designs* adorn the prominent vertical projections of the shrine exterior. Upon the whole surface are faintly chalked out various *arabesque* and *floral* designs. The three niches on the principal faces of the shrine exterior prominently project forward and constitute the chief interest of the exterior. They are endowed with a distinct individuality as independant shrines by the carved doorways and the flanking double pilasters which support the heavy eaves and canopy above, The recesses of the niches are deep and the lintels of the doorways have image of *Gaṇeśa*. Fortunately the images in the niches are still in their places though in a somewhat mutilated state. The walls of the shrine are comparatively more elaborately carved than those of the *maṇḍapa* but the south-west portion of the shrine has collapsed and the whole structure has been rendered unsafe.[312]

The original dedication of the shrine is a perplexing question. The figures of *Gaṇeśa* on the lintels of the doorways and the *liṅga* in the shrine are *Śaiva* indications. There is also the *Nandi* in the *maṇḍapa* under the central square compartment of the roof. But there is no separate pavillion for the bull and it may be that the present position of the *Nandi* is not its original place. Also there is neither the channel inside the sanctum of the *tīrthodaka* to pass out nor a gargoyle outside. Moreover the shrine-floor is not sunken below the level of the hall-floor. And added to these anti-indications, are the images in the exterior niches. The back niche has an images of *Varāha* while the north and south niches have *Nṛsiṁha* and *Durgā* res-

311. See Photo No. 18.
312. See Photo Nos. 19 and 20.

pectively. This purey *Vaiṣṇava* character of the exterior does not harmonise with the *Śaiva* indications of the interior, The only strong point in favour of the *Śaiva* dedication is the existence of *Gaṇeśa* on the lintels, for the *Nandi* and the *liṅga* might be considerd as later interpolations when the temple was appropriated by the *Śiva*-devotees. The present name of the temple after ' *Kadamba-devi* ' does not help us in this respect. It is possible that the temple was originally dedicated to the worship of some form of *Durgā* or *Viṣṇu* in which case the figures of *Gaṇeśa* will have to be regarded as later impositions,

The temple at the foot, of the Purandar Fort was also, and is inspite of its preseut *Vaiṣṇava* name, viz, *Nārāyaṇa*, a *Śaiva* sanctuary since its erection. The temple originally stood in a walled enclosure and faces the west.

When completé the temple must have been a magnificent edifice as it is of much larger dimensions than the other temples of this group. Of its three porches that on the south has completely disappeared, the south doorway leading into the *maṇḍapa* being closed in later times with a wall built into the space. Of the porch on the north only the half buried plinth remains while the west or main porch which seem to have been larger than the other two, shows its plinth and some of the pillars which supported its roof. At present, there are only two entrances to the *maṇḍapa*, one on the west and the other on the north.

Unlike that of the preceding temple, the shrine here is sunken much below the level of the hall floor. It contains in the middle of the floor a *svayambhu-liṅga*' of *Śiva* and an image of *Pārvatī* in the back-wall niche. Across the middle of the north-wall is a stone plank nnd on the south side is a deep cell and a water-through.

The shrine doorway is plainer than the hall doorways and the antechamber is narrow and uninteresting. The central block on the lintel has a small and crude image of *Gaṇeśa* and above there is a frieze of miniature temples but without any figure carving. The threshold has a *kīrtimukha* on either side of the ornamental central block. The jambs are quite plain, except for the vertical rows of small figures of men and women, and lions and elephants. There are two pillars in the front of the antechamber which are noteworthy for the delicately carved rings blow their round capitals.

The *maṇḍapa* has sixteen pillars[313] arranged into four groups of four pillars each. All the pillars are of the same pattern similar to that of the pillars in the preceding temple but less decorated, the only ornament upon them being *beaded strings* and plain triangular plates. They have round cup-shaped capitals supporting *cobra-brackets* on square plates. An unusual thing is to be noticed below the bases of these pillars, that they all stand on brick pedestals. This is a unique instance in the mediaeval temples of the Deccan where brick is so used.

The four corner pillars of the four groups form the central square and support the domical ceiling above. The ceiling is quite plain and uninteresting and begins from an octagonal frame upon which are four circular rings capped at the top by a plain slab.

The exterior of the temple is more elaborate than that of the preceding temple and its mouldings are bold and prominent. The three principal niches too are of

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313. See Photo No. 21.

the same character as those of the preceding temple. But there is no ornamentation whatsoever on these numerous mouldings wherefore the exterior has assumed a boaring, bald appearance. The overhanging eave is notable for the string course of small and pointed pendants all round the temple. The tower above, which is in brick and mortar, is a later construction.

But this lack of ornamentation is compensated to a certain extent by the sculptured doorway[314] of the *mandapa* upon which is concentrated the whole imagery of the temple and which form the chief attraction on this account. In their richness of decoration they are comparable with the doorways of the earlier temples like Ambarnath, Maheshvar Temple at Patne and the Balsane No. 1 and the quality of workmanship exhibited in the details is also far superior to any seen in the temples of this group.

The west or main doorway[315] is composed of seven diminishing frames each of which has a figure-sculpture at the bottom. Of these the third and sixth are four-handed gods standing in the *tribhanga* pose while the remaining are male and female attendants. The innermost frame has a row of small *kīrtimukhas* running round the three sides. The next frame is a row of seated human beings holding various musical instruments. The third is a pilaster whose shaft is divided into four vertical sections each simulating a pillared pavillion and enshrining an image. The fourth or the topmost divisions of the south and north jambs contain dancing *Śiva* and *Mahiṣāsurmardinī* respectively. Among the other images may be noticed *Narasimha, Lakuliśa, Sūrya,* etc. The next two frames bear running bands of the *scroll* design. The sixth is again a pilaster whose shaft is diviled into several round and octagonal sections. Beaded strings with beaded pendents decorate the latter sections while the former are recessed to vanish in the shade. A beautiful but extremely modified form of the *vase* and *foliage* ornament surmounts the top of the shaft under the round cup-like capital. The last or the seventh frame bears a narrow verticle band of *kīrtimukhas* and a row of conventional lions one upon the other with an elephant sitting at the bottom.

The rows of *kīrtimukhas* and human beings on two innermost frames which are continued upon the lintel are cut across by a panel in the middle of the lintel which bears a figure of *Gaṇeśa.* Over the lintel is an eave of five ornamental projections of which the extreme ones are surmounted on the capitals of the pilasters on the third frame. The central projection which overhangs the figure of *Gaṇeśa* has a scroll design on the lower side while the remaining two have *rosette* pendents. All the projections support miniature pillared pavillions and in the recesses between the latter are carved circular rosettes. Immediately above the central pavillion in again a panel bearing a seated image of *Pārvatī.* On either side of this panel is a beautiful flying *Gandharva* with a garland of flowers held in both hands. Over this again is an eave similar to the lower one and also similarly decorated. The eave supports a row of seven miniature pavillions which alternate with figures of lions and elephants. This is again surmounted by a frieze of lions.

314. See Photo No. 22.

315. See Photos Nos. 23, 24 and 25.

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Coming to the bottom of the door-way we find that below each four-handed figure on the jambs is a miniature niche containing an image of *Pārvatī*, while below the figures of attendants are carved rosette lozenges. The threshold has a prominent central boss bearing a most complicated *scroll* design and on their side of it is a boldly relieved *kīrtimukha*.

The doorway on the north being exactly similar to the main doorway need not be described here. The only difference is that here the pilaster on the third frame has instead of images of gods, figures of male and female dancers in various postures inset in the niched panels. However, in the top-most panel on either pilaster is to be found an image of *Muralīdhara* one dancing and the other in his usual standing posture.

§ 94—TEMPLES AT BAHAL, MANJARDE, DEUR, AND MAHABALĒSHVAR

The next sub-group of one-shrine temples at Bahal, Manjarde, Deur, and Maha baleshvar presents the proto type of the temples of the last two groups, viz. Fifth and Sixth, which were all erected in the latter half of the 13th and the 14th centuries and which are popularly known in the Deccan as ' *Hemadpanti* ' temples.

Of these temples, that at Bahal has an inscription which records its foundation in S. 1144 (1222 A.D.) by *Anantadeva* who was the chief astrologer of the *Yādava* king *Singhaṇa*. In the inscription it is called the temple of *Dvārajā* or *Bhavānī*[316] and even now it is dedicated to the worship of *Devī*, but the goddess is now known as ' *Sārajā* '. The temple at Deur is at present known as the Vithoba or Vitthal Temple but the sunken shrine and the figures of *Gaṇeśa* on the lintels show that originally it was dedicated to *Śiva*. On the beam over the lintel of the shrine doorway is an inscription which is not deciphered and published. It is engraved in bold *Devanāgari* characters of the 13th century. The temple at Manjarde is to be identified with the temple of the god *Kālideva* which according to the Tasgaon Copperplates was constructed at *Manjaravāṭaka* by the two brothers *Candra* and *Keśava* who were the feudatories of the *Yādava* king *Kṛṣṇa*[317] The temple still preserves its name and so does the village itself. It is also interesting to find that even the boundary villages mentioned in the record exist to the present day, retaining their ancient names in slightly corrupted forms.[318]

All the four temples are more or less of the same description, only the temple at Deur differs in having a detached *maṇḍapa* opposite the main temple. But the better preserved and more interesting of all is the Kalleshvar Temple at Manjarde which as a type representing this group deserves to be described in full.

The Kalleshvar Temple faces the east, which is also the orientation of the temple at Deur, and consists of a shrine, a vestibule and a closed or *gūdha-maṇḍapa*. There are no porches and there is no indication whatsoever of the temple having any in its original plan. The temple at Deur, however, has an open porch in front which is supported on four plain pillars.[319] The shrine is a plain square chamber with its floor

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316. *LID.*, No. 279 ; App· No. 87.
317. *LID.*, No· 304 ; App. No. 93.
318. Ibid.
319. *LP, ASI, WC.,* Nos. 8444, 8445.

much below that of the hall and containing in the middle a *liṅga* which has been the object of worship since the foundation of the temple. There is a niche in the centre of the back-wall but it is now empty. The shrine floor of the temple at Deur is similarly sunken and has a *liṅga* as the cuit-object.

But unlike other *Śaiva* temples, the shrine doorway here has a rosette and no figure of *Gaṇeśa* on the lintel and the frieze above this is quite incongruous with the sectarian character of the temple as it bears an image of *Śeṣaśāyī*. Except this the doorway is simple and plain. But not so the doorway of the shrine of the Deur temple.[320] Its lintel has in the centre a figure of *Gaṇeśa* and each of its jambs is a s'eries of five vertical mouldings elaborately carved. Begining from the innermost moulding we have a running band of the scroll design on the first, a row of human figures in small vertical divisions on the second, a boldly carved pilaster with the '*pot* and *foliage*' ornament on the third, again a running band of the *scorll* design on the fourth and again a row of human figures in small vertical divisions on the last or the fifth moulding. At the bottom of each jamb is a group of five figures consisting of a four-handed *dvārapāla* below a *kīrtimukha-toraṇa* and four male and female attendants, two on either side of the *dvārapāla*. The threshold[321] has on the central boss a most complicated design while on either side of it is a *Kīrti-mukha*. Above the lintel is a deep '*Kaṇi*' moulding and above it is a frieze of some faint sculptures. The beam above this contains an inscription in characters of the 13th century.

The vestibules of both the temples are narrow and quite plain but that of the Kalleshvar Temple has two slender pillars supporting the architrave over the entrance way. Coming to the hall we find that both the temples have *gūḍha-maṇḍapas* but that of the Kalleshvar is more spacious and elaborate. In the central square it has four principal pillars in the four corners and between each pair are two slender ones making twelve in all. In the enclosed square is a raised circular platform called the '*raṅgaśilā*.' Each of the partial wall on the west has a niche and on the north and south between the first two pilasters is also a niche. But all these are now empty. The principal pillars[322] have square moulded bases with plain tringular plates on each face. The shafts consist of plain and heavy square sections, then above these are octa. gonal parts ornamented with bands of *rosettes* having *beaded* and *semi-circular* string-pendants. Above these are heavy and plain square blocks from which rise round, moulded parts tapering near the top and bearing plain, elongated triangular facets. The capitals are circular and support roll-brackets above on square plates. On the rolls are elongated *cobra-heads* or *nāgaśirṣakas* and below on the lower parts are some designs. The slender pillars follow the same pattern but show the sections very much elongated.

The ceilings of the shrine, vertibule and the hall are trabeated, but that of the hall has in the corners of the first or lowest square figures of male and female dancers and musicians, in the second square figures of *Vidyādharas* and in the centre of the cap-stone a pendant lotus. The east or main wall of the *maṇḍapa* has on either side of the entrance a perforated screen window.

320. Ibid., No. 9690.
321. Ibid., No. 9691.
322. See Photos Nos. 26, 27.

Coming to the exterior we find that the shrines of the temples at Manjarde, Deur[323] and Mahabaleshvar,[324] have niches on the three principal faces. But those at Deur are empty, two at Mahabaleshvar have images of *Gauḍa* and *Hanumāna* while at Manjarde all the three still preserve their imags : in the west or back niche we have *Mahisāsuramardini*, in the south Śiva as *Bhairava* and in the north *Mahā-kālī*. Except these images there is nothing of interest on the exterior. Temples and ruins of temples of the same period are found at Avarde, and Visapur at a few miles, distance from Manjarde.

§ 95—DOUBLE-SHRINE TEMPLE, GANJIBHORE, AHMEDNAGAR.

, Owing to its plan, the temple at Ganjibhore[325] in the Ahmednagar District con-stitutes a class by itself. It presents a double shrine, example, which we did not meet with before, surrounded, with its accessory step-well and verandah, by a stone-wall enclosure with an entrance on the west.

The temple proper consists of a *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* to which are attached open porches on the south and north. On the west and east sides are each a *garbhagrha*, facing each other. But that on the east has also a door in the back or east side, leading into an open porch. Thus it will be seen that the present plan is arrived at by introducing a shrine chamber between the hall and the porch at the front, other-wise it does not differ from the general plan of one-shrined temples.

The shrine on the west, facing the east, has its floor on the same level as that of the hall-floor and on it, against the back-wall, is an altar or ' *piṭha* ' supporting a worn out image of *Lakṣmī-Mādhava*. The doorway of this shrine has disappeared all but some figures of female attendants on fragments of the jambs which have been left to gaze at each other. The narrow vestibule still preserves an image of *Viṣṇu* in each of the niches on the side-walls.

The shrine on the east, facing both the west and the east has its floor much below that of the hall and contains a *linga* in its middle. The doorway on the west leading to the *maṇḍapa* is quite simple and plain but that on the east is carved and bears on the lintel a figure of *Gaṇeśa*. This was, therefore, intended to be the main-door. The porch in the front has a bench on either side and two massive pillars supporting the roof. Placed in this porch are two fragments of door-jambs bearing life-size figures of *dvārapālas* which may have belonged to the other shrine. Opposite the porch is a *Nandi-maṇḍapa* whose roof rests on four pillars.

The *maṇḍapa* between the two shrines is a plain structure with four pillars in the central square supporting the trabeated ceiling above. These pillars, and those of the porches and the *Nandi-maṇḍapa*, are of the same pattern and design which con-sists of a square base, a shaft divided into square, octagonal and round sections, and round capitals supporting four roll-brackets with *cobra-heads* upon the rolls.

There are niches on the exterior of the temple[326] and the decoration which consists of bands of *rosettes* and *kitimukhas* is roughly carved. In the south-east corner of the enclosure is a verandah running along the south wall and supported on

323. *LP, ASI, WC·,* No. 8445.
324. Ibid., Nos. 8000, 8001, 9703, 9704.
325. *BG.,* 17.718.
326. See Photo No. 28.

two pillars.   In the centre of the back-wall, opposite the entrance between the pillars, is a deep and well-ornamented niche in which is a mutilated image of *Muralīdhara*, under an ornamental *toraṇa* and between two standing female figures.   The south porch of the temple is continued down by means of a stairway leading into the fine step-well[327] which is joined on the east to the verandah mentioned above.

It is thus an interesting example of a temple which provides at once for the worship of *Śiva* and *Viṣṇu*.   This original double dedication is echoed even now in what the people of the locality call it by name.   A section of my local informants gave me to understand that the name was ' *Mahādeveśvara* ' while the other section pressed that it was ' *Mādhaveśvara* ' both having never examined the correctness of their assertion by a careful observation of the temple itself.   Had they done so, they would have found that they were clinging to what was a half-truth !

§ 96—TEMPLES AT KOKAMTHAN AND KUMBARI.

The temples at Kokamthan[328] and Kumbhari,[329] 3 miles SE and 6 miles NE of Kopargaon respectively, stand on the right bank of the river Godavari.   Both are alike in style and are built on the same plan showing the same arrangement of the component parts bearing the same ornamentation.   Both are oriented to face the same direction and were erected to provide the needs of the same sect.   Never were two temples built so much to imitate each other.   It will, therefore, suffies to describe one temple in detail so as to give an idea of the type of both.

The temple at Kokamthan is better preserved than that at Kumbhari.   Its plan originally consisted of a shrine, a closed hall or *guḍha-maṇḍapa* joined with the former by a vestibule and three porches on the three sides of the hall.   The original intention to design the structure on a star-shaped plan is quite apparent, but the ddition of three heavy buttresses around the shrine and the porches round the hall break the star-planned corners and osbcure the harmony of the original plan.   The temple faces the north.[330]

Coming to the shrine-interior we find that its floor is on the same level as that of the half-floor and though at present there is a *liṅga* at the centre, it is clear (as will be shown below) that the shrine must have held an image of some form of *Viṣṇu* as the cult-object.   Behind the *liṅga* is to be seen a large slad bearing an image of *Seṣaśayī*, but this cannot be said to have been the original occupant of the shrine.   There is a small square recess in the east and west side, apparently to hide the image, which is another indication of the *liṅga* not being the original cult-object.

The shrine doorway is well carved and is of the same general style as exhibited by the doorways of this group described above.   Above the cornice of the door-frame is a frieze of five small niches each of which is occupied by a seated goddess.   As at Pedgaon, under the cornice is a little florid centre-piece which is absent in many example of the Deccan doorways.

As at Jhodga, there are no free-standing pillars in the *maṇḍapa*, and the ceiling has been worked up from the pilasters which are generally square in plan.   The dome of the

327. See § 126 below.
328. *PR, ASI, WC·*, 1911-12, p. 16 ; *MTD.*, 51-52 ; *BG.*, 17,722,
329. *BG.*, 17.725.
330. *MTD·*, Pl. LXIX.

ceiling rests upon an octagon of unequal sides formed by the heavy architraves which rest up on the pilasters. The ceiling rises in rings of concave mouldings to a central pendent-rosette which again hangs as a finial. Each group of cusped cup-shapeP mouldings in the three tiers of the pendent has a separate hanging final of its own, fitted in as separate stones. Around the inside of the dome have been eight figure-brackets on little supports below, of which two are missing. The remaining six hold upon them dancing figures and the supports below have little squat figures of musicians.[331] The ceilings of the antechamber and the west-porch are copies of the hall-ceiling on a smaller scale while that of the main porch is a simple spiral construction.

The doorways of the north-and west-porches as well as that of the shrine have figures of *Garuḍa* upon the lintel. This, with the northward orientation of the shrine, conclusively prove that the temple was originally a *Vaiṣṇava* shrine. The *liṅga* in the shrine is a later addition made by the *Śaivas* who appropriated the temple for their use. They also added the rectangular shrine at the east-end of the hall which was originally occupied by the porch. The doorway of this shrine is simple and plain but upon its lintel is a figure of *Gaṇeśa*.[332] In this shrine is at present a red-painted image which is worshipped as that of '*Jagadambā*'.

The most striking feature of the exterior[333] are the three heavy buttresses applied fo the three sides of the shrine which in the, absence of any shrines or niches within the walls appear to have been added to strengthen the walls under the great pressure of the lofty tower above. These buttresses are the miniature replicas of the temple itself and show the same mouldings.

The exterior shows the usual mouldings and there are no images or figure sculp-ture upon it except those which occupied the principal niches. Each buttress has three niches round its exterior, some of these still holding the original images, though in a very badly mutilated state. The decoration then consists of large vertical bands of the scroll design and horizontal courses of the *lozenge rosette* which are nôt neatly moulded.

The part of the temple from the ground line to the cornice is built of stone, but the tower above and the roof of the *maṇḍapa* have been built of brick and the whole exterior, both of stone and brick, has been plastered, The outlines and forms of the original stone ornaments and figures have been reproduced in the overlaid plaster. On the brick-work the whole of decorative detail has been formed solely in plaster and the whole exterior has been brought to such a uniform appearance that the difference of material used under the coating of plaster is hardly apparent on the surface[334].

The only difference between the two temples in question is that at Kumbhari a trancept containing a *liṅga* fills the west corner of the hall and is, unlike that at Kokamthan, uniform with the rest of the building and part of the original design.

331. *LP, ASI, WC.*, No. 5200.
332. Ibid., No. 5202.
333. Ibid., Nos 5197-5198.
334. *MTD.*, Pls. LXVII and LXVIII.

§ 97—THREE-SHRINED TEMPLES AT GHOTAN, KIKLI AND NAGANSUR.

The triple-shrine temples belonging to this group are situated at Ghotan, Kikli and Nagansur. All these, except that at Ghotan, are built upon the same general plan consistina of a hall with one porch on the main side forming the only entrance to the interior and three shrines around the remaining three sides. Only the temple at Kikli has, in addition to these parts, an open hall attached to the main hall which forms the prefae to the temple The temple. at Ghotan has been much repaired in the times of the Peshvas while those Kikli and Nagansur, remain in a ruinous condi-tion and are not worshipped in the present day. The temple at Kikli again falls off from the other two as it was wholly a *Siava* temple from the beginning whereas the latter were of a mixed dedication since their erection.

The temple at Nagansur[335] is known by the name of *Mallikārjuna* and holds in the main shrine a *liṅga* as the cult-image. The *maṇḍapa* rests on four richly carved pillars which follow the pattern of the temple at Kikli. The trabeated dome of the *maṇḍapa* is also elaborately ornamented. The four stones forming the lowermost course of the dome bear males and females riding on a human being (which may be the figure of *Garuḍa*, deer, bull and sheep with *Gandharva-mithunas* bearing garlands on each side of each of them. The four stones of the second course have similar pairs riding on a *makara*, a horse, an elephant and a goat. On the roofing slab is a ring of dancing musicians as at Vaghli and Davlane but unlike those, the centre here is occupied by a female deity with twelve hands who is dancing on a prostrate figure. The goddess may be a representation of *Mahākāli* and the prostrate figure, that of *Siva* :

On each side of the passage to each of the shrines from the *maṇḍapa* are two niches, one on each side and in the *maṇḍapa* itself are six niches in the walls. The images which originally occupied them are all missing now and the image of *Sūrya* which now occupies the shrine on the east may well have belonged to one of them. These inches in the niterior of tne temple is a characteristic feature of many temples of this and the succeeding groups—a device evidently mant to compensate for the absence of imagery on the exterior. Two other original occupants of two of these niches—the images of *Narasimha* and *Gaṇeśa* —are now resting on the floor against the wall and it is quite possible that the remaining ones are hidden in the debris which is heaped near the temple.

The doorways of the shrines are of the same pattern and well carved but that of the main shrine deserves special attention on account of its ornate lintel. It has a *makara* at each end supporting a cinquefoil arch. A *mithuna* rides each of them. Under the arch in the centre is a ten-armed image of *Sadāśiva* flanked by dancing ' gaṇas ' and ' prets. '

The porch in front has domical ceilings, a feature which is peculiar to this temple only. The domes closely copy the ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* in style and orna-mentation. The low walls enclosing the sides of the porch bear conventional patterns on the inner side and animal figures sueh as prancing horses, lions and elephants.

Contrasting strongly with this decorated interior is the plain exterior of

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335. *PR, ASI, WC.*, 1918-19, p. 59.

the temple which bears only faintly carved *arabesque* and *lozenge* patterns upon the mouldings which are not well defined. However, around the three shrines are pro-jecting and canopied niches on the principal faces which would have given the whole temple a special interest and importance, had they retained the images which they originally held.

The temple at Ghotan is a unique triple-shrine temple so far as the arrange-ment of its three shrines is concerned.[336] The side-shrines here are not attached to the sides of the *maṇḍapa* but are built on the flanks of the main-shrine. The main shrine chamber has two floor-levels : the upper one—which is itself below that of the floor of the *vestibule*—is a narrow *pradakṣiṇā* passage round the interior, being approached by a flight of four steps from the vestibule. It is from here that the side shrines are entered, their doorways facing each other. The lower floor which is the main shrine is approached by another flight of eight steps from the upper one and contaius the *liṅga* in its middle. Of the side-shrines that on the left has collapsed whereas that on the right contains an original image of *Hara-Pārvati* on the original pedestal.

On the upper floor or the *pradakṣiṇā* passage are six pillars, two in front of each doorway, supporting the roof above. The pillars are all lathe-turned and in the Centre of each there is a square sunker panel on each face containing a bas-relief. Some of these panels are divided into three compartments by means of miniature pilasters. In this case, the central compartments are occupied by figures of *Gaṇeśa* and those on the sides contain attendant figurines. The pillars opposite the main entrance bear vases in the centre of the shafts in the place of square bosses with bas-reliefs. All the pillars have square bracket-capitals, with *vidyādhara* figures squating below each arm.

The door-frame of the vestibule was covered with sculptures but unfortunately· all carvings on it are now completely hidden by the accumulated coats of white-wash. There is a tall pilaster in relief on each door-jamb with a niche at the bottom, below which are three recessed corners at the bottom, two on the inner side and one on the outer side, all bearing standing human figures. In front of the door sill is an *ardha candra-śilā*.

The floor of the *maṇḍapa* was raised when the temple was repaired in the time of the Peshvas. Also the three sides of the *maṇḍapa* have been filled up with unsightly masonry walls, the lower part of which is of stone. Sixteen gracefu lathe-turned pillars, similar in style and decoration to those inside the *garbhagṛha*, support the roof above in four rows of four. But when the *maṇḍapa* was open on three sides, as it undoubtedly originally was, there were six pillars on each of its three faces which are now partly buried in the masonry of the walls.

The exterior of the temple, the original part of it, shows *arabesque* and *lozenga* patterns on the walls of the shrine but they are as at Nagansur in a very low relief. There are no niches on the exterior.

The whole of this temple was originally surrounded by a massive stone wall with gates at the cardinal points, but most of it has been pulled down.

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336. Ibid., 1920-21, p. 71.

It is not necessary now to describe the temple at Kikli in detail, as the temple at Nagansur, which has been described above, represents its general style and plan. Only the decorative detail and peculiar features of the former temple deserve to be noticed here.

The inner *maṇḍapa* of the Kikli temple[337] has like that of the temple at Ghotan, 16 pillars supporting the roof above in four rows of four. The four central pillars forming the central square are elaborately carved in *floral* and *arabesque* patterns. The central rectangular course is panelled with figures in relief, representing (a) on two northern pillars the exploits of *Kṛṣṇa* and (b) on the southern those of *Māruti*. The basements are supported by figures of males and females.

The outer *maṇḍapa* is quite an uninteresting structure. Its roof also rests on sixteen pillars of the pattern common to the pillars of this group being moulded in plainly dressed rectangular, cylindrical and octagonal courses like those of the inner *maṇḍapa*. There is nothing remarkable in the decoration of these, only one of the central four being carved like those of the central four in the inner *maṇḍapa*. A bench runs round the three sides of the *maṇḍapa* its back being formed by the dwarf wall which bears the *lozenge*-pattern on the exterior. A door in the back wall leads into the inner *maṇḍapa*.

§ 93 — TEMPLES OF THE FIFTH AND SIXTH GROUPS, (E AND F)

After the middle of the thirteenth century temple-architecture in the Deccan lost all its artistic charm. The temples erected after this date are mere skeletons with very little or no flesh and blood of ornamentation and figure sculpture. They are all characterized by heaviness inclining to clumsiness with severely plain exteriors and even interiors in many examples. The abrupt introduction of such plain edifices was first noticed in the earlier period at Balsane, and the architects of this period, probably being in need of a less expensive type of temple structure, seem to have adopted as their pattern these Balsane examples since all the more important examples of the *Fifth Group* are found to comply with them in all the essential respects of temple-architecture. In this group are included those temples which have any ornamentation in the interior while in the *Sixth* are grouped all the monotonous plain temples having no trace of decoration whatsoever either on the exterior or on the interior. The general character of the exteriors of these temples is severely plain and in the case of the examples of the *Sixth Group* even the mouldings are absent, the walls being in simple courses of surface masonry. Whatever decoration is met with during the period in question is confined to the temples of the *Fifth-Goup*, and that too, to their facades and interiors.

As in the preceding groups, the three varieites of one-shrine, double-shrine, and triple-shrine temples have also been found in these temples, though examples of the second variety are comparatively few. In their plans the majority of the one-shrine and triple-shrine temples follow their respective predecessors and show a shrine and a hall with three porches attached to its three sides in the case of the former and a hall with three shrines attached to its three sides and a porch on the fourth in the case of the latter. But there are many examples besides of the one-shrine temple

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337. *BG.*, 19.484; *LP, ASI, WC.*, Nos. 8834-38.

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which adhere to a different type derived directly from that of the Balsane Nos. 2 and 3 of the Third Group (C) described above.[338]   The type consists of a shrine, a square or deep rectangular vestibule and a *maṇḍapa* with its sides closed, the front being either left completely open above the dwarf-wall or closed by pierced screen windows evidently to admit light in the interior.   Thus the main difference between the two types of one shrine temple is that the most common type had three porches round the *maṇḍapa* whereas the other one had no porches.   It will be seen again that the latter type shows a modification of its prototype as even the front porch, which is in evidence at Balsane and the cognate examples at Samgameshvar and Vaghli, has been omitted.

A few instances still preserve the original towers which testify to the general practice in this period of constructing the tower in brick with a coating of plaster. But the shape of the tower, though following the characteristic Deccan Pattern has much deteriorated and not much care and labour seem to have been bestowed upon it. The towers of the Nageshvar Temple at Karjat, Velapur temples, and Sagareshvar Temple at Devarashte are some of the typical instances to the point.

As regards the pillars and doorways only those of the temples of the *Fifth Group* have any ornamentation upon them.   Those of the *Sixth Group* are quite plain.   The general type of pillar common to all these temples is the one of the Kikli temple No. 2 which is made up of square round and octagonal courses in the shaft and square bases and round capitals with sometimes roll-brackets upon the last which, in many cases, bear the *nāga-śirṣakas* or cobra-heads upon them which forms the only decoration of the interior of the temples of the *Sixth Group*.   In some examples of the *Fifth Group* the pillars bear, in addition to the *floral* and *geometric* patterns, *kīrtimukhas*, human figures scenes from life and images of deities, but none of them is possessed of any artistic merit.   The doorways have generally three frames each: the middle one invariably bearing a pilaster in relief on either jamb.   Those of the temples of the *Fifth Group* have figures on the jambs below the pilaster, and small panels depicting *mithunas* in various erotic postures upon the pilasters them-selves.   The inner and outer frames have either *scroll* or *lozenge* patterns and an image of *Gaṇeśa,, Garuḍa* or a goddess upon the lintel.

The domical ceilings with their *cusped cup-shaped* ornaments completely dis appear and their place is taken by shallow trabeated roofs bearing upon their stones the *lotus* motif or human figures and *kīrtimukhas*.   But even this is discontinued in most of the temples of the *Sixth Group* which have flat roofs divided into com-partments by the beams below.

Epigraphic evidence is available for fixing the date of the temples at Velapur. The inscriptions found there, which record the construction of those temples and grants to them, are dated in Ś. 1222 (1300A.D.) and Ś. 1227 (1305A.D.) so that these temples may be safely placed in the latter half of the 13th century A. D. and on the criterion of the style of these temples, which is the same as that of the temples of the *Fifth Group*, may be placed the temples of the *Fifth Group* also in the latter half of the thirteenth century.   The more deteriorated group–the *Sixth*–is then to be placed last

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338.   See § § 73 and 74 above.

in the chronological setting–between 1300˚A. D. and 1400 A. D. It is very likely that some of the temples included in this group may even trun out to be still later constructions since temples in the same style as these were built during the Maratha Period.

§ 99—TEMPLES OF THE FIFTH GROUP (E)

It is not necessary to describe now the temples in detail. Moreover their vast numbèr prevents any such attempt. Therefore their distribution is indicated below and only a few examples are described as typical of them.

Of the *Fifth Group* (a) *One-shrine temples are found at* :

(1) Pedgaon[340] (Mallikarjun)
(2) Limpangaon (Siddheshavr[341])
(3) Shrigonde[341]
(4) Karjat[342]
} Ahmednagar District.

(1) Velapur[343] (No.1)
(2) Karmale[344]
(3) Barsi[345]
(4) Natepute[346]
(5) Bavi[347]
(6) Brahmapuri[348]
(7) Mahalunga[349]
} Sholapur District.

(1) Gursale[350]
(2) Katrakhatav[351]
(3) Khatav[352]
(4) Mhaswad[353]
(5) Mohol[354]
(6) Kasegaon[355]
(7) Babhulgaon[356]
} Satara District

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340. *BG.*, 17. 732-33.
341. *Ibid.*, 739 ; *MTD.*, 59.
342. *MTD.*, 58 ; *BG.*, 17.720 ; *PR, ASI, WC.*, 1920-21, p. 70.
343. *MTD.*, 63 ; *BG.*, 20.504 ; see *LID.*, 'Nos. 363, 364, 367 ; see App. No. 108.
344. J. BURGESS, *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency,* (*Rev. LARBP*), revised by H. COUSENS (ASI, NIS, Vol. XVI). p. 43 ; *BG.,* 20-411.
345. *BISMQ.*, 11.4.6.
346. *BG.*, 20-414 ; Five miles W of Malshiras on the Poona-Sholapur Road.
347. Rev. *LARBP.*, p. 43 ; *BG,.* 20. 411.
348. Ibid.
349. *LP, ASI, WC.*, No. 7227.
350. *MTD.*, 61.
315. Ib.d., 60 ; *BG.*, 19. 482-83.
352. Ibid.
353. *BG.*, 19.526.
354. Ibid., 20.414.
355. Ibid., 413.
356. *BISMQ.*, 21.4.6.

(b) *Double-shrine temples at—*

(1) Sirur,,[357] Ahmednagar District,

(2) Velapur No. 2,[358] Sholapur District and,

(3) Deothan,[359] Nasik District.

(c) *Triple-shrine temples at—*

(1) Pedgaon[360] (Rameshvar)   }
(2) Karjat[361] (Nakti-che-Deul) } Ahmednagar District.

(3) Velapur No.3[362] and   }
(4) Kandalgaon.   } Sholapur District.

Of these the one-shrine temples at Limpangaon, Shrigonde, Gursale Katarkhatav and Khatav represent the type which as said above was directly derived from the Balsane temples. The temples at Limpangon and Gursale being in à better state of preservation are described below :

§ 100—SIDDHESHESHVAR TEMPLE AT LIMPANGAON

The siddheshvar temple at Limpangaon is one of the few fair examples af this group. With its shrine, the *maṇḍapa* and the *Nandi* pavillion opposite the last, it represents a perfect *Śaiva* sanctuary of the latter half of the thirteenth century in the Deccan. Unlike other examples of its class it possesses a pillared porch in the front through which it establishes a closer link with the Balsane proto-type.

The shrine exterior has vertical projections and alternate recsses but with their right-angled corners they present a much simpler appearance than the varied and complex projections of the earlier temples. The strict rectangular outline of the hall is a strong contrast to that of the shrine. The exterior is quite plain being devoid of the usual mouldings of earlier temples and ornamentation.[563]

But not so the interior. The spaces between the pilasters in the walls of the hall have niches, all being empty now. The pillars and pilasters[364] are of the same style and pattern and have upon them *kīrtimukhas*, the *scroll*-pattern, and the highly conventionalized *lotus-petal motif*. The triangular *facets* on the, round sections of the pillars bear an extremely modified form of the *caitya*-window ornament which with its pointed and elongated appex is recognised as such only after a closer and critical examination. The roll-brackets have the drooping *nāga-śirṣakas* while at the moulded square base on each face is a panel bearing a seated image of some deity. The vestibule is a square apartment and has a niche in each of the side-walls. The shrine doorway is also well carved and has an image of *Gaṇeśa* on the lintel. The shrine has a sullen floor which is approached by a fiight of steps. The ceilings are trabeated and uninteresting.

357., 17. 739.

358. *MTD.,* 63.

359. *AR, ASI-,* 1930-34, pp. 318-320.

363. *MTD.,* Pls. LXXXVI and LXXXVII.

364. Ibid., Pl. LXXXVII,

360. *BG.,* 17. 732-33.

361. See note 342 above.

362. See note 343 above.

On either side of the porch in front is ˙a large perforated screen wall which is neatly designed in imitation of cross-bars and is slightly decorated. The decoration consists of *rosettes* set in *lozenges*, plain little *lozenges* and *circles* and small figures of *haṁsas* in little squares. On the lower corners of each wall is a well-carved tree upoh which are shown monkeys and birds playing and climbing the branches.[365]

The exteriors of the porch and of the *Nandi-maṇḍapa* are decorated with a series of *pilasters* which alternate with elongated *rosettes*. The pillars of both are similar to those of the main hall.

§ 101—RAMLING TEMPLE AT GURSALE

The Ram-ling Temple at Gursale[366] is another fine example of this class and forms a neat little combination with a ' *kuṇḍa* ' or stepped tank in front.[367] The temple proper consists of a shrine, a vestibule and a hall, the last being open in the front above the dwarf-wall which forms the back-rest of a bench inside on either side of the main entrance.

The shrine-floor is on the same level as that of the hall and the vestibule-floors and holds a *liṅga* in the middle. The vestibule is rectangular but its length faces the hall. On either end of it is a deep niche in the side-walls. The shrine–doorway is similar to that of the temple at Limpangaon and has a figure of *Gaṇeśa* on the lintel. The entrance to the vestibule is divided into three passages by the introduction of two pillars between two pilasters but the side passages have been closed by means of *perforated screen* by which arrangement the vestibule has resulted in a distinct compartment.

A peculiar feature of the *maṇḍapa* is that it has a way out with no door-frames in each of the front corners. This arrangement was necessary because of the tank in front into which directly leads the main entrance at the front by means of a flight of steps. The hall has only two pillars supporting the roof, the smaller dimensions of the structure not requiring more. At the front are again four pillars, two on each bench, supporting the projecting roof. All the pillars are of the same pattern and are similar to those of the Limpangaon Temple. As in that case, the *roll-brackets* have the ' *nāgaśirṣakas* but the panel at the base has, unlike those at Limpangaon, *rosettes* instead of images. Other details of decoration are the same as those of the Limpangaon pillars.

It is only the facade that has any decoration and sculpture. The rest of the exterior is marked by the absence of any ornamentation and images sculpture. The exterior of the dwarf-wall is divided into two horizontal sections broken in the middle by the main entrance to the hall. The lower section bears the usual series of miniature *pilasters* alternating with equally tall *rosette-lozenges*. The upper section has several oblong panels each of which contains a scene which is grossly erotic. On each side of the entrance is a figure of a *dvāra'pāla*.

In the *maṇḍapa* are niches, like those in the temple at Limpangaon but all except one, are now empty. The one exceptional niche contains an original image of *Śeṣaśāyī*.

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365. Ibid.
366. Ibid· 6 and Pls. XC and XCII ; See Photos Nos. 29 and 30.
367. *MTD.*, Pl. XCIII.

The temples at Khatav and Katarkhatav, which are similar to the temples described above, have a niche on each end of the facade, a feature already noticed in the earlier temple at Devlane.

§ 102—THE DOUBLE-SHRINE TEMPLES AT VELAPUR AND DEOTHAN

The three specimens of the double-shrine temple of this period at Sirur, Velapur, and Deothan are particularly interesting in as much as they represent three different types of the plan devised to meet at once the demand of the devotees of two different sects.

The temple at Velapur[368] is somewhat similar to the earlier double–shrine temple at Ganjibhor only that, as in that example, there is no porch attached either to the shrines or to the hall of this temple. The two shrines were attached to the two opposite ends of the hall and facing each other. They entered through a deep vestibule in front of each. To describe the whole plan more clearly it is only sufficient to say that the plan can be arrived at by doubling symmetrically the plan of the Raṁling Temple at Gursale described above. Unfortunately one of these shrines has completely collasped leaving only the vestibule to represent it.

The doorways[369] of the ohrines have been gracefully moulded but they are severely plain. The jamb-sculptures are also omitted. Upon one, in the centre of the lintel, is an image of *Gaja Lakṣmī* while the corresponding position on the door opposite has been taken up by an image of *Garuḍa*. The temple is known at present by the name of ' *Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa* and in view of the door-lintel images it appears that that was the original dedication of the temple.

The hall is open on the sides and has four pillars in the centre upon a slightly raised square. In the enclosed space is gain a raised circular platform called the ' *raṅga-śilā* '. On each of the four sections of the dwarf-wall is a slender pillar supporting the roof. In the walls are niches, but they are empty. The exterior of the dwarf-walls is decorated with the usual *pilasters* and *rosette-lozenges*. The rest of the exterior of the temple is severely plain.[370]

The temple at Sirur[371] is a one-shrine temple of the most common type plus an additional shrine on the left side of the hall. But the hall here is clṇsed and has four pillars with ' *Nāga śīrṣakas* ' in the centre. The doorway of the shrine opposite the entrance to the *maṇḍapa* has some carving upon it but except this there is nothing on the temple by way of ornametation. The shrine has a *liṅga*, the side one is empty. Opposite the entrance to the *maṇḍapa* and outside is a porch under which is a *Nandi*.

The plan of the temple at Deothan[372] is very curious. It consists of 'an L shaped verandah with limbs on the west and north. From the middle of the western limb projects on the west, a rectangular vestibule and still to the west of it and entered through it is the square shrine with its floor on the same level as that of the floor of the rest of the temple. In the middle of the northern limb is again a doorway

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368.   Ibid, 63, Pl. XCIII· It is not a temple of *Siva* as written in the plate below the plan.
369.   Ibid.

which leads into a spacious hall with a niche in the centre of the back-wall. This is, for all that we know at present, the second shrine. The whole outline, is therefore that of a rectangle with a projection on the west side near southern end and an oblong portion cut off from its south-east corner.

The verandah has two rows of pillars supporting the flat roof above. Each side of the roof is bisected by huge slabs placed diagonally across the corners, between which the resulting square panel at the centre is closed by a single piece relieved with a full-blown lotus. The hall-shrine on the north has three rows of eighteen pillars, which are all plain, square in the lower half, then octagonal, sixteen-sided, and round over the remaining half. They have square bases and round capitals capped by quadruple brackets for carrying the beams on which the roof-slabs are laid. The verandah pillars while following the same pattern, bear *floral patterns* and *rosettes* and are conspicuous for the '*vase* and *foliage*' motif and images of deities in panels upon them.

There are deep projecting niches, both in the verandah and the hall-shrine, but they are empty.

The main interest in the temple is, however, centred on the shrine-doorways which are profusely carved. The main-shrine doorway has three mutilated standing images on the lower part of either jamb and a series of five seated images of goddesses in separate panels alternating with *rosettes* on the frieze above the lintel. In the centre of the lintel is an image of *Gaṇeśa*, while the central images on the jambs can be recognized as those of *Brahmā* and *Viṣṇu*.

The doorway of the hall-shrine is even more richly carved. It has in each group of the jamb sculptures an image of *Viṣṇu* in the centure supported by a '*Vidyādhara*' below. Around the frame are six courses of decoration consisting of the '*arabesque* and *scroll* pattern,' rows of male and female dancers and musicians, panels bearing *mithunas* in various erotic postures and rows of lions, peacocks etc. The frieze above the lintel has ten panels representing the ten *avatāras* of *Viṣṇu*.

§ 103—TEMPLES OF THE SIXTH GROUP, (F), (1300-1400 A.D.)

This living interest, though confined to artistically worthless carvings of the temples of the *Fifth Group*, is completely absent in the temples of the *Sixth, or* chronologically the last group. They are all plain, simple and uninteresting structures but, being the least expensive, this type became very popular and a vast number of temples of this type were built in the Deccan during the succeeding five centuries. Quite a number or them, as we know from the records. were built by wealthy persons in the Maratha Period and it is possible that some of the following list really belong to that period.

None of these merits any attention. They are described by the common people as '*Hemadpanti*' temples and in the BG generally as "*Hemadpanti* temples with nine domes" We will therefore only indicate the extent of their distribution :—

(a) One Shrine temples :—

(1) Poona District[373] :
    1. Junnar.
    2. Pabal.

(2) Satara District[374] :
    1. Parali
    2. Vite
    3. Chimangaon
    4. Bahule
    5. Bavdhan
    6. Devrashtre

(3) Khandesh District[375] :
    1. Nyahalad
    2. Pimpalgaon
    —✕—
    3. Lohar
    4. Shendurni
    5. Kurhad Khurd

(4) Ahmednagar District[376] :
    1. Konkangaon
    2. Rasin
    3. Takli
    4. Gondhegeon
    5. Belvandi Kolhar
    6. Chandgaon
    7. Parner
    8. Kolgaon
    9. Malegaon

    10. Jamkhed
    11. Dhorja
    12. Thugaon
    13. Arangaon
    14. Pimpalvandi
    15. Gurav Pimpṛi
    16. Telangsi
    17. Dhergaon
    18. Bhalgaon
    19. Jalgaon
    20. Rehekuri
    21. Kothalmukunji
    22. Kothal
    23. Nevase
    24. Khadgaon
    25. Koregaon

(5) Nasik District[377] :
    1. Bangaon
    2. Manikpunja
    3. Chandor
    4. Sinnar
    5. Nagapur
    6. Dhodop
    7. Anjaneri

(b) Triple-shrine Temples:
    1. Vite (Manmathnath),
       Satara district
    2. Rasin (Kaldeval
       Mahadev)[378].

§ 104—SEVENTH GROUP, (G) : BERAR TEMPLES.

It remains now to describe the temples in Berar and those of the Jains. Stylistically both form part of the general array of the temples in the Deccan. But the former form, on account of their limited distribution, a distinct geographical unit and show, within that circumscribed area, most of the stages in the development of the 'Deccan Style' of temple-architecture which we have traced above. The latter belong to a different religion altogether and being witnesses of its condition in the late mediaeval period in the Deccan, show the nature and extent of the ritualistic requirements of that creed. It is mainly on this account that these

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373. *BG.*, 183. 148, 264, also see *BDCRI.*, 2217 ff,
374. *BG.*, 19,536-538, 461, 453, 454.
375. *MTD.*, 35.
376. *BG.*, 17.723, 735, 740, 717, 713, *LP*, *ASI*, *WC.*, Nos. 4922, 4923 : *BG* 17,   *PR, ASI,*
WC., 1920-21, p. 70; *BG.*,17. 723, 727, 720, 716, 740, 712, 733, 717, 740, 714, 720,736, 725, 729; *LP,*
ASI, WC., No, 9269; *BG.*, 17, 724, 721.
377. *MTD*, 46, 47, 59 ; *BG.*, 16. 425, 430, 432, 460.
378, *BG.*, 17.735.

temples deserve to be separately treated, the latter more so because such a study enables us to ascertain whether and to what degree they were influenced by the Brahmanical ideology. The temples in Berar form the *Seventh Group* and those of the Jains, the *Eighth.*

The temples in Berar are confined to the southern districts only, the northern districts being remarkably bare of remains. This is quite natural in view of the nearness of that region to the metropolis of the Deccan. But all the same the temples are not many. Our study, therefore, is restricted to the few better preserved and outstanding examples which are described below in their chronological order as :—

1. The temple at Barsi Takli
2. The temple at Lonar
3. The temple at Satgaon

representing the stage evinced by the *Third Group.*

4. The temple at Sakegaon
5. The temple at Dhotra
6. The temple at Kothali

that of the *Fourth Group,* and

7. The temples on the Lonar Crater, that of the *Fifth Group.*

§ 105—THE TEMPLE AT BARSI TAKLI

The temple at Barsi Takli[379] appears to be on stylistic ground, the oldest of the temples of Berar which are known to us. Its affinities with the temples of the *Third Group* place it in the latter half of the 12th century A.D. This is borne out by the inscription also, which is found engraved upon the back-wall of the temple. It is dated in S. 1098 (1176 A.D.) which may be taken as the date of the consecration of the temple.[380]

The temple is dedicated to the worship of the goddess Bhavānī and consists of a hall and a shrine which are peculiarly arranged. The *maṇḍapa* is attached, as it were, sideways to the shrine so that it has its entrance on one ' side instead of at the end opposite the shrine as is usual. The entrance to the *maṇḍapa* is thus at right angles to that of the shrine. The plan of the hall is rectangular while that of the shrine is star-shaped, the latter is again imitated in the plans of the four decorated pillars which support the central ceiling. Thus in the plan is in evidence a tendency of simplification which we have already noticed in the temples of the *Third Group.* Another characteristic feature of the temples of this group is the comparative thinness of the walls with regard to the space enclosed which is to be noted in the construction of the hall where the greatest thickness of the walls is more than two feet whereas the space enclosed is about 20' x 24'.[381]

The shrine is a red angular chamber and holds an altar for an image. The vestibule is a deep compartment with an empty niche in each of the side-walls. The shrine-door does not seem to have been very ornate.

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379. *MTD.,* 66-67.
380. Ibid.
381. *MTD.,* Pl. CL.

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The four central pillars[382] in the hall stand mid-way between those of the temple at Ambarnath and those of the Siddheshvar temple at Akola. They are richly carved and have on the eight faces of the octagonal base rosette-lozenges. Above this they have on each face a small human figure. Above this the shaft becomes thinner while still maintaining its octagonal character. This course is nearly two feet high and has on each face a standing figure. Most of these figures represent gods and goddesses. Over this again the shaft assumes considerable thinness. 'This course has similar but seated images. The part above this has a complicated decoration consisting of human figures, *haṁsas* and *floral* motifs. This is surmounted by an round ornate capital which in its turn supports the quadruple bracket-member bearing the ' *kicaka* ' figures.[383]

In the walls opposite the two entrances are rows of niches, that opposite the hall entrance having a series of seven. They are all empty row, but since the temple was dedicated to *Bhavānī* it is not improbabe that they held images of the *Saptamā-trkās*. Nothing can be said as to the other empty niches. The ceiling is particularly well decorated, the marginal panels being very much like those of Temple No. 1 at Balsane.

The exterior[384] is profusely decorated with bands of mouldings and images. The ' *pīṭha* ' has been very much damaged, its mouldings being badly mutilated. But what original part remains of it shows mouldings similar to those noticed in the *Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa* Temple at Pedgaon and other examples of its Group. However, unlike that temple and heralding one of the common features of the temples of the *Fourth Group*, it is decorated with *string courses* of plain *lozenges* below and *rosettes* above. The *toothed saw-like* ornament runs round the whole exterior in three courses below the ' *kumbha* ' mouldings which stand out prominently on the ' *maṇḍo-vara* ' as triple course of light and shade. The rectangular member at the base of the *maṇḍovara* is fitted, on each face, with a miniature niche holding an image of a god or goddess. The ' *jaṅghā* ' portion of the ' *maṇḍovara* ' is a strong contrast to the plainer ' *pīṭha* ' being crowded with a variety of figure-sculpture including the larger images in the principal band. The principal band contains, as at Changdev, Pedgaon and Tahakari, figures of male and female dancers in various postures as also standing images of gods and goddesses. There are no niches on the principal faces of the shrine, but these positions have been occupied by the principal deities : *Gaṇeśa*, *Mahākālī* and *Mahiṣāsuramardinī*. Above this on the shrine, is a course of little niched images with the string course of the *scroll* pattern which is continued on the hall. Over this is again a minutely carved narrow band of little figures of human beings. Below the cornice are boldly relieved figures of flying ' *gandharvas* .' Above the cornice is a slightly slanting parapet-wall with pillared divisions each of which contains three figures representing dancers, musicians and ' *mithunas* ' with attendants. This last feature is peculiar only to this temple.

Projecting from the cornice on the open side of the *mandapa* is the sloping eave which is a simple but pleasing feature of the facade. It is moulded in ' *padma* ' or

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382. Ibid.
383. Ibid., 66 and fig. 14.
384. Ibid., Pls. XCIX and C.

cyma-i eversa on the upper surface of which an attempt is made to represent the drooping petals, thought in a most conventionalized shape. Above the cornice is a series of seven rectangular panels each of which contains three standing figures one male and two female in extremely erotic postures.

In the open side is a bench, on either side of the entrance, from which rise two pillars and two pilasters to support the roof. These are carved and follow, in their decoration, the principal pillars from half of the shaft upward. The exterior of the back-wall of the bench is richly ornamented in a manner very much like that of the Jogeshvar Temple at Devlane. The upper part of it,, which in the inside forms the back-rest of the bench, slants outwards and is more minutely carved. The decoration consists of a series of miniature *pilasters* alternating with figures of dancers and miniature niches and panels containing images of deities and *mithunas* respectivly. Each section of this part of the facade is bordered with a band of the *scroll-pattern.*

The tower and the roof of the shrine and the hall respectively have completely disappeared.

§ 106—THE TEMPLE AT LONAR

The temple at Lonar[385] was never completed. But even as it is, it is perhaps the best of the extant examples of the late mediaeval architecure in Bear. On account of its situation near the crator of an extinct volcano, whose centre has been occupied by a salt like a myth has been invented by the local people to account for its existence there. The temple was designed for the worship of *Sūrya*, as is indicated by the principal image on its exterior, and is known by the name of ' *Daitya-Sūdana* ' which it receives from its connection with the story of the demon *Lavaṇāsura* or *Loṇāsura* who used to dwell in the crator close by and who was eventually slain by *Viṣṇu* in his incarnation of ' *Daitya-Sūdana* '

•The temple faces the east and is built on a unique plan[386] in so far as, like its shrine, its hall also is star-shaped. It was designed to have three porches on its three sides but they were never erected beyond the plinths. Nevertheless its dimensions, which are 105 feet by nearly 85 feet, show that it would have been the largest edifice among the mediaeval temples of Berar. The roof and some parts of the top of the walls, with the top of the three doorways of the hall, have not been completed while the four principal pillars, that would have supported the dome of the hall together with part of the inside masonry lining of the walls, were never erected. The shrine is a square chamber and has an altar for an image in the back and one side of it are small rectangular chambers, a feature also found in some of the temples of the districts of *Mahārāṣṭra*. In the right of the north entrance of the hall is an unrusual stairway which would have led to the terrace above the hall.

The exterior[387] has been profusely carved, the details of decoration and image sculpture being the same as those of the temples at Barsi Takli. But unlike the latter the temple assumes a considerable height and is decorated with, from the bottom upwards, a string course of plain *lozenges*, then the ' *padma* ' or *cyma-reversa* moulding

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385. Ibid., 68-70.
386. Ibid., Pl. CI.
387. Ibid., Pls. CIII, CIV.

-with no ornament upon it, then the *torous* or ' *Kaṣi* ' moulding which is also plain, then a band of running *scroll-pattern*, then a row of *haṁsas* again and lastly the ' *garāspatti* or the row of *kīrtimukhas*. The decoration, however, is of inferior workmanship and the indiscriminate spreading of ornament over every available surface mars the general effect of its appearance.

The three principle niches on the shrine exterior are very prominent features, inasmuch as they project like miniature porches, each being protected by a deep heavy cornice which is supported upon two forward pillarettes. Below, the basement with its lines of mouldings projecting like great buttresses, supports them. The principal niche on the back of the shrine-exterior is occupied by a standing image if *Sūrya* that on the south has an image of a *devī* and that on the north is empty. Among the images on the broad ' *janghā* portion are *Viṣṇu, Narsiṁha, Varāha, Gaṇpati, Bra-hmā, Bhairava, Sarasvatī, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Kāliyā-mardana*, and the *Aṣṭa dikpālas* in their respective positions.

§ 107—THE TEMPLE AT SATGAON

The plan of the temple at Satgaon[388] is nearly the same as that of the temple, of *Viṣṇu* at Methi. Both its shrine and hall are cruciform, the latter, like that of the Methi example, being open on all sides. But the resemblance between these two ends here as, unlike the Methi example, the exterior of this temple has no figure sculpture upon it, it being decorated with like the temples Nos. 8 and at Anjaneri, *arabeseque* and *lozenge* patterns and *kīrtimukhas*.[389]

A portion of the tower still stands and it rises in the style of that of the Gondes-vara at Sinnar, which it closely resembles. The mouldings of the exterior are quite similar to those of the above mentioned temples at Anjaneri. There are three prin-cipal niches round the shrine but they are now empty.

In the shrine is an altar for image and in each side of the vestibule is a niche which once held an image. In the *maṇḍapa* there are four central pillars which to-gether with the ten pillars of the outer row on the dwarf-wall and two pillars each of the three porches support the roof above. The ceilings of the hall[390] are decorated with the hollow *cup-shaped cusped*-ornament and *kīrtimukhas*. The pillars[391] are all like in pattern and decoration and resemble to a certain degree those of the *Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa* Temple at Pedgaon. However, in their decoration they are simpler than the latter ones, their square parts above the base being left quite plain. The corresponding positions on the latter pillars have been decorated with panels bearing images of gods and goddesses on each face. The pillars of both the temples have the *vase* and *foliage* member but though they are similar in outline and general ap-pearance, that at Pedgaon has been richly wrought with minute details which is not the case with this example. The *arabesque*-pattern in triangular panels and facets, which through several stages of conventionlization finally developed into the ' *haṁsa* ' motif, also occurs here on the shafts of the pillars, and more noteworthy thing about

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388. Ibid., 72-73.
389. Ibid., Pls. CVI CVII.
390. Ibid., Pl. CVII.
391. Ibid., Pl. CVIII.

it is that the final form of its conventionlization—that of two *hiṁsas* facing
each other on each side of a spearhead-like object also occurs on the shafts of the
pilasters in square panels, showing distinct ' *haṁsa* ' forms. The quadruple bracket-
member above the round capital is also well-carved and has, under each arm the
four-handed ' *kīcaka* ' figure. The inner faces of the beams have been divided into
several compartments by means of pilasters and carved with images of gods and godd-
esses in high relief.

From what remains of the pyramidal roof of the *maṇḍapa*, it appears that it
was an ornate member having the *cupola* shaped ornament, similar to that of Ambar-
nath and Sinnar temples. There were also slabs bearing represenations of the human
beings and deities which must have counterbalanced the absence of imagery on the
walls of the shrine. But only a few of these have still retained their places. Around
the *maṇḍapa* was a prominently projecting eave but it has been destroyed at several
places. The exterior decoration of the dwarf-wall is very similar to that of the
temple at Barsi and Sinnar.

§ 108—THE TEMPLES AT SAKEGAON DHOTRA AND KOTHALI

The temples at Sakegaon,[392] Dhotra[393] and Kothali[394] carry the deterioration of
the style to a further stage and show less ornamented exteriors[395] and interiors with
the exception of the doorways which, in all the three examples, are well-carved and
have figure-sculptures upon them. The former two are one-shrine temples and the
latter one is triple-shrined. Both the Sakegaon and Dhotra temples have closed
maṇḍapas and only one porch on the front, which in the case of the latter temple
has disappeared leaving only the plinth and a portion of the dwarf-wall. In the hall of the
temple at Dhotra is, on each of the two sides a deep recess like a shallow shrine, but
without a doorway. The porch of the temple at Kothali has also disappeared and
only the platform remains. The hall of the Kothali temple has no pillars while those
of the temples at Sakegaon and Dhotra are alike and are devoid of any ornamenta-
tion. The bracket-capitals of these have the ' *nāgaśirṣakas* ' upon them.

Of all the doorways, that of the temple at Kothali is richly carved. The pro-
jecting eave over its lintel is decorated with lotus-petals and over each of its sections
is a *haṁsa* which is completely carved in the round. The two alternate triangular
sections have similar representations of peacocks who are shown as looking down
towards the central figure on the lintel. The jambs have the usual sculptures and
the frames bear upon them *miniature pilasters*, the running *scroll-pattern* and rows
of lions and elephants. The threshold also is well-carved.

The walls of these temples are quite free from images and other figures, save for
those which were in the principal niches round the shrine and are decorated with
the usual basement mouldings and bands of *geometric* ornament. In this respect
the temple at Sakegaon resembles closely the temples at Ratanvadi and Akola while
the other two evince great likeness to the temple at Mandagaon, of all those being exam-

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392. Ibid., 74.
393. Ibid., 75-76.
394. Ibid., 74-75.
395. Ibid., Pls. CX, CXI, CXII.

ples of the *Fourth Group*. The ornament which is of a particular interest is the band of ' *chequered squares* ' used to decorate the exterior of the temple at Dhotra. This arises out of the surface of the stone being marked out into one inch squares, every alternate one being sunk. This is also found on the temple No. 11 at Lonar and the temple of Tryambakeshvar at Parner.[396] COUSINS observes that this was a favourite and often characteristic ornament in very early temples, such as those of the Gupta period, but seems to have fallen out of use, in Western India at least, and to have been used again until resuscitated in these very late shrines.'[397] It would be interesting to find it on the Cave Temples of the Deccan for which a thorough search should be made.

§ 109—THE TEMPLES ON THE LONAR CRATOR

Down the bottom of the Lonar[398] Crator and around the margin of the lake are a number of old temples, and there are others also in the descent to the lake. Most of these temples are in ruins and so in disuse, and have consequently lost their names. COUSINS could count sixteen of them but there are sites, indicated by heaps of carved stones and fragments of pillars of many more besides. At least six of them were *Śaiva*, two of a goddess which one it is impossible to say, and one *Vaiṣṇava*.' Others do not reveal their original dedication.

But all are very late examples, being quite plain internally and externally as well. As their plans show they were all one-shrine, tiny temples and stylistically most of them belong of to the *Sixth Group* and are examples of the so-callel ' *Hemadpanti* ' class of the Deccan Temples.

§ 110—SOME OTHER BERAR TEMPLES OF THE LAST GROUP

Besides these there are other temples of this class, which may be mentioned here. They are also plain and simple and share all the characteristics of the temples of the *Sixth* or *Hemadpanti Group*. They are found at :

1. Tapona
2. Yeotmal
3. Lohara
4. Larkhed
5. Mohagaon

§ 111—THE JAIN TEMPLES. GROUP (H)

Remains of the Jain structural temples are widely scattered over the Deccan but with only a few exceptions they are all in sadly ruinous condition and serve only to indicate their past existence. And the few which still stand evince an amazing simplicity which, though harmonious with their puritanic creed, offers a remarkable contrast to the rich ornamentation of the contemporary cognate temple in Gujarat.

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396. It is also found on the Mahadeva Temple at Jhodga.
397. Ibid., 76.
398. Ibid., 70-72 and Pl. CV.

References to the Jain temples in the Deccan are rare in epigrapic records except in those of the *Śilāhāras* of Kolhapur.[399] From the mentions found in the latter records it appears that Jainism flourished, during the mediaeval period, more in the southern parts of the Deccan than in its other parts. The earliest date that could be obtained for a Jain temple in the Deccan from the known epigraphic evidence is Ś. 1030 (1108 A.D.) and the stylistic evidence offered by the existing Jain Temples suggests that none of them was probably erected before the 12th century. Thus, it appears that the Jains in the Deccan were the last to build structural temples as they were the last to excavate the Cave Temples.

The topography[400] of the Jain temples in the Deccan indicates thrt geographically the sect was spread all over the Deccan. But numerically they are even less than the *Vaiṣṇava* temples, which may be due to poor economic conditions of the sect or to insufficient following and royal patronage. Whatever that may have been, their co-existence, at some places, with the Brahmanical temples undoubtedly points to the religious toleration that existed among the various religious sections of the society of those days. The Jain structural remains in the Deccan are found at :—

(a) in Berar—
1. Sirpur
2. Mehkar
3. Satgaon

(b) in Khandesh districts—
1. Patne
2. Nizampur

(c) in Nasik District—
1. Anjaneri
2. Pinnar

(d) in Ahmednager District—
1. Ghotan
2. Pedgaon
3. Mehekri
4. Miri

(e) Thana District—
1. Karoli

(f) Sholapur District—
1. Velapur

(g) Kolhapur State—
1. Kolhapur
2. Honnur
3. Herle
4. Terdal

§ 112—TEMPLES AT ANJANERI

Of all these, the group at Anjaneri[401] is most important as it is in a better state of preservation and consists of temples and rest-houses or *dharmaśālās* and *maṭhas* in a walled enclosure The cluster contains six distinct buildings out of which three are temples, one having completely lost its shrine and three are *Maṭhas*.[402]

Of these, the earliest seems to be the temple No. 2 which bears an inscription dated Ś. 1063. From this record we know that the temple was dedicated to *Candaraprabha*, the 8th *Tīrthaṁkara*.[403]

399. See App. Nos. 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75,
400. See Map. No.
401. *MTD.*, 44-45.
402. Ibid., Pl. LIX for Plans.
403. See *LID.*, No. 262.

The temple faces the south and consists of an open verandah whidh is characteristic of all the three temples in this group— a *maṇḍapa* and a shrine entered through a vestibule. Thus, there is nothing in the plan of this temple which is essentially different from the plans of the one-shrine Brahmanical temples, and its having an open verandah in the front in the place of a porch brings it very close to∶the Brahamanical temples Nos. 2 and 3 at Balsane.

There are no pillars in the hall, its small size not requiring them. But in the verandah are two pillars and two pilasters, which in style and pattern approach very nearly those of the temples at Balsane mentioned above, being almost counterparts of them. The square part of their shaft is quit plain but the octagonal and sixteen-sided parts have been decorated with ornate *lotus petals* and *kīrtimukhas* with bell-pendents. The circular capitals and triangular plates are also plain. The moulded square bases have on each face *triangular plates* ornamented with *arabesque* designs. The quadruple brackets∶ have the ' *nāga-śirsakas.* ' Above it∶are narrow bands of *lozenges* and *circles*.

The doorways of the hall and the shrine[404] have been well carved and in their decoration is apparent a remarkable sense of proportion and taste which are absent in many highly decorated door-ways of the Brahmanical temples. The ornamental pilaster on each side, has below the capital, a flying figure and below it a *kīrtimukha* panel from which hangs down on a chain a bell- pendent. Below the bell again is a seated human figure and below this is a panel of *arabesque* pattern. Each jamb has a standing female figure holding a water-pot on the palm of one hand above the shoulders. These may have been intended, as suggested by COUSENS, for the river-goddesses *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā* but their *vāhanas* are missing. In the centre of the lintel is a miniature niche holding a seated image of a *Jina*. The part above this is again deliciously ornamented. Above each of the three projections of the eave is a miniature pavillion holding an image of a seated *Jina*. In the two recesses, one on each side of the central pavillion, is a standing nude figure with two devotees, one on each side and under a canopy of cobra-hoods. COUSENS thought that both of them represented the images of *Pārśvanātha* but a closer observation revealed that the figure on the proper right of the central pavillion is that of *Supārśva*, the seventh *Tirthanikara*, standing under the canopy of a five-hooded cobra. That orᶠ ᴛhe left is a representation of *Pārśvanātha*, the canopy of a seven hoods. On either side, at the top of each figure is a figure of a *mālādhara*, or a garland-bearer. The frieze above this part is a series of five projecting and ornamental towers. The threshold of each door-way has on either side of the central boss a florid *kīrtimukha* the central boss itself being decorated with the *scroll*--pattern. At the bottom of the jambs is a row of *rosettes*. Before the hall–doorway is a very prettily designed low step or the ' *ardhacandraśilā.* '

In the back-wall of the verandah, on each side of the hall entrance, is a niche and each of the side–wall of the hall has a similar one. They are all empty now but may have held originally the mutilated images of a *Jina* which are lying in the ' corner of the hall. The shrine is empty and its floor has been upturned.

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404. *MTD.*, Pl. LX.

Standing at right angle to the last and close to in on the right is Temple No. I which faces the east. It is larger than No. 2 above but in other respects very similar to it only that unlike it has four pillars in the hall on account of its larger dimensions.

Whithin its shrine is an altar for an imag and the doorways of the shrine and the hall have been well-carved after the pattern of those of the Temple No. 2. Upon the linntels of borh is a seated *Jina* bnt that on the outer one is flanked by images of like those of the Temple No. 2, *supārśva* and *Pārśvananath* and that on the shrine doorway is flanked by *devīs* which ones it is very difficult to say. On the jambs are images of *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā* but without their *vāhanas* as in the last example. Tbe pillars are rather less ornate than those of temple No. 2 but as in that case, the *kīrtimuhka* also forms a conspicuous detail of the decoration upon them. The pillars are ciosely after the style of those at Patne.

But unlike the temple No. 2. the ceilings of the verandah and the hall of this temple have some interest about them. The central bay of the verandah ceiling is domical and has a neat, eight-pointed *rosette*-pendent from the centre. The side ceilings are oblong and are just sections of the side ceilings of the hall. The central bay of the hall ceiling is similar to that of the verapdah, but more lofty. The antechamber has a plain oval, rising in two tiers, the oval being rather flat. It is like those in the temple at Saṅgameshvar and Changdev, and is very unusual. Being rather dumpy in outline it is not a success.

Temple No 3 faces the north and is completely wrecked except the verandah and a portion of the hall. Its pillars and walls are very plain and the doorway even more so. The lintel of the latter shows a figure of seated *Jina*. About fifty yards south of this group is another very plain and ruined Jain temple and still some distance to its north is yet another very plain one, also in ruins.

The exterior of these temples is remarkably plain, the only decoration upon the two earlier temples being a series of simple mouldings with a few *fretwork* bands running round it. Temple No. I has retained its tower which is very plain and its main features being only blocked out, it resembles that of the temple No. 8 at Anjaneŕŕ without its ornamentation.

The remaining buildings were *mathas or* rest-houses and only halls with open verandahs. Their pillars and walls are severely plain and there is nothing interesting in them.

Temples No. 2 and I, as the inscription shows, must have been erected in the first half of the 12th century and their similarities with the other temples of the seeond and third group amply support this estimate. As regards the other structures their plain style points to a later date by at least 50 years.

§ 113—TEMPLES AT PATNE

The Jain remains at Patne were perhaps of the same age as that of the earlier temples at Anjaneri. Ruins of two temples are now scattered over a mound at a short distance from the temple of Maheshvar while two others now buried in the ground upto the cornice are to be found in the enclosure still further north. One of

the former two contains in the shrine a well carved empty throne-seat and has on the shrine-doorway an images of a seated *Jina* on the lintel. More details could not be gathered on account of their present condition.

§ 114—TEMPLE AT SIRPUR

The temple at Sirpur[405] does not seem to have been completed. Its name suggests that it was dedicated to *Pārśvanātha*. Its plan is perfectly Brahmanical being composed of a star-shaped shrine, a closed square *maṇḍapa* and three porches on the three entrances of the latter. Also there are three niches round the shrine. The door-ways both of the *maṇḍapa* and the shrine are well carved and resemble closely those of the three–shrined temple at Kothali. The principal figures on the jambs are those of standing *Jinas* while on each side they are flanked by female attendants. The lintels bear images of seated *Jinas*.[406]

The exterior is decorated with bands of *arabesque*, no images being present except what were in the three principal niches. The temple has an abraided inscription which seems to read *Saṁvat* 1334 (1276 A. D.) but its style shows that it was eretced quite a hundred years before the date of the inscription.

§ 115—TEMPLE AT GHOTAN

Of the same age perhaps is the temple at Ghotan[407] which, inspite of its present Hindu name, was a small Jain Temple. It has only a shrine and a verandah in front in the place of the hall. Its doorway is plainer that those of the temples described above and has images of standing *Jinas* on the jambs and a seated *Jina* on the lintel. The shrine is empty.

It is only the verandah that cortains any carving on the eeiling. The two pillars and pilasters are quite plain. The dome on the right bears a *kīrtimukha*, a dancing *mithuna* and another *kīrtimukha* while the fourth figure is indistinct, on the four lower stones. The central dome bears the representations of a male and a female carrying garlands, a *kīrtimukha*, a lion's head with snakes issuing from its mouth and a female playing on a flute with a goat on each side. The third dome has a ' *kinnarī* ' playing on a horn and another playing on a flute, geese and snake tied up in an ornamental knot. There are two niches on the back-wall of the verandah and one on each of the side-wals. But all are empty.

§ 116—DHARMŚĀLĪ AT MEHKAR

Perhaps the ruined *Dharmaśālā* at Mehkar[408] was originally attachd to an important Jaina Temple which has completely disappeared. COUSENS' description of the building runs thus " The *Dharmaśālā* is about 72 feet square inside, and is formed by a deep covered colonnade, with two rows of pillars, surrounding a small central square court-yard 23 feet square, which is open to this sky, and whose–pavement is sunk a few feet below the floor of the colonnade. There were sixty pillars in all, of which twenty-five still stand. The central courtyard has been filled up with earth to bring it to a level with the rest. All the pillars around the north

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405. Ibid., 67.

406. Ibid., Pl. CII.

407. PR, ASI, WC., 1920-21, p. 72 ; LP, ASI, WC., No. 5187.

408. MTD, 68.

and east side of the court, with the enclosing wall, have gone, but many of their bases still remain. There is a marked absence of figure-sculpture upon the building, the decoration on the pillars being almost entirely confined to geometric and conventioual leaf-design. The building is of a comparatively late date."

About the Jain remains in the Kolhapur territory[409] we have no information beyond their short notices in the Gazeteers. Considering its proximity with the district of Karnataka it is possible that they may reveal considerable influence of the *Cālukyan* style upon them and may be more ornate than those described above. Remains at other places[410] consist of, besides the ruined temples, loose fragments of the parts of temple and sculptures and are useles for the present study.   •

<center>SECTION IV</center>

<center>Other Architectural Remains</center>

Dharmaśāstra enjoined upon men, from very ancient times, the construction of wells, tanks, parks, charitable feeding houses, rest-houses and similar religious foundations. The dedication of these constituted the *'Pūrtadharma,'* the assiduous performance of which was considered to secure highest merit or *'punya'* for the performer.[1] Even a *Śūdra* was entitled to do it.[2] Consequently people – both high and low – vied with each other in constructing and donating these for the public use. Such gifts are called *'dhruvadānas'* or permanent gifts.[3] Epigraphic records are replete with mentions of the construction of lakes, wells, and reservoirs as also *maṭhas, cchatras* and *dharmaśālās* besides the temples.[4] It is to these that we shall now direct our attention.

<center>§ 117—ANCIENT PERIOD (C. 300 –500 A.D.)</center>

That people of the ancient period in the Deccan performed these *'pūrta-dharmas'* with as much fervour as they did in the mediaeval period is amply borne out by the numerous cave-records. They record, as seen above, gifts of water-cisterns, tanks, wells etc,, which they mention as *'pāṇiyaka'*, *'pāniya-bhājana'*, *'poḍhi'*, *'pāṇiya-poḍhi'* *'sanāna-poḍhi,'* *'vāpī,'* *'taḍāka'* etc,. Also gifts of dining hall and refectories and reception rooms have been recorded in them such as *'bhojana-śālā'*, *'bhojana-maṭapa,'* and *'upathāna śālā,.*[5] Especially noteworthy in this respect are the records of *usavadāta* which speak of his gifts of *'catuḥ-śālās'* *' avasethas,'* *'ārāmas,'* *'taḍāga,* *'prapās'* on the banks of the rivers *Ibā, Paradā, Damaṇā, Tāpī, Karabenā* and *Dāhanukā,* etc,.[6] It is interesting to note that many of the gifts referred to in his records are highly recommended in the *Smṛtis* and *Purāṇas.*[7]

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409. Honnur Temple, *IA*, 12. 102; Kavadegolla, *EI* 1932; Terdal Temple, *BG.*, 24, 376; Herle, *BG.*, 24-298 etc.

410. Sinnar, *MTD.*, 41. BG., 16. 648; Padgaon, MTD.,, 57; Mehekri, *BG.*, 17, 728; *Nizampur,* Rev. *LARBP.*, 55; Karoli, BG., 14, 50.

   1. P. V. KANE, *History of Dharmaśāstra,* 2.'2. 844, 890-892.
   2. Ibid., 2. 1. 157, fn. 370.
   3. Ibid., 2. 2. 848.
   4. See App. Nos. 41, 47.
   5. A. V. NAIK, *Inscription of the Deccan,* An Epigraphical Survey, *BDCRI* 9. 19. (1948).
   6. LL., 1133.
   7. P. V. KANE, *History of Dharmaśāstra,* 2. 2. 847-849.

But most of these ancient constructions were excavated in the rock and if there were any which were structural, they have completely perished. The cave sites in the Deccan are full of water-cisterns and tanks, many of them still being used by the neighbouring peoples. The *Rāmatīrtha* at *Śūrpāraka*, where much of *Usavadata's* wealth was spent in munificence, perhaps survives in the present *Rāmakuṇḍa* at Sopara which at places reveals huge slabs of stone with which the steps have been built. This may not be as old as the time of *Usavadata* since we know that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the *Śilaharas* and *Yadavas* built their monuments there and with them perhaps repaired the ancient tank.[8]

§ 118—MEDIAEVAL PERIOD (C. 503 A.D.—1300 A.D.)

Coming to the mediaeval period, we find that none of the mentions of tanks, wells, *maṭhas* or *śālās* found in the records of the early and later *Cālukyas*, the *Rāṣṭra-kūṭas* and the *Kalacuryas* is located in the Deccan.[9] Those in the records of the *Yādavas* are however, mostly to be found in the Deccan. Thus a record of *Ratta-rāja* of the *Śilāhāras* of south Konkan dated Ś. 930 mentions a 'prapā,' or well at *Maṇigrāma*.[10] About Ś. 1033 *Gaṇḍarāditya* of the Kolhapur *Śilaharas* constructed at Irukudi a tank named 'Gaṇḍasamudra' and erected on its banks the temples of *Mahādeva, Buddha* and *Arhat*.[11] About Ś. 991 *Govindaraja Maurya*, a feudatory of the *Yādavas*, and his wife *Nāyaki* founded at Vaghli a temple or Siddhanātha and attached to it a 'sattra' and a 'prapā'.[12]

§ 119—WELL AND TANKS

Śilpaśāstras speak of at least four kinds of artificial reservoirs of water : *Kūpa, Vāpī, Puṣkariṇī* and *Taḍāga*. According to *Ś* " some authors define *kūpa* as a well that is from five to fifty cubits in length (if rectangular) or in diameter (if it is circular). It has generally no flight of steps to reach the water. *Vāpī* is a well with a flight of steps on all sides or on three two or one only and its mouth may be from 50 to 100 cubits ; a *puṣkariṇī* is from 200 to 800 cubits. The *Matsya-Purāna* states that a *vāpī* is equal to ten *Kūpas* (in merit) and a *hrada* (deep reservoir) is equal to ten *vāpīs*.... According to the *Vasiṣṭha-Samhitā* quoted by *Raghunandana* a *puṣkariṇī* is upto 400 cubits and a *taḍāga* is five times as much."[13]

There are numerous specimens of the 'vāpī' or the step-well in the Deccan and a few perhaps of the *taḍāga* or tank, which on stylistic grounds seem to belong to the late-mediaeval period. Some of them bear inscriptions dated in the mediaeval period and help us to determine the date of those which have none. It must be stated here that none of these specimens has a superstructure like, or is as elaborate as, the Vavs in Gujarat e.g. at Vayad.[14] Wadhwan,[15] Dhandalpur,[16] etc,. They are all open to the sky.

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8. *MTD.*, 19-20 ; BG 13. 2. 404.
9. See App. Nos. 40, 43, 47, 51, 65, 69, 76, 78, 83, 101, 107, 108.
10. *LID.* No. 227 and App. No. 65.
11. *LID* No. 231.
12. Ibid,. No. 259.
13. P. V. RANE, *History of Dharmaśāstra* 2. 2. 893.
14. *SAWI,*. 9112.
15. H. COUSENS, Somanatha and other Mechiaeaav Temples in Kathiawad , (*ASIL, IS, XLY*) P. 55 and Pls LVII—LIX.
16. Ibid. 50 and fig. 5.

§ 120—THE STEP-WELL AT VAGHLI (1069 A. D.)

Perhaps the earliest remains of a step-well in the Deccan are those of the *prapā* at Vaghli which according to epigraphic evidence was constructed about S. 991. or .1069 A. D.[17] It is situated near the remains of the old temple of *Siddhanātha* (now the temple to *Kṛṣṇa*) and is in sad ruins. But whatever remains of it shows that it, was rectangular and diminished in size towards its bottom but retained the same shape. Thus all its four sides were really flights of steps. Whether around it were niches with images or any other ornamentation is impossible to say now.

§ 121—NIGHOJ STEP-WELL

The step-well at Nighoj[18] is a very interesting construction. It is cruciform in shape and while maintaining the same shape, as it sinks down to a square pit, it diminishes in size. It is built in three storeys as it were and has two platforms at the bottom of the two upper storeys. The well is entered through three entrances on the east, north and west and from each of these descends a flight of some fifteen steps to the first platform. The walls of this storey are nearly 16 feet high from the bottom to the top and bear deep pilastered niches with towers in threes tiers surmounted with pot-shaped finials or *kalaśas*. All these niches are empty now but from other specimens it is clear that their original purpose was to enshrine images. In the south-east and south-west corners are two niches each and in the north-east and north-west corners are four each. From this platform, which copies the outline of the general shape of the well, the lower one, which is square, is approached by three stairways on the east, north and west in continuation of the upper ones. Each one of them has about eight steps. This story is therefore half the height of the upper one. The lowest story is a square pit, how much deep it is not possible to say as it is filled with water. Only one flight of steps on the east leads to its bottom from where the villagers fill their bowls. From the other three sides project a little several blocks of stone which may have been intended as supports for climbing down. The southern side is a steep wall down to the bottom. At present there is a wheel which turns on two poles from which the people can draw water.

From its similarity with the other specimens at Khatav, Katrakhatav and Gursal, whose dates can be fixed on the evidence supplied by the adjoining temples of which they form accessories, it seems that this steps-well was founded in the 13th century at the latest.

§ 122—STEPS-WELLS AT BELHE AND MANCHAR

The step-wells at Belhe[19] and Manchar[20], both in the Poona District, are square and of very great dimensions. But they differ in many other respects.

That at Belhe has two entrances facing each other on the east and west respectively. Each entrance consists of 10 steps which lead down to the water-level. The well is 20 yards square and is of the same size at the bottom of the walls. The walls are decorated with niches ornamented with miniature towers and ringed pilasters

17. *LID*, No. 259 and see App. No. 78.
18. *BG.*, 17. 730,' See Photo No. 31.
19. *BG.*, 18.3 ; *BDCRI* 2. 224-225 and fig. 7-9.
20. *BG.*, 18.3 ; Rev. *LARBP.*, See Photo No. 32.

which simulate miniature shrines. In these were enshrined images but all of them are missing now. In all they number eighteen and are four on the east and on the west and five on the north and on the south. The well still has pure water and is the chief water-reservoir of the village. There is an abraided inscription on its northern wall in the characters of the 13th century and in *Saṃskṛt*.

The Manchar step-well is a more magnanimous construction. It has only one entrance on the east, but there is a 3 feet wide passage all round its sides at the base of the walls from which begin the steps in a continuous slope to the water-level. In the west wall at the centre and opposite the entrance is a pillared niche in which is a long *Saṃskṛt* inscription in the *Nāgarī* characters of the 13th century. From the platform the depth of the well to its present water-level is about 30 feet. The well is used by the villagers at present as a swimming tank.

On each step is a row of square blocks with round holes in their upper faces. They are placed at regular intervals so that they form straight lines horizontally and vertically. The exact purpose of this arrangement cannot be known at present but it appears very likely that it was meant for erecting a removable shed in the rainy season or for swimming competitions.

§ 123—STEP-WELLS AT PARLI AND PURANDAR

Step-wells exactly similar to that at Manchar are to be found at Parli[21] in the Satara District and at the foot of the Purandar[22] Fort in the Poona district. But they have now lost the surrounding walls and are damaged at some places. They also show the rows of square stone blocks with round holes. However, there is no indication of their having possessed any niches. That at Parli is 40 yards square and 10 feet deep. A local informant was saying that near the well at Purandar was an old temple which has now vanished and that its ruins were removed to fill up a pit in the village. About 50 yards distance from the Parli well are ruins of a temple of the 13th century.

§ 124—STEP-WELL AT RANJANGAON

Another step-well, which is similar to that at Belhe in its square shape and the series of niches on the walls, is found at Ranjangaon[23] in the Ahmednagar District. But whereas the former has only two entrances this one has four, one in the middle of each side. From these entrances the water-level is approached directly, by means of flights of steps, there being no visible platform round the sides above surface. The niches are not ornamented with pilasters and towers but have plain rectangular frames which perhaps indicates a later date than the wells described above. But it may not be later than the 14th century as its mode of constructions shows.

Most of the above described wells were constructed without any temple in their vicinity. But there have been found in the Deccan several specimens of wells which were constructs along with a temple as forming part of the general scheme. Some notable examples of such step-wells may be described below. They are found at:

21.　*BG.*, 19. 538.
22.　See Photo No. 33.
23.　*BG.*, 17. 734.

(a) —

    Harishcandragad,
    Methi;

· (b) — Ratanvadi,
    Ganjibhor;

(c) — Gursale,
    Khatav,
    Katarkhatav;

(d) — Gondhegaon,
    Konkangaon,
    Telangsi,
    Pimpalvandi,
    Rasin,
    Belvandi Kolhar,
    Pabal,
    Mahalung, and
    Velapur.

§ 125—WELLS AT HARISCHANDRAGAD AND METHI

Both the step-wells at Harischandragad[24] and Methi[25] form part of an elaborate scheme. They are rectangular in shape and have, besides the niches in their walls, small shrines round their sides at the top. Except this they are very similar in design to that at Ranjangaon described above. Since they are close to the temples of the *Third Group* there, it is very likely that they belong to the same age as of those temples i.e. the latter half of the 12th century.

§ 126—WELLS AT RATANVADI AND GANJIBHOR

The well at Ratanvadi[26] is constructed near the south-east corner of the temple. It is rectangular and has only one entrance like that at Manchar but unlike it has niches round its walls. The niches are very similar to those on the temple and some of them still contain images. The images are mutilated but still one of them can be recognised as that of *Bhairava* and other as that of *Ganesa*.

At Ganjbhor,[27] the well is attached to the southern porch of the hall of the double-shrine temple. It is a pleasing rectangular construction: and, as at Gursale, forms a neat combination with the temple. It is not very deep and is quite dry at present. Round its four sides is a wide platform which is approached through only one entrance on the north which is a fight of steps from the south porch of the temple. Around the four sides are walls bearing niches in a continuous series. The niches are really compartments made by the insertion of small wall-screens in the continuous cavity in the walls. They are faced with ornamental pilasters and contain fragments of the images which were originally placed in them.

A unique and remarkable feature of the step-well is that its southern half is a roofed verandah which is supported on eight pillars. The pillars are roughly executed and have small figures upon them. On the east of the well is another such verandah containing three niches, in the central one of them is an image of *Murali-dhara.*

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24. Ibid., 719.
25. Unfortunately owing to shortage of material the well could not be photographed.
26. LP, ASI, WC., Nos. 6363, 6364, and 9212.
27. BG., 17.   ; See Photo No. 34.

§ 127—STEP-WELL AT PARNER

Both the step-wells were erected in the first half of the thirteenth century as the style of their adjoining temples would show.[28]

On the proper right of the Nagnath Temple at Parner[29] is an oblong but very deep well having entrance and stair-ways on the two opposite smaller sides. As it is still in use, it has been repaired and provided with arrangement to draw water from the top in the middle of the side near the temple. Each of its entrances is flanked by two niches one on each side, but they are empty. In the well is an ābraided inscription the date in which reads s 1015 or 1093 A.D.

128—STEP-WELLS AT GURSALE KATARKHATAV KHATAV

The step-wells at Gursale, Khatav and Katarkhatav are of the same type and very alike in their details. But whereas those at Khatave and Khatarkhatav are constructed close to the temples there, that at Gurasale[30] forms a radical part as it were of the temple. The temple stands on the western margin of the well its facade forming an imposing background. From the side opposite the temple the well is entered through a stair which forms a long and narrow passage to the inside plat-form running around the well some distance below ground level. On the west a similar but rather steep stair leads into the verandah of the temple. Thus to enter the temple trom the front one has first to descend into the well and passing along its platform ascend the stair on the west and reach the temple. In this sense the well is a real preface to the temple, a fact which is further proved by the *Nandi* which is fixed on the landing of the stair on the east and not in the hall of the temple.

The well is square and has four flights of steps, one in the middle of each of the platform and a little bellow this the stepped tank begins. In the walls behind the platform and in the stair-passage on the east are niches which, by prominently projecting and with their ornamental pilasters and towers, simulate miniature shrines. Undoubtedly, they once held images as in the niche, on the right side of the eastern passage is an image of *Bhairava*. The niches in the wells at Khatav and Katarkhatav are similar to these.

From the style of the temples at these places, the wells seem to have been constructed in the latter half of the 13th century at the latest. A step-well very similar to that at Gursale and like it forming a radical part of the temple scheme, but constructed some fifty years later is found at Mahalunga in the Sholapur District.

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28. See § § 91 and 95.
29. See Photo No. 35.
30. *MTD.*, Pl. XCIII., See Photo No. 36.
31. See Photo No. 37.
32. *LP, ASI, WC.*, Nos 7221 and 7224.

§ 129—STEP-WELLS OF·THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

The step-wells at Gondhegaon,[33] Konkangaon,[34] Telangsi,[35] Pimpalvandi,[36] Rasin,[37] Belvandi Kolhar,[38] Pabal,[39] Velapur,[40] Devalgaon.[41] Natepute[42] are of the type of the step-well at Purandar and all, except those at Telangsi, Pimpalvadi and Pabal, are devoid of niches. Those at the latter three villages have niches round the walls but the images which occupied them ate missing. These wells have been constructed together with their adjoining temples in a very plain style of the 14th century. Some of them are still in use.

Like the contemporary temples these step-wells have been built without the use of mortar or any other cementing material. The large blocks of stone were moulded before they were piled, and the walls stood firm so long as the foundation was in tact.

§ 130—TANKS, PONDS AND LAKES

The above description of the step-wells, it is clear, satisfies the definition of the *vāpi* as given in the *Śilpa-Śāstras*. There are numerous mentions of ponds, tanks and lakes in the epigraphic records under the words : ' *hṛda* ' ' *taḍāga* and ' *sarovara*' but their existence at present is not known to us for lack of correct identification. Also the numerous mentions of ' *tirthaś* ' may at some places denote artificial constructions.

At Anjaneri are still to be seen the remains of an extensive masonry tank around which on its edge stood some of the old temples there. A length of about ten yards of old masonry steps of the tank can be seen to the north-west of the temples Nos. 12 and 13 at a distance of about eighty yards.[43] Remains of similar tank with a paved way to its entrance can be seen at the foot of the Purandar Fort near the Temple of Narayan and at Tringalwadi between the village and the cave. An extensive tank with its masonry sides in ract is still used by the people at Islampur. The edge of the tank is covered by mounds of which at lest four reveal the foundations of rectangular building. Near about are lying carved fragments of pillars and doorways of temples which from their style seem to belong to the late mediaeval period.

WOODBURN noticed at Rehekuri,[44] Khadgaon[45] and Kumti[46] in the Ahmedangar District old artificial ponds with earthen dams which the local tradition ascribed to toe *Gavli Rajas*. The earthen dams have been faced with rows of huge oblong slabs

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33. *BG.*, 17. 717.
34. Ibide., 722.
35. Ibid., 740.
36. Ibid., 733.
37. Ibid., 735.
38. Ibid., 713.
39. Ibid., 18. 3, 264.
40. *MTD.*, 64.
41. *BG.*, 17. 71.
42. Ibid., 20. 415.
43. *MTD.*, 43-47.

of stone. The dams leak at certain points and portions of their bed are under tillage. Since these villages come well within the limits of the old 'Seuṇadeśa' of the *Yadava*s, the local tradition may be pointing to their construction by the *Yadavas*. A similar dam of huge slabs of stone is found at Mehekari, in the same district, on the north of Salabat Khan's Tomb.[47]

§ 131—MAṬHAS & DHARMAŚĀLAS

Remains of *maṭha*s and *dharmaśālas* of the mediaeval period are found at Balsaṇe, Sinnar, Patne, Mehkar, Anjaneri Velapur etc, but they are all in ruins and architecturally uninteresting. Most important of these was the one at Patne which accoṛding to an inscription was founded by *Cangadeva*, the court astronomer of the *Yadava* king *Siṅghaṇa* in Ś 1128 for the study of the *Siddhānta-Śiromaṇi* of *Bhās-karācārya*, his grandfather.

§ 132—CIVIL AND MILITARY ARCHITECTURE

Inspite of the numerous epigraphic references to houses, shops etc., archaeology in the Deccan has not been able so far to reveal much of the remains of secular buildings of the ancient or mediaeval period. This is curious in the face of the fact that there are a number of cities and .towns like Paithan, Nasik, Sopara Kalyan, Karhad, Ter, Sinnar, Thana Malkhed and Kolhapur whose history can be traced back through the centuries to the mediaeval and ancient period. At Thana, in the Thana District and Patne in East Khandesh District there are extensive areas which are strewn over with mounds. At the former place the mounds around the ponds in the vicinity of the Civil Hospital and near the junction of the Bombay-Agra and Poona-Bombay Roads disclose at some places brick masonty and at one spot even foundations of a mediaeval structure have been laid bare by the pealing off of a large slice of the mound during the last rainy season. At the same place near the Kapur Bavdi, at a short distance from the Bombay Agra Road remains of a temple of the 13th century were recovered recently among which is a huge bust of *Maheśamūrti* of the Elephanta type.[48]

Most of the important-forts in the Deccan have their origin in the mediaeval period. The ẹpigraphs ṃention, besides, many '*durgas*' and '*mahādurgas*'.[49] But almost all of the forts have been modified and repaired during the Musulman 'and Maratha rules, so much so that nothing actually remains now in their structure which can be said to belong to the mediaeval period.

Many villages in the Deccan have preserved the mud and stone walls which encircled them. The walls at some places may be as old as the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* period. The village Bhosari near poona has still preserved its surrounding wall called the '*Koṭ*' wall,[50] and the same village occurs in a *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* epigraph under the name '*Bheusarikā*,

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44. *BG.*, 17. 736.
45. *Ibid.*, 721.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *LP, ASI, WC.,* No. 7563.
48. See App. No. 64.
49. See. App. No. 65.
50. *BDCRI.* 1. 180 fig. 7.

APPENDIX

In this Appendix are listed the Monuments which are mentioned in the inscriptions.

The arrangement is as follows:

Column 1. Serial number.

Column 2. Contains the number of the inscription as it occurs in the " List of the Inscriptions of the Deccan," in BDCRI 9, and reference to the publication of the Inscription.

Column 3. Gives the details of the monument, its name and nature.

Column 4. Gives the location of the monument according to the inscription.

Column 5. Contains the names of the Patron (P) or Founder (F) of the monument and the date of the record or of the foundation or completion of the Monument.

Column 6. Contains the identification of the place mentioned in Column 3 and Reference (s).

Column 7. Contains indications, if any, of the survival of the monument and Reference (s).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		THE WESTERN CĀLUKYAS OF BADAMI:				
	3 [IA 7.212]	A Jain Temple of *Jinendra.* It is described as a "very lofty temple (named) the ornament of the three worlds, and decorated with many columns."	In the east quarter of the city of *Ālakṭaka,* in the *Ālakṭaka* -700 in the *Kuhnṇḍi-Visaya.*	F. *Sāmiyāra* (*S* 411)	Alte (in the Kolhapur State, about 12 miles NE of Kolhapur) where the record was found.	A Cave Temple of Ramlinga and a pillared 'Hemadpati' structure before it. The cave seems to have originally been Buddhist or Jain, later on appropriated for Brahmanical worship. *BG.* 24 292.
	4,5 [IA 3,305,10.50]	A Temple of *Viṣṇu* under the name of "*Lañjigeśvara*" also called .the " Stone-house of *Mangaleśa.*"		F. *Mangaleśa* (*Ś.* 500)	Badami, (Bijapur District).	Identified with Cave No. 3 at Badami which bears these inscriptions. *IA* 3. 305.
3	6 [IA 19.16]	A Temple of *Śiva* under the name of "*Makūṭeśvaranātha*" and a pillar called the " *dharmajaya-stambha.*"		P-*Durlabha-devī* (5th year of the reign of *Mangaleśa*).	Mahakuta, (3 miles east of Badami). IA. 19.7.	A group of temples in a courtyard, *IA* 19.7; COUSENS CA., *BG.* A red Sandstone monolithic pillar stood before the gateway of the above courtyard. The present incsription was on the lower part of that pillar. *IA* 19,8.
4	14 [EI 6,4]	A Jain Temple of *Jinendra.*	......	P-*Pulakeśin II* F-*Ravikīrti* (*S.* 556).	Aihole, (Hungund Taluka, Bijapur District).	An old temple called Meguti which contains the present inscriptjon. COUSENS *CA.*
5	15 [EI 5.7]	A Temple of *Śiva* under the name of " *Mahādeva.*"	......	......	......	

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	20 [IA 7.106]	(a) A Jain Temple, called in the inscription "the *Caitya* of *Sa:.kha-Jinendra*" or "*Sa:.kha-tirtha-vasati*" which is describad as the white (*dhavala*) *Jinālaya*. (*b*) The Temples of 1. *Jyeṣṭhalinga* 2. *Rāmeśvara* 3. *Hobeśvara* 4. *Sindeśvara* (if these names which are mentioned while giving the boundaries of the granted land refer to temples and not to persons)	(a) at *Pulikara-nagara*.		Lakshmeshvar (Lakshmeshvar Taluka, Miraj State, Dharwar District). IA 7. 101-106.	(a) A Jain temple called ' Shankha-basti ' where the inscription was found. *IA* 7.101.
7	22 [IA 9.124]	A' Temple of *Śiva* under the name of "*Kapāleśvara*."	Perhaps at *Balegrāma* in the *Gopa-rāṣṭraviṣaya*.	P. *Nāgavar-dhana*.	Belgaum Tarhala (12 miles to the north-east from Igatpuri in the Nasik District) IA 9. 123.	......
8	34 [IA 7.112]	A Jain Temple of "*Saṅkha-Jinendra*."	at *Pulikarā-nagara*.	P. *Vijayāditya* (S. 610).	Lakshmeshvar, (See No. 6 above) IA 7. 112.	See No, 6 (*a*) above.
9	39 [IA 18.149]	Temples.	(1) at *Vedevalli* (2) at *Amali*.	...... (2) (S. 614).	(1) Yedehalli (in the Lakkuvalli Taluka, Mysore). IA 19. 144.	......
10	44 [IA 10.60]	Images of *Brahmā* *Viṣṇu* and *Maheśvara*.	The inscription records their installation at the capital city of *Vātāpi*.	(S. 621).	Badami, (Bijapur District).	
11	52 [IA 8.285]	A Temple (about which no details can be had from the record.)		P. *Vijayāditya* (S. 631)	Aihole (Hungund Taluka, Bijapur District).	Many temples at Aihole for which see COUSENS, *CA*.
12	56 [IA 7.112]	A Jain Temple of "*Saṅkha-Jinendra*"	at *Pulikarana-gara*	P. *Vijayāditya* (S. 651)	Lakshmeshvar (See No. 6 above).	See No. 6 (a) above.
13	57 [IA 10.103]	A pedestal of rubies-and a silver umbrella for an idol.		P. *Vināpoṭi*	Mahakuta (near Badami where the inscription was found).	The Temple of Mahakutesvhar; COUSENS, *CA*.,

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14	58 [IA 10.165]	A Temple of *Śiva* under the name of "*Lokapāleśvara*", (a stone-throne or pedestal and a bracelet or bangle were granted to the idol in the temple).		Built by one *Anantaguṇa*. *P. Vijayāditya* and his son *Vikramāditya* II	Pattadkal, (Bijapur District).	Identified with the Temple of Virupaksh; *IA.* 10.163; COUSENS, *CA.*,
15	61 [IA 7.106]	1. A Jain Tample called "*Śaṅkha-Tīrthe-Vasati*".	at *Pulikara-nagara*		Lakshmeshvar. (See No. 6 above). *I A* 7.16	See No. 6 (a) above
		2. A Jain Temple called the "*White Jinālaya*".		(*Ś.* 656)		
	63 [EI 3.4]	1. A stone temple of *Śiva* under the name of "*Trailok-yeśvara*".		1. F-*Trailok-yamahādevī* (*Ś.* 677)	Pattadkal (Bijapur District).	1. Identified with that now known as the temple of Mallikarjun.
		2. A temple of *Śiva* under the name of "*Vijayeśvara*".				2. Identified with the temple of Sangameshvar.
		3. A temple of *Siva* under the name of "*Lokeśvara*".				3. Temple of Virupaksh.
		4. A Pillar with the *Triśula*-sign.		4. Set up in the middle of the three temples by a sculptor named *Śubhadeva.*		4. Now not in existence. It may have been the one on the north side of the temple of Sangameshvar. See COUSENS CA., and *El* 3.3-4
17	64 [IA 8.286]	A Temple of "*Āṭada-Ālekomarasiṅga*".	. . . .	. . . .	. : . .	Perhaps refers to the Durga Temple at Aihole. *IA* 8.286.
18	65 [EI 3.360]	Temple of "*Rājasi-ṁheśvara*"	*Kāñci*	. . . .	Conjeeveram (Madras Presidency).	The Temple of Kailasanath at Conjeeveram. See REA, *Pallava Architecture,* p.
19	67 [IA 10.167]	Temple of *Śiva* under the name of "*Lokeśvara*"	. . . .	F. *Lokamahā-devī*.	Pattadkal (Bijapur District).	See No. 16 above.
20	68 [IA 10.164]	Temple of *Śiva* under the name of "*Lokeśvara*"	. . . .	Built for the queen *Loka-mahādevī* by one *Guṇḍa*.	Pattadkal (Bijapur District).	See No. 16 above.
21	69 [IA 10.164]	Temple of *Śiva* under the name of "*Lokeśvara*"	. . . .	. . . .	Pattadkal (Bijapur District).	See No. 16 above.
22	72 [IA 11.69]	1. A Jain Temple of *Ji endra*.	(1) Perhaps at *Pāṇḍipura*	. . . .	(1) Adur (Hangal Taluka, Dharwar District).	. . . . . .

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		2. A *Caitya* (perhaps a Jain Temple)	(2) at *Paralūr*	. . . .	(2) Harlapur (5 miles to the north of Adur; (Hangal Taluka, Dharwar District). *I A* 11.69	. . . . . .
23	74 [EI 21.206]	1. A Jain Temple called "*Cediya*" (*Caitya*)	(1) at *Jebuḷageri*	(1) F. *Kāliyamma.*	A part of Annigeri (Navalgund Taluka, Dharwar District) *EI* 21.206.	A Jain temple or Basti among the several old temples at that place. *BG* 22.651.
		2. A sculpture, in front of above.	(2) „	(2) F. *Koṇḍiśālarakuppa.* (6th year of the reign of Kīrttivarman II).		
24	81 [Kar. Inser. 10]	Rock-cut figures of *Vināyaka* and "*Phaṇīndra*" (Snake-god)	Installed on a hill described as "resplendent with lofty peaks etc."	Installed by one *Kuśala Dharmaṇa*	. . . .	. . . . . .
25	82 [Kar. Inser., 10]	A "*Kīrttana*" (a sculpture or image) cut on the rock the name of which is lost.	. . . .	. . . .		. . . .
26	84 [Kar. Inser., 11 (No. 9)]	Images of *Gaṇapati* and *Nāga Kumāra*	See No. 24 above	Donated by a certain *Dhammaṇa.*	. . . .	. . . . . .
		THE RĀSTRAKŪTAS :				
27	92 [EI 26.29]	A (Cave) Temple of *Śiva* under the name of "*Śri Guheśvara*".	At *Elāpura*	(Ś. 663)	Elura (Aurangabad District, Hyderabad State). EI. 25.25	Has been identified with the *Ghṛṣṇeśvaɾɪ* Temple at that place. *EI* 25.29. (But the original seems to have been the Dhumar Lana).
28	98 [EI 14.123]	A Temple of *Āditya* (Sun)	At *Udumvaramanti*	P-*Krṣṇa I* (Ś. 694)	Amraoti (in the Amraoti District, Berar). *EI* 14.123	
29	103 [IA 11.125]	A Temple of *Lokamahādevi.*	See No. 16 above	P-*Bādipoddi-* (a harlot of the temple).	See No. 16 above	Temple of Virupakṣh at Pattadkal, (in the Bijapur District). See *IA* 10.163

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30	111 [IA 11.126]	A Temple of Śive under the name of "Parameśvara".	At Rāmeśvara Tīrtha on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā.	P–Govinda III (Ś. 726)	Identified with an island in the Tungabhadra in Lat. 14° 4′ N., Long. 75° 49′ E. See RICE, Mysore Inscr.; p. Lvii, note and IA 11.126	......
31	120 [IA 12.13]	A Jain Temple of Jinendra	at Śilāgrāma. (on the western side of Mānyapura).	P–Govinda III (Ś. 734)	Manipura, (situated near Chamrajnagar in the south of Mysore). EI 4.340.	......
32	128 [EI 6.29]	A Jain Temple	at Koḷanūra	F. Bankeya. P–Amoghavarsa I. (Ś. 781)	Konnur, (Navalgund Taluka, Dharwar District). EI 6.25	Two old Hindu Temples of Parameshvaradev and Ramesvar. BG 22.765
33	129 [EI 9.252]	1. A Temple of Viṣṇu under the name of "Saurī" 2. A Garuḷa crested pillar in front of above.	....	F–Parabala and his chief minister (Ś. 783)	Pathari, (in Pathari State, Bhopal Agency, C. I).	A temple of Vishnu and a pillar in front of it. CUNNINGHAM, ASI., 10.70; EI 9.248-49; JASB., 17.305.
34	130 [EI 7.201]	1. A Temple of Śiva under the name of "Mahādeva". 2. A Temple of Sun under the name of "Aditya Bhaṭāra".	at Elamvaḷḷi ,,	....	Mantrawadi, (Bankapur Taluka, Dharwar District). EI 7.201	A Temple of Hanuman; BG 22.771.
35	135 [Kar. Inscr., 14]	A Temple of the Goddess named "Kalk (e) ṛeti Bhaṭāri".	in Siggāme	P. Peddama	Shiggam, (Bankapur Taluka, Dharwar District). Kar. Insc., 14.	Two old temples of Basappa and Kalmeshvar. BG 22.785.
36	136 [EI 7.212]	A Temple of Śiva under the name of "Mahādeva".	Though not expressly stated it appears from the context that it was in Niḍugundage.	P. Bankeyu and his son Kundaṭṭe F. Kuppa	Nidagundi, (Bankapur Taluka, Dharwar District). EI 7.208-9	..... .
37	138 [JBBRAS 10. 194]	A Jain Temple of Jinendra	at Sugandhavarti	F. Kṛṣṇa II. (Ś. 797)	Saundatti (Parasgad Taluka, Belgaum District).	A Jain temple of Jinendra; BG 21.603.
38	142 [EI 16.279]	A Temple of Śiva under the name of "Diṇḍeśvara"	at Palasūr	Kṛṣṇa II (Ś. 818) P. Omkāra-Śiva Bhaṭāra.	Halsūr, (Bankapur Taluka Dharwar District). EI 16.279	......

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39	144 [JBBRAS 10. 190]	A Jain Temple	at *Mulgunḍa* in the district of *Dhavaḷa*	F. *Cikkārya* (Ś. 824)	Mulgund, (Dambal Taluka Dharwar District).	The Jain Temple of Chandranath which contains the present inscription. *BG* 22.773.
40	146 [IA 12.222]	A Cell or Cave called the Cave of "*Monibhaṭāra*"	......	*Kṛṣna II* (S 831)	......	A small stone cell near the temple of Galiganatha at Aihole. See *IA* 12.222
41	156 [IA 12.223]	A Tank called "*Kaṇṭhamagere*"	......	(Ś. 840)	......	A well called Kolakokkana-Bhavi at Dandapur, Navalgunda Taluka, Dharwar District.
42	165 [EI 4.58]	A school-hall or *Śālā*.	at *Pāviṭṭage* in the *Karṇapura Viṣaya*.	F.—*Nārāyaṇa Gajānkuśa*. P—*C a k r ā y-udhabudha* (Ś. 867).	= Salotgi (Indi Taluka, Bijapur District). *EI* 4. 58.	A Temple of *Śiva Yogeśvara* which contained the pillar bearing the present inscription. It seems that it was originally the school referred to in the inscription and was in the 17th century converted into a *Śiva* temple by two persons one of whom was named *Yogeśvarappa*. *BG*. 23. 674.
43	166 [EI 14.365]	A Temple of *Śiva* under the name of "*Ayeśvara*".	at *K a r a ṇ a Guripaṭli*.	F.—*Āycayya* (Ś. 868)	Tu p p a d·K u r-hatti, (Navalgund Taluka, Dharwar District). *EI* 14. 364.	A Temple of Maruti which contained the inscription. *EI* 14. 364.
44	167 [EI 16.281]	A Tank.	......	(Ś. 868) P—*C ā m u ṇ-ḍiga*.	Kyasanur, (Hangal Taluka, Dharwar District). *EI* 16. 280.	
45	169 [EI 6.53]	A Temple of *Śiva* under the name of "*Calleśvara*"	at *Ā l u k ū r*	P. *Būluga II* (Ś. 872).	Atagur, (Mandya Taluka, Mysore District, Mysore State). *EI* 6. 50	A *Śaiva* Temple at present known as *Calleśalinga*, about a quarter of a mile north of village in front of which the slab bearing the present inscription was found. *EI* 6. 50
46	170 [IA 12.257]	A Temple of the god "*Bhīmarāśi*"	at *Saraṭavura*.	(Ś. 873)	Soratur, (Gadag Taluka, Dharwar District). *IA* 12. 257.	Temple of *Vīra-bhadra* which contained the slab bearing this inscription. *IA* 12. 257; *BG* 22. 786.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
47	182 [EI 16·283]	A Temple.	......	......	Kyasanur, (Hangal Taluka, Dharwar District).	......
48	183 [EI 21.263]	1. A Temple of the god " *Kārttikeya*." 2. Images of *Kārttikeya*, *Sürya*, *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu*, *Maheśvara*,, *Pārvati* and *Vināyaka*. 3. A Tank, a monastery and some cells.	at *Kolagla*	F. *Gadādhara* (Ś. 889),	Golagallu, (Guntakal-Hubli Section M. S. M. Rly. Bellary Dist, Madras Presidency.) *EI* 21. 260.	......
49	184 [IA 12.255]	A Temple of *Śiva* under the name of " *Malligeśvara*'.	at *Sebbi*	P—*Pañcāla* and *Malliga-Gadeyya* (Ś. 893).	Chabbi, (Hbli Taluka, Dharwar District). *IA* 12. 255.	A Temple of *Mallikārjuna* near a pond to the north-east of the village. *BG* 22. 659.
50	188 [IA 12.271]	A Temple of *Śiva* under the name of " *Mahādeva* ".	at *Kadekeri*	(Ś. 896).	......	......
		The Silaharas of Northern Konkan.				
51	192 [IA 13.136]	A Buddhist Monastery " *Mahāvihāra* ".	at *Kṛṣnagiri*	(Ś. 765(?)) *Pullaśakti*.	Kanheri, (Thana District).	Kanheri Caves.
52	193 [IA 13.134]	Buddhis hall-mansions —suitable for meditation. " *Kolhiveśmikā* ".	at *Kṛṣnagiri*	(Ś. 775,) (773) *Kapardin*, *Gomin Avighnākara* from *Gauḍavishya*.	Kanheri, (Thana District).	Kanheri Caves.
53	194 [IA 13.135]	Same as No. 52 above.	at *Kṛṣnagiri*	(Ś. 799) *Kapardin*, *Viṣṇu*.	Kanheri, (Thana District).	Kanheri Caves.
54	198 [EI 3.271]	A Temple of Sun under the name of " *Lonāditya* ".	at *Lavnetaḷa*	(Ś. 919) *Aparājita*.	Lonad, (6 m SE of Bhiwandi in the Thana District). *EI*. 3. 271.	Many remains of ancient temples, but the temple of Lonaditya cannot be exactly identified. See *BG*. 14, 211.
55	201 [ZDMG 90. 265]	A Temple of *Śiva* under the name of " *Bhaiyapeśvara* ".	at Kundegrāma to the north of the village.	(Ś. 956) F. *Bhaiyapa* P.*Cchittarāja*.	Kunda, (6 m. N of Padaghe, Thana District).	......
56	208 [JBBRAS . 12.329]	A Temple of *Śiva* under the name of " *Āmranātha* ".	......	(Ś. 982) *Māmvāni-rāja*.	Ambarnath, (Thana District).	The Temple of Ambarnath. COUSENS, *MTD.*,

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
57	206 [JBBRAS 21.205]	1. A Temple of *Śiva* under the name of " *Saṁgameśvara* " 2. A Temple (about which no details can be gathered from the inscription).	To the west of the village *Vaḍavoli* and in the vicinity of *Ghorapaḍa* river. 2. In a field to the east of the village *Mora*	(Ś. 1049) *Aparājitadcva*	....	....
58	207	A Temple of the Goddess " *Jogeśvarī* "	......	(Ś. 1059)	Jogeshvari, (Thana District).	The Jogeshvari Cav Thana District.
59	210 [EI 23·273]	A Temple of *Śiva*.	At *Ānevaḍi*	(Ś. 1072) *Harɩpaladcva Patalīka-Rājā naka* (in charge of the temple)	......	......
60	217 [EI 23·277]	Temple of the god " *Somanātha* "	In *Surāṣṭra*	*Aparāditya* (Ś. 1107).	......	......
61	218 [JBBRAS 12·333]	A Temple of the god "*Vaidyanātha*".	At *Darbhāvatī*	(Ś. 1109) (*Aparaditya*).	......	......
62	222 [BG 1·2·20]	A Temple of " *Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa* ".	......	(Ś. 1125) *Keśideva*	......	......
63	223 [ABORI 23·98]	A Temple of *Śɩva* under the name of " *Sompeśvara* " or " *Sumpeśvara* ".	......	(S. 1162) *Keśideva*	......	The temple of Sumpeshvar referred to in this grant seems to have stood on a mound where the stone bearing this inscription was found. Close to this was found an ɩmage of *Śiva—Pārvatī.*, BG 14·213.
64	224 [EI 23·278]	1. A Temple of *Śiva* under the name of " *Śambhu* ". 2. A Temple (no details can be gathered about it)	Locality not clear from the inscription. At *Paḍivasegrāma* in *Uraṇa*	(S. 1181) *Someśvara*	...... Phunda or Panja (near Uran in the Panvel Taluka, Kolaba District) EI 23·279.	....
65	226 [EI 23·279]	A Temple of *Śiva* under the name of " *Uttareśvara* ". THE SILĀHĀRAS OF SOUTHERN KOLHAPUR	At *Śrī Sthāna*	(Ś. 1182) *Someśvara*	Thana (Thana District).	No trace of the temple is to be found in modern town or around it
66	227 [EI 3.297]	1. A Temple of *Śiva* under the name of " *Avveśvara* " 2. A well (*prapā*) 3. A fort	(1) Locality not clear form the inscription (2) At *Maṇigrāma* (3) Perhaps of *Valipaṭṭana.*	(Ś. 930) *Raṭṭarāja*	......	......

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
.67	228 [IHQ 4.215]	A Stone Temple (Pāṣāṇa-deuli)	near the villa- ge Palaure	(Ś. 932) Raṭṭarōja	......	... ..
68	229 ·[JRAS 4.281]	THE SILĀHĀRAS OF KOLHAPUR : Gift of a 'Śivāyatana pancaka' (of which one subordinate shrine was dedica- ted to Viṣṇu)	Outside the ci- ty of Miriñja	(Ś. 980) Mārasimha and Cikkad- eva (a Brāh- maṇa)	Miraj, (Miraj State).	......
69	230 [IA 12.102]	A Jain Temple (Basadi)	......	(about Ś. 1030) Gaṇḍarāditya and Bamma- gāvuṇḍa Ba- llāḷa.	Honnur, 2m SW form Kagal near Kolhapur the find-place of this inscrip- tion. IA 12·102	A Jain temple where the inscription was found. IA 12·102
70	231 [JBBRAS 13.3]	(a) Temples (or ima- ges of :— 1. "Mahādeva" 2. "Buldha" 3. "Arhat" (b) A Tank named "Gaṇḍa-Samudra" (c) A Śaiva temple called "Guḍāle- śvara" (d) A Śaiva Temple of "Mahādeva"	(a) In the vic- inity of Gan- ḍasamudra, a tank in the village of Ir- ukuḍi, in the district of Miriñja (b) In the vill- age of Iruk- udi. (c) In the vill- age of Gudā- laya. (d) On the west of the village of Gudālaya.	(Ś. 1033) (a) F. Gaṇḍa- rāditya ...... (c) P. Gaṇḍa- rāditya	(a) Rukdi, (9 m. E. of Kolhapur, Kolhapur State)	(a) Has a temple of Mahadev. BG. 24.317. ....
71	234 [EI 23.33]	(a) A Temple of Sun under the name of "Kheḍādityadeva". (b) A three-shrined temple (Trikuṭa- prāsāda) wherein were installed the images of 1. Brahmā, 2. Viṣṇu.	(a) In Brahm- apurī in Śrī Kollāpura. (b) the same locality.	(Ś. 1048) (a) P. Gaṇḍa- rāditya F. Kaḍitām- ātya Mailla- appayya	(a) Brahmapuri (in Kolhapur, Kolhapur Sta- te). EI 23·30 (b) ,,	... .
72	235 [EI 19.30]	(a) A Jain Temple of "Pārśvanātha.'j (b) A Temple of the Sun (The Inscrip- tion mentions a re- corder of the house of the Sun-god)	(a) In the mar- ket place of Kavaḍegoḷḷa (b) In Kuṇḍi- paṭṭana	(a) (Ś. 1058) F. Nimbade- varasa, a Mahā-Sā- manta of Gaṇḍarāditya. (b) ,,	....	....

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		(c) A Jain Temple of "*Rūpanārāyaṇa.*"	(c) In *Kolhā-pura*	(c) Prior *Śruta-kīrtɩ Traivɩd-yadeva*	Kolhapur, (Kolhapur State).	......
73	237 [EI 3.209]	(a) A Jain Temple of "*Pārśvanāthadeva*"	(a) In *Hāvina-Herillage* a village in *Ājɩrɩge-Kholla.*	(a) (*Ś.* 1065) P. *Vɩjayā-dɩtyadeva* F. *Vāsudeva*	Herle, (Kolhapur State). Ajre, (,,) See *EI* 3.209 n. 3.	......
		(b) A Jain Temple of "*Rūpanārāyaṇa*"	(b) In *Kṣulla-kapura.*	(b) Priest *Mā-ghanandi Si-ddhāntadeva*	Kolhapur, (Kolhapur State).	......
74	238 [EI 19.35]	A Temple of *Śɩva* under the name of "*Mɩdhaveśvara.*"	In *Seḍambaḷ*	(*Ś.* 1065,1066) F. *Māḍɩrāja-yya.* P. *Vɩjayā-dɩtya,* his officers and the community of *Vɩra Baṇaṇjas.*	Shedbal, (Athni Taluka, Belgaum District).	Two old Hindu temples of Vishveśvara and Kalameshvara; BURGESS, *Revised Lists,* 120. (ASI. New smp. Series Vol. XVI).
75	239 [EI 3.212]	A Jain Temple of "*Pārśvanātha.*'j	In the village of *Maḍalūɩa*	(*Ś.* 1073) F. *Codhore Kāmagāvuṇḍa* P. *Vɩjayādɩt ya.*	......	......
76	240 [INKK., 178]	A Jain Temple (*Basadi*).	The location is not clear from the inscription.	(*Ś.* 1078) F. *Khoṭṭiga* P. Inhabitants of the town or village.	......	......
77	245 [EI 3.215]	A *Maṭha* or Temple with which were associated an image or a temple of 1. "*Umā-Maheśvara*" (a form of *Amṛte-śvara* or *Śiva*)ʻ 2. *Mahālakṣmī*	The location is not very clear from the inscription but may have been in *Kopparavāda* a village in *Edenaḍa,* to which the granted fields belonged.	(*Ś.* 1112,1114, 1115) F. *Nā-yaka Lokana* P. *Vɩɩa Bho-jadeva* and *Nāyaka Kā-liyaṇa.*	......	......
		THE YĀDAVAS ;				
78	256 [EI 2.217]	Temple of "*Vɩjayā-bharaṇanātha*" (*Śɩva*).	......	According to KILHORN was founded by *Bhillama* or by his wife *Lakṣmī* or *Lachhiavvā.* (Ś. 922)	......	......
79	259 [EI 2.225]	(1) Temple of *Śiva,* under the name of "*Siddheśanātha*" or " *Siddheśvara.*"	......	F. *Govinda Maurya* and his wife *Rā-jhī Nāyaki.* (Ś. 991)	......	......

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		(2) A Tank (or step-well near the temple).	......		......	......
)	263 [IA 8.39].	Temple of *Siva*.	......	F. *Indrarāja Niku mbha.* P. *Govana Nikumbha* and his mother *Srīdevī.* (*S*. 1075)	......	......
	264 [INKK., 139]	Temple of "*Lakṣmī-Narasimha.*"	......	F. *Cauṇḍiseṭṭi.* P. *Bhillama.* *S*. 1111)	......	......
82	265 [EI 3.219]	Temple of " *Trikūṭe-śvara.*"	At *Kratuka.*	P. *Bhillama.* (*S*. 1113)	Gadag, (Gadag Taluka, Dharwar District).	......
83	269 [INKK., 146]	(1). Temple of '*Hara*' (or 'Hari').	(1) In the *Indī* country.	......	(1). Country comprised by the present Indi taluka, Bijapur District.	......
		(2). Temple of "*Buddha.*"	(2) ,,	......		......
		(3). Temple of "*Arhat.*"	(3) ,,	......		......
		(4). Temple of "*Baudināthɔ*" (The god was "black-necked" and "wore the moon on his crest").	(4) In *Kiri-yindi.*	(4). P r i e s t *Candracūḍa* or *Candra bharaṇa.* *S*. 1119).	(4). Indi, (chief place of the above).	......
84	270 [SMHD., 2.56]	1. A well or Tank of the god (name not given).	1. At *Pūrṇa-jā.*	......	1. Pulunja, (Pandharpur Taluka, Sholapur District).	
		2. A Tank or well.	2. At *Lɔlige* or *Degāva.*	......	2. Nali and Degaon Budruk near (1).	
		3. A Tank or "*Mun-jala.*"	3. At *Kuruva-lage.*	......	3. Kuroli, (16 miles ENE of (1).	Ruined Temples of the Late Mediaeval Period.
		4. A well of *Yakṣis* (see EI 13.49).	......	......	.. ....	
		5. A Temple of *Siddheśvara.*"	5. At *Itthe.*	......	5. Ite, (Pandharpur taluka, Sholapur district).	
		6. Temple oi "*Si-ddhasomadeva.*"				
			6. At *Pūrṇa-jā-pura.*	(6) F. perhaps one *Ammi-deva.*	6. Pulunja.	

1	2	3	4	6	6	7
		7. Temple of "Vīranāgarasa".	7. At Purnmajā.	7. F. A feudatory prince Vikramādītya.	7. Pulunja.	......
		8. Temple of "Nārāyanadeva" (?)	8. At Kuruvalage (?)	......	......	......
		9 Temple of "Melisaṅkharadeva" (?)	......	......	......	......
		10. Temple of "Asageśvara" (?)	......	......	......	......
85	273 [SMHD , 1.43]	1. A Temple of "Mahādeva" (under the name "Yogeśvara).	1. In the Gavareśvarapura, which was to the SE of Mārudhī	(i) F. Yogeśvara. (Ś. 1134)	......	......
		2. "Gavareśvara" Temple.	2 In the Gavareśvarapura.	......	......	......
		3. Temple of "Mudreśvara".	3. Perhaps in Gavareśvarapura.	......	....	......
		4. Temple of "Yogeśvara".	4 At Dabavge.	......	......	......
86	275 [JBBRAS 12.7]	1. Temple of "Koppeśvara".	1. At Khedrātura	(Ś. 1136)	1. Khidrapur, (Kolhapur State).	1. Koppeshvar Temple.
		2. Temples.	2. At Jugula & Siriguppa.	......	2. Jugal, (8 miles SE of Kurundwad or more correcrly Wadi).	2. Jain Bastis.
					3. Sirguppi, (3 miles from (2)).	3. Jain Bastis.
87	278 [QBISM 15.17]	Temple of "Mahālaksmī". (The inscription records the construction of a Torana in front of this temple in the prākāra ground)	......	(Ś. 1140)	At Kolhapur in the Kolhapur State.	The famous temple of Mahālaksmī.
88	279 [EI 3.112]	Temple of Dvārajā.	......	F. Anantadeva. (S. 1144)	Bahal, in Khandesh.	The temple in which the inscription was found is known as Sarajadevi Temple. Acc. to Kielhorn, it is identical with the Temple of Dvārajā. (EI 9. 111, 112 & 110 fn. 16)
89	286 & 293 [SMHD., 1.6271]	1. Temple of "Sakaleśvara".	1. At Ambe (Amrapura).	(Ś. 1150)	Ambe or Ambe Jogai, (Bhir District, Hyderabad State).	1. The modern temple of Sakaleśvara is to the SW of the village at a distance of 1½ miles. The inscription was there formerly.
		2. Temple of "Ambara (nātha)"	2. At ,,	......		
		3. Temple of "Kedāra (nātha)"	3. At ,,	......		
		4. "Mānikya or Mānakeśvara"	4. At ,,	......		
		5. Temple of "Lambodara"	5. At ,,	......		

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		6. Temple of "*Yogeśvara*".	6. At *Ambe* (*Āmrapura*)	6. (F). *Kholeśvara*	6. Ambe or Ambe Jogai.	......
		7. Temple of "*Sarhgadhara*".	7. At *Acalapura*.	7. F. *Kholeśvara*. (*Ś*. 1150)	7. Elichpur, (Amraoti, district Berar)	
		8. Temple of "*Vināyaka*".	8. In the *Dhārora-deśa*.	8. F. *Kholeśvara*.	8. Country around Dharur, Bhir district, (Hyderabad State.)	......
		9. Temple of "*Sakaleśvara*".	9. „ „	9. „	......	......
		10. Temple of *Viṣṇu*.	10. „ „	10. „	......	......
90	297 [INKK., 150]	1. Temple of "*Siddhanātha* (?)".	1. Perhaps in *Koggaṭanūru*.	(*Ś*. 1157)	......	......
		2. Temple of *Somanāthadeva*.	2. „ „	......	......	......
		3 Temple of *Bhāvaśuddha*.	3. In *Koggaṭanūrāgrahāra* in *Kanambaḍe* 300 of the *Karahāḍa* 2,000.	3. P. *Mallarasayya, Nāgrasa* and others.	......	......
91	298 [EI 19.194]	A Temple of "*Kṣetrapāla*" ("*Bhairava*")	In *Kolūr*	P. *Mallideva rasa.*	Kolur, (Haveri Taluka, Dharwar District).	A Temple of *Mārtaṇḍadeva* or *Holapa* at Kolur where the inscription was found.
92	301 [IA 7.304]	1. Temple of "*Mahādeva*".	1. At *Bagavāḍī*.	(*Ś*. 1171)	1. Hire Bagiwadi (Belgaum Taluka, Belgaum District).	......
		2. A Temple of "*Somanātha*".	2. At *Mudugala*.	......	......	......
	302 [IA 14.69]	1. Temple of "*Viṣṇu*"	1. At *Pauṇḍarīkakṣetra* on the bank of the river *Bhīmarathī.*	(*Ś*. 1171)	1. Pandharpur, (Pandharpur Taluka, Sholapur district).	Famous temple o f Pandhari and other Late Medieval remains.
		2. Temple of " *Somanātha* ".	......	......	......	......
	304 [SMHD., 3.9,65]	1. Temple of " *Kalideva* " or " *Kalleśvara* ".	1. At *Mañjaravāṭaka* or *Manjarabāḍe*.	1. F. *Candra* and *Keśava.* (*Ś*. 1172)	1. Manjarde, (Tasgaon Taluka, Satara District).	Temple of Kallesvar.
		2. Temple of "*Narasimha* ".	2. At *Śri Parṇṇakheṭa.*	......	2. Patkhed, (4 miles SE of Barsi Takli, Akola District, Bear)	......
	305 [IE 19.19]	1. "*Trikuṭa Prāsāda*" or the Triple Shrine (also called " *Malleśvara, Deveśvara* and *Mādhaveśvara*") and *Maṭha*.	......	(*Ś*. 1172)	......	......

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
		2 Two *Sivaliṅgas* and an image of "*Mādhava*" (were installed in temple No. 1)	2. In *Kurumb-eṭṭa.*	2. F. *Camuṇḍa.*	2. Sindi Kurbet(?) (Gokak Taluka, Belgaum District).	......
		3. A white Temple ("*Dhavala-prāsāda*" a *liṅga* of sapphire was set up in this temple)	......	3. F. *Cāmuṇḍa.*	......	......
		4. Temple of "*Kapila-bhāva*".	......	4. P. *Nāgasara.*	......	......
96	310 [EC 11.100]	Temple of "*Hari-hara.*"	......	(Ś. 1176)	H a r i h a r a, (Davangere taluka, Chital-drug District, Mysore State).	The inscription men-tions only the god "*Harihara*". Ob-viously it is ident-cal with the Hari-hara Temple at Harihara, in the Davanagere Taluka, Chitaldrug District, in Mysore, where the inscription wa found.
97	314 [EI 21.125]	Temple of "*Kāme-śvara.*"	In the *Vaini-vagrāma*, on the bank of the river *Tuṅgabha-drā.* (in *B i-d a r e*, in *Bikki*ga 90 in *Nonamba-vādi* 32,000.	Set up on account of the merit of *Kananradeva* (*Kṛṣṇa Yā-dava*) F. *Ammeya Nāyaka.* (Ś. 1179)	......	......
98	316 [EI 21.9]	1. Templ of "*Soma-nātha.*	1. In *Huligere.*	(Ś. 1182)	1. Puligere or Lakhshmesh-var, (Laksh-meshwar talu-ka, Dharwar District).	......
		2. Temple of "*Sva-yambhu-Mallikār-juna*" (also called "*Malleśvara*".	2. At *Kaviḷāsa-pura.*	......	2. Kavilaspur, (7 miles from Nulegram, Gad Hinglaj taluka, K o l h a p u r State).	......
		3. Temple of "*Saṅga-meśvara*".	3. ,,	......	......	......
		4. Temple of "*Nāge-śvara*".	4. ,,	......	......	......
99	317 [IFKK., 154]	1. Temple of "*Kalli-nātha*".	1. At *Aṁidāla*	1. P. *Madai Nayaka.*	Indal, (Kolha-pur State).	......
		2. Temple of "*Malli-kārjuna*".	2. ,,	2. P. ,, ,, (Ś. 1183)	......	......
100	323 [EI 23.194]	Temple of "*Hari-hara*".	See No. 96 above	(Ś. 1185)	See No. 96 above	See No. 96 above
101	325 [EC 11.119]	1. Temple of "*Kali*".	1. At *Arasiya-kere.*	1. Sovi Deva.	......	......
		2. A Memorial Stone.	2 ,,	2. P. ,, ,, (Ś. 1186)	......	......

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	327 [SMHD , 3.21]	1. Five *Maṭhas*.	1. *Kolhāpura.*	......	Kolhapur (Kolhapur State).	Many Temples, Jair Bastis and Mathas.
		2. The Basti of " Nemādevī ".	2. ,,	(Ś. 1187)	......	......
		3. A Basti with Maṇḍapa.	3. At *Jagati.*	......	......	......
		4. Temple of " Mahā-lakṣmī ".	4 At *Kolhā-pura.*	......	......	......
3	330 [EC 11.143]	Temple of " Soma-nātha ".	At *Anuje.*	P *Viṭṭhala Devarasa.* (Ś. 1187)	Anaji, (Davangere taluka, Chitaldrug District, Mysore State).	......
4	333 [EC 11.146]	Temple of " *Dingara-Mallaya* ".	At *Hemmana-Beṭūra.*	(Ś. 1188)	Hemmanbetur, (Davanagere taluka, Chitaldrug District, Mysore State).	......
5	340 [EC 11.45]	Jain Temple (called " *Lakṣmī Jinālaya*)	In *Beṭūra.*	F. *Kūchirāja* (Ś.1193)	......	......
6	341 [JRAS 5,183]	1. Temple of "*Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa*"	1. Perhaps at Vaula in Sāsati in Koṅkaṇa.	(Ś. 1194)	......	......
		2. Temple of "*Kāme-śvara* "	2. ,, ,, ,,	......	......	......
		3. Temple of "*Śitale-śvara.*"	3. ,, ,, ,	......	......	......
		4. Temple of "*Khope-śvara.*"	4. ,, ,, ,,	......	......	......
7	349 [EC 11.101]	1. Temple of " *Hari-hareśvara.*"	1. At *Harihara*	......	See Ins. No. 310 above.	......
		2. Temple of *Lakṣmī-vallabha-Mahādeva-rāya-Nārāyaṇa.*"	2. At *Harihara*	2. F. *Tikkama* (Ś. 1202)		
08	661 [ASI.A. 1930.34, p. 251]	1. A Basati (*Pratha-masena Baṣati*). 2. Temple of " *Bhe-uṇḍaśvami.*" 3. Five *Maṭhas*.	Perhaps in *Balligāve.*	(Ś. 1216)	Belgami, (Mysore State)i	......
09	364 368 [SMHD., 2.8; EI 25.199]	1. Temple of "*Vate-śvara.*"	1. At *Velāpura.*	1. P. *Bāideva.* (Ś. 1222,1232)	1. Velapur,(Maishiras Taluka, Sholapur, District).	1. A few temples of the Late Medieval Period
		2. ,, of "*Śārṅga-dhara.*"	2. At *Vārāṇasi*	2 F. *Rāma-candra Yādava.* (Ś 1122,1232)	2. Benares, U.P.	......
		3. A well and water shed.	3. At *Vārāṇasī*	3. F. *Puruṣai Nāyaka.*	......	......
		4. Two Temples.	4.	......	......	......